Clarendon Press Series



# HORACE

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London
HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

Clarendon Press Series

# QUINTI HORATII FLACCI

## OPERA OMNIA

# THE WORKS OF HORACE

*WITH A COMMENTARY*

BY

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VOL. II

*THE SATIRES, EPISTLES, AND DE ARTE POETICA*

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1891

Oxford
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

# PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

I HAVE to express to the Delegates of the Press and to the kind purchasers of the first volume of this edition my regret for the long but unavoidable delay which has intervened in the completion of the work. That it is completed now I owe to the unstinted and unselfish help of my friend Mr. A. O. Prickard, Fellow of New College. I desired at one time that the volume should appear in our joint names, and had obtained the sanction of the Delegates to this arrangement; but we found the difficulties of joint work too great, in view of the impossibility of our being much together; and therefore, although a first draft of the notes on the later Epistles was prepared by Mr. Prickard, I have ultimately rewritten these, and made myself responsible for the whole. At the same time I cannot overstate the help which I have received from him in this part of the volume, and indeed in suggestions and criticisms upon the whole of it.

With respect to the text I have little to add to what I wrote, I hope with proper modesty, in the introduction to Vol. I. Keller's 'Epilegomena,' published in 1879–1880, has added to the obligation which he and his colleague have laid upon all students

of Horace in giving them for the first time a clear and trustworthy conspectus of the evidence of value which is at our command. But it has not produced a general agreement, either with their method of grouping the MSS. in classes or families, or with their particular estimate of the value of Cruquius' Old Blandinian MS. (V)[1]. Cruquius no doubt overestimated its antiquity; but, on the other hand, the more the question has been sifted the less reason there has appeared to be for doubting the care and *bona fides* of his testimony, and the more reason for assenting to the general judgment of scholars from Bentley downwards, that we have access in its readings to a text, not necessarily always right, but of unique value as exhibiting a tradition independent of the other MSS.

In addition to the Editors whose help I have acknowledged before, I have of course leant greatly in the Satires on Heindorf (re-edited by Wüsteman, Leipzig, 1843) and in the First Book of the Epistles on Obbar (Leipzig, 1837). I have made great use of the thoughtful and independent commentary of Schütz (Berlin, 1883), and have derived many suggestions from the edition of the Satires by Prof. A. Palmer and that of the Epistles by Prof. Wilkins (Macmillan, 1884 and 1885). I have come also to estimate very highly the compressed but singularly complete and sensible notes

[1] I would refer especially to the examination of Keller's conclusions by P. Hoehn ('de codice Bland. antiquissimo,' Jena, 1883) and W. Mewes (the editor of the re-issue of Orelli, 'Ueber den wert des Cod. Bland. vetustissimus,' Berlin, 1882); also to Professor Nettleship, 'Essays in Latin Literature,' p. 188 f.

of Düntzer (Brunswick, 1849). Kiessling's edition came into my hands too late to be of full use. But I have felt again, as I said before, that the editor to whom the student of Horace is most indebted is Bentley; and I have felt more than before (though he only speaks to us through his text and short preface and a few papers in the Journal of Philology) how strong and trustworthy is the judgment, whether in purely textual questions or in the questions of interpretation which cannot be severed from text, of the most Bentleian of English scholars who have touched Horace, the lamented H. A. J. Munro.

May I make two requests of the younger readers whose needs I have had specially in view—one, that they will read, both before beginning a Satire or Epistle, and also side by side with it, the analysis which I have prefixed to it and without which the commentary will be incomplete; the other, that they will not be deluded, by what has seemed the unhappy necessity of employing inverted commas for the double purpose, into mistaking interpretative paraphrase for translation? The latter I have attempted rarely; the former is often a convenient and necessary substitute for a long note.

WELLINGTON COLLEGE, *Oct.* 1890.

*Note.*—I must apologize here for a misunderstanding which has led to some uncorrected variation in spelling. To harmonize with the rest of the text 'cum' should be read in Sat. 1. 1. 86, 104, 'baca' in Sat. 2. 4. 69; 'aspectu,' 'aspicere' in Sat. 1. 8. 26, 2. 5. 5, 2. 6. 60; 'temptatum' in Sat. 1. 1. 80; 'obiciebat' in Sat. 1. 4. 123; and 'o' should be substituted for 'u' in 'avulsos,' 'vultis,' &c. in Sat. 1. 1. 58, 1. 2. 38 and several other places.

# CORRIGENDA.

(*n.* = notes, l. = line.)

### Sat. I.

4. 14 *n.* l. 16. for 'one' read 'me'
 80 *n.* l. 5. 'Epp. 2. 2. 127.'
 110 *n.* l. 1. 'So.' l. 5. 'Panis'
5. 12 *n.* l. 6. 'boat is boarded'
 32 *n.* l. 3. 'Od. 2. 2. 3'
 34 *n.* l. 11. 'duumviro'
 67 *n.* l. 1. 'dissyll.'
6. 74 *n.* l. 13. 'board'
 115 *n.* l. 2. 'Sat. 2. 3. 182'
7. 10, 11 *n.* l. 47. 'v. 14'
8. 39 *n.* l. 4. del. 'and'
9. 22 *n.* l. 13. before 'two' ins. 'the'
 59 *n.* l. 9. *χωρὶς*
10. 22 *n.* l. 5. *Μενέλαος*

### Sat. II.

1. 26 *n.* l. 4. ins. *καὶ* before *πὺξ*
 60 *n.* l. 14. 'Trebatius' words'
2. 23 *n.* l. 2. for 'will' read 'well'
 29, 30 *n.* l. 23. for 'patere' read 'petere'
 35 *n.* l. 5. for 'dislikes' read 'likes'
 45 *n.* ll. 3, 4. 'Od. 1. 4. 14, 2. 14. 11'
 53 *n.* l. 14. for 'so' read 'he is'
3. Introd. p. 132, l. 1. after 26 ins. '*D.*'
 7 *n.* l. 2. for 'use' read 'in'
 51 *n.* l. 11. for 'cause' read 'sense' and del. the following inverted commas
 62 *n.* l. 2. after 'error' add 'of vv. 49, 51.' l. 4. for 33 read 53
 69 *n.* l. 16. for 'which' read 'whose name'
 135 *n.* l. 2. del. 'the'
 195 *n.* l. 5. *Πρίαμος*
4. 33 *n.* l. 7. del. first 'of'
 37 *n.* l. 5. for 'getting' read 'gathering of'
 79 *n.* l. 2. 'have'
8. 4 *n.* l. 1. after 'myself' ins. 'more

### Epp. I.

3. 3 *n.* l. 2. 'pulsu'
 31 *n.* l. 2. 'sarciri'
6. 17 *n.* l. 2. for 'which' read 'what'
 22 *n.* l. 3. for 'have' read 'had'
7. 24 *n.* l. 13. for 'Quisque' read 'Quique'
 75 *n.* l. 2. for 'quest' read 'guest'
11. 1 *n.* omit 'The phrase'
 Additional note, l. 6. for 1869 read 1880
12. 26 *n.* l. 1. for 'first' read 'final'
15. 37 *n.* l. 31. 'Graios'
18. 31 *n.* l. 10. for 23 read 2. 3

### Epp. II.

1. 138 *n.* l. 2. for 3 read 5
 173 *n.* ll. 51, 52. 'Dossennus'
2. 18 *n.* l. 6. 'condicione'
 117 *n.* l. 5. 'medulla'
 170 *n.* l. 8. for 'servunt' read 'serunt'
 189 *n.* l. 4. for 'si' read 'is'
 206 *n.* l. 5. 'intelligatur'

### Ars Poetica.

55 *n.* l. 6. 'daedalus'
120 *n.* l. 43. del. 'is'
128–135 *n.* l. 13. 'vindicates'
158 *n.* l. 2. for 'ut' read 'et'
221 *n.* l. 11. del. 'as' before 'mox'
261, 262 *n.* l. 7 .del. 'So'

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SATIRES.

## § 1. *Division of the two Books.*

It may be taken for certain that the division of the two Books of Satires is a real and chronological division, not merely, like that of the first three books of the Odes, the division for artistic purposes of a collection given to the world together. Such a real division is indicated by the very definite epilogue with which the First Book is concluded and the prologue with which the Second Book opens. No doubt something of this effect is given by the placing of Od. 2. 20 and 3. 1, and in a slighter way still by that of Od. 1. 37, 38 and 2. 1; but in the case of the Odes there is no mistake when we come to Od. 3. 30 and compare it with 1. 1, that we have in them the true prologue and epilogue to the work as a whole. To make the parallel effective, Book II of the Satires should have an epilogue which would mark not only the close of a Book but the achievement of a full purpose. Sat. II is ended in a manner suitable to the more dramatic character of the Book, not by a conscious epilogue, but by a sketch lighter in tone than the two which precede it, and one which gathers up and puts in more dramatic form some of the chief topics of the book and especially of its earlier part. Amongst Horace's collections of poems it is analogous to the conclusion of the Epodes and of the IVth Book of the Odes, not to that of Sat. I, Odes I–III, or Epp. I. He has his two manners, evidently, of ending a Book: but this does not render it more probable that he should have published the two Books of Satires together and ended the first with 'I puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello,' and the second with 'velut illis Canidia afflasset peior serpentibus Afris.'

But in truth the two Books stand apart from one another widely, both in general form and topics, and also in tone personal and

literary, and in the background of circumstance. In Book I Octavianus is mentioned only once and then incidentally as patron of Tigellius. In Book II he is set in the forefront as the person to whom compliments are to be paid and whose protection the poet may look for[1]. In Book I the friendship of Maecenas occupies a prominent place, but there is no hint of his most valued gift, the Sabine retreat. In Book II the 'villa' is the scene of Sat. 3, and the theme of Sat. 6. The peace of his country home has passed into the poet's blood, and the assured position of which it was the outward sign has modified his views of things. In 2. 1 he professes to take up the cudgels on behalf of outspoken Satire, but he meets his critics more than half-way. He is 'cupidus pacis,' and his weapon is to be one of defence only. Whatever of personality there had been in Book I has been yet further toned down in Book II. Horace's literary enemies Tigellius, Fannius, Demetrius, have had their final dismissal in Sat. 1. 10. Though, as we see from his later writings, his judgment on the general question between the ancients and moderns remains what it was, he is no longer concerned to defend himself against detractors who depreciated him by exalting Lucilius; and accordingly he expresses his debt to his predecessor and his admiration for him without qualification.

## § 2. *Date of Book I.*

The first Book of the Satires is the first collection of Horace's poems that was given to the world. This would be the natural conclusion from his words in Sat. 1. 10. 46, where, after assigning different kinds of poetry to different contemporary masters, he says of Satire 'Hoc erat experto frustra Varrone Atacino Atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem.' Some of the Epodes may have been as early in composition as the earliest Satires, but the collected Epodes were not published before the battle of Actium (Epod. 9).

In endeavouring to fix the date of the publication of Sat. I it is of the first importance to fix the time of Horace's introduction to the friendship of Maecenas. Six, if not seven[2], of the ten Satires contain references to that friendship. The friendship is fresh, and yet

[1] Sat. 2. 1. 11, 19, 84.

[2] 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10. Possibly we should add 8, which takes occasion in laying the scene of Canidia's witcheries on the Esquiline to compliment Maecenas incidentally on the improvements by which he had converted the old paupers' burial-ground into handsome gardens.

has lasted a little while. Horace looks back on its stages (6. 54–62): it has stood some tests (3. 63–65); people are still curious about it, and yet some are already seeking to profit by it (5 and 9). Now if we can date Sat. 2. 6, Horace gives us in it the means of also dating approximately the commencement of his close relations to Maecenas: for in v. 40 he says—

> 'Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus
> Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
> In numero.' (With the last words cp. Sat. 1. 6. 62.)

The expression is not perfectly clear, but this probably means 'It is seven or rather very nearly eight full years since,' etc. There is also the doubt, which always attaches to Roman reckoning, whether this is to be taken exclusively or inclusively, to mean what we should also call 'seven years verging on eight,' or what we should rather call 'six verging on seven.' The date of the Satire itself can be fixed within a few months, but not more closely. Three indications of time are given in it. (1) In v. 38 the words 'Imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis' seem to refer to the time of the 'bellum Actiacum' and the following events, during which Maecenas (in conjunction later with Agrippa) had the charge of affairs in Rome and Italy for Octavianus and bore his signet ring[1]. (2) In v. 53 Horace represents as one of the questions put to him by persons who credited him with knowing state secrets, 'numquid de Dacis audisti?' The Daci are mentioned by Dion as offering their services to Octavianus before the battle of Actium, and, on his declining them, to Antony[2]: and it is evident that they continued to be a cause of some anxiety at Rome, for he speaks of Crassus being sent against them in B.C. 30. (3) In v. 55 another question asked of him is, 'militibus promissa Triquetra Praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?' The allocation referred to is probably that after Actium, and the moment at which this question would be most in men's mouths would be in the winter of B.C. 31, when Dion reports that so serious a mutiny broke out among the disbanded soldiers, who feared they were to be disappointed of their rewards, that Octavianus had to pay a hasty visit to Italy and provide for the assignment of lands to them[3].

Of these dates (1) would suit any time from the middle of B.C. 31 to the return of Octavianus to Rome in 29: (2) would be, so far as we know, best satisfied in B.C. 31 or 30: (3) points most definitely to the winter of B.C. 31, though the form of reference does not ex-

[1] Dion Cassius, 51. 3.
[2] Id. 51. 22. See Od. 3. 6. 13 and introd. to Odes, Books i–iii. 1. § 7.
[3] Id. 51. 3–5.

clude the lapse of a little time since the question was actually put. The general conclusion is that when all the doubtful points are given in favour of the earliest date we cannot place earlier than the spring of B.C. 38 the occasion described in Sat. 1. 6. 61, when Maecenas, nine months after Horace's first introduction to him by Virgil and Varius, 'sent for him again and bade him be in the number of his friends.' The date may possibly be a year or two later.

It is characteristic of Horace's change of position between Books I and II that the references to political events and persons, fairly frequent in the later Book, should be almost wholly absent in the earlier. His great anxiety in describing his friendship with Maecenas is to represent it as personal and literary, not political. The fifth Satire, which describes the journey which Horace took with him when he was bound on affairs of state to Brundisium, might be expected to give us just the clue we want: but not a word escapes to indicate the occasion of the mission, and we are reduced to searching the pages of Dion for notices of movements which may suit it. It is very doubtful how far their picture of the time is minute or exact enough to enable us to do this with the hope of certain result: but of the occasions which have been suggested the only two which are not excluded by other considerations (see Introd. to Sat. 1. 5) fall one in the autumn of B.C. 38, the other in the spring of 37, either of which will suit the date we obtained from Sat. 2. 6.

A literary reference of some importance is in the same direction. The words used of Virgil, Sat. 1. 10. 44, where Horace is speaking of the way in which the main departments of poetry are already occupied by masters with whom he has no mind to compete, 'molle atque facetum Vergilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae,' must mean that Virgil was already known to the world as the author of the Eclogues[1]. Considerations drawn from the political references of Ecl. 10 show that these were not published before B.C. 37.

The *earliest* date then at which the composition of the larger part of Sat. I can be placed is the end of B.C. 38. The earliest date which can be assigned for the completion and publication of the Book is in or after B.C. 37. Towards settling the *latest* possible date the first fixed point is B.C. 33, to which there is reference in Sat. 2. 3. 185. If we allow a little time on the one side for Horace's acquaintance with Maecenas to ripen, and to be the subject of public talk, and for the composition of the Satires which refer to it,

[1] Franke would add Georg. 1, which he thinks Horace is imitating in Sat. 1. 1. 114–115, but see notes on that place.

and on the other for the settling in the Sabine farm, and the other changes which the Satires of Book II presuppose, the date of B.C. 35 usually assigned for the publication of Book I will seem to be not far wrong.

### § 3. *Date of Book II.*

The publication of Book II must on the ground of the references already discussed in Sat. 2. 6 be put after the winter of B.C. 31. If the connection of Caesar with the Parthians in Sat. 2. 1. 15 'labentis equo . . . volnera Parthi,' and 2. 5. 62 'iuvenis Parthis horrendus,' be held to refer to the interview of Octavianus with Tiridates during his progress through Asia in B.C. 30[1] we must put it some months later. In any case the absence of any allusion to the triple triumph and the closing of the temple of Janus seems to show that the book was published before the year B.C. 29, whether before or after the Epodes cannot be positively determined.

### § 4. *Satires 2 and 7 of Book I.*

In fixing the general date of the composition of Book I we have omitted three Satires which contain no reference verbal or constructive to the acquaintance with Maecenas. Of these Satire 4 has nothing to separate it in tone or topic from its neighbours. It was written at some time after Sat. 2, and when Horace felt it necessary if he published that Satire to apologise for its spirit. Satires 2 and 7 however have features which distinguish them from the rest of the Book. Satire 7 turns on a ludicrous incident which occurred in the proconsular court of Brutus when he was in Asia in the year before the battle of Philippi, and while Horace was in his suite. It culminates in the jest on the name of Rex, in connection with Brutus' political antecedents,—'qui reges consueris tollere.' The play on names is of just the kind in which Roman taste delighted; and it is quite intelligible that having been one of Horace's first essays in composition, perhaps one which had been shown to Maecenas by Virgil when he 'told him what Horace was like,' the Satire may have been retained, possibly at Maecenas' desire. It is less likely that it should have been composed when Horace had begun to beware of playing with edged tools.

Sat. 2 has other signs of date earlier than that of the bulk of the Book. There is the grossness of tone (never congenial to Horace, but always bearing the look of a concession to a supposed 'operis

[1] Dion, 51. 18.

lex[1]') to be paralleled only in some of the earlier Epodes. There is more appearance of those liberties taken with persons of position (not merely the thieves, moneylenders, misers, and parasites of later Satires) and of broad references to real scandals, which he professes to defend in Sat. 1. 4 and 2. 1, but with apologies which, if we look at any Satire but this one, seem to outrun the needs of the case[2]. There is above all the curious tradition of the Scholiasts that under the name of Maltinus (or Malchinus) he was satirizing in v. 25 the personal habit of Maecenas. If this be true it is so completely unlike Horace's bearing towards his friends in high position that it must mean that the Satire was written before his acquaintance with Maecenas commenced, and preserved with Maecenas' assent if not at his desire.

## § 5. *Title and Nature of the Satires.*

Horace uses two words to designate his Satires.

1. The only title which he uses within the Satires themselves is *Satira.* This he employs in Sat. 2. 1. 1 in the singular, to describe the form of composition or its spirit, 'Sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer.' He is there speaking of himself as the successor of Lucilius, and the word has our modern sense of 'Satire,' the censorious criticism of life and manners of which Lucilius had set the type. In Sat. 2. 6. 17 he employs the plural of the separate poems: 'Quid prius illustrem satiris?' and it may be noticed that there he has in view another aspect of Satire, familiar also to Lucilius (as he points out in Sat. 2. 1. 30–36), but descending to him from the older 'Satura' or medley, of Satire namely as a vehicle for autobiographical details and the expression of personal likes as well as dislikes.

2. But it is noticeable that in the Epistles, when he looks back at the Satires and ranks them with his other kinds of composition he drops entirely the term 'Satirae.' His classification is 'Iambi,' 'Carmina,' '*Sermones*.' In Epp. 1. 4. 1 the first place where he uses this term,—'sermonum nostrorum candide iudex,'—he is probably speaking of the Satires only; and so too in Epp. 2. 2. 60, where he

[1] When anything like it recurs in Sat. 2. 7 it is in a place where he is dramatizing the licence of the Saturnalia, and possibly caricaturing also the tone of professed moral lecturers. In the same way the four lines which disfigure Sat. 1. 5 are due probably to an incident in Lucilius' journey (3. 54) which he is reproducing, much as the story of his flinging away his shield at Philippi (Od. 2. 7. 10) is due to the similar profession of Alcaeus.

[2] Is not Sat. 2 the one specimen which Horace allowed to be preserved of an earlier type of Satires which had been shown to friends, but which his own fastidious taste failed finally to approve?

qualifies it,—'Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.' On the other hand in Epp. 2. 1. 250 'sermones . . . repentes per humum' seems meant to cover the Epistles as well [1].

The term had in the first place a self-depreciatory meaning, and is explained by the words in Sat. 1. 4. 39–48, where he declines the name of 'poemata' for his writings, and designates them as 'sermoni propiora,' comparing them in this respect to Comedy, which is, 'nisi quod pede certo Differt sermoni, sermo merus.' They were poems, if poems at all, on the level of common conversation. But it was a deliberate substitution not only for 'poemata,' but also for the natural name, which he had at first given, of 'Satirae.' It was meant to describe the poems as Horace wished them to be regarded, and if 'sermo' be taken in its common sense of 'talk' it describes them very well [2]. Whatever else they are, they are imitations of conversation—'talks,' '*causeries*'—imitations of the best talk of a polished time—in its ease, its diversity of topic, its graceful transitions, its spice of personality, its play of repartee, its irony, its anecdotes, fables, quotations, allusions [3]. But the talk had a definite scope. It was such talk as Horace indicates in Sat. 2. 6. 71 f., on subjects of the highest interest, even if treated with a light hand. It was *talk on the art of living*. Even literature has an incidental rather than a primary place in it. He has to make his 'apologia' both for venturing to follow Lucilius and for venturing to differ from him; and this raises the question, which will occupy so much of his later writings, of the taste of the day in its unqualified preference of the older writers to the new classical school to which he attaches himself. He is also at first the conscious 'freedman's son,' the mark of envious tongues, and he has to justify his right to 'open his mouth' as though his ancestors as well

[1] The Scholiast's statement is 'Quamvis Satiram esse opus hoc suum Horatius ipse confiteatur, "sunt quibus in Satira videar nimis acer," tamen proprios titulos ei voluit accommodasse; nam hos priores duos libros *Sermonum* posteriores *Epistularum* inscripsit.' Porph. on Sat. 1. 1. 1. This speaks of Horace's ultimate distinction of titles for the Satires and Epistles, and is not inconsistent with his coupling the two together under the common title while the Epistles were still in process of composition. Keller's MSS. know of no title for the Satires but 'Sermones,' and it is the term used by the grammarians.

[2] It is just possible that the term drew a further colour from its use of philosophical conversations (cp. 'Socratici sermones' Od. 3. 21. 9) and especially by Cicero of his Dialogues. Dialogue plays a large part in all Horace's Satires, and in Book II we have almost entirely dramatic scenes in which Horace himself plays no part or a subsidiary one.

[3] A characteristic feature of conversation is markedly imitated in the *endings* of the Satires, and of the Epistles which approach most nearly to this type. They end generally abruptly; but just as talk is ended, when the topic threatens to become wearisome, with a jest or personal sally, or again with an epigram, fable, or story, which sums up the matter and leaves no more to be said.

as himself had 'had three names[1].' But the talk comes back again always to life and conduct, men's tastes and inconsistencies, the true path of happiness. We have sketches of life in Rome, of different phases of it from the point of view of bystanders, the honest countryman, the Stoic lecturer, the slave, the man of letters at the supper table of the rich upstart; sketches of talk as it shouldn't be, talk about eating and drinking; sketches of personal and social vices, of avarice and the transparent excuses for it, of censoriousness, of vulgar pushing, of legacy-hunting.

Politics we miss altogether. Political satire belongs to the age before the proscriptions, to the age when power belonged to an oligarchy, cultivated at least enough to read and to be amused, not to the two masters, or the one master, of legions. And Horace was not by nature a politician. He had had an enthusiasm and a disappointment. He never became a turncoat ready at command to bespatter his old party. He was attracted by what promised to be an epoch of order and refinement. The *régime* of Octavianus meant to him the *régime* of Maecenas, with Virgil and Varius in the background. On the other hand his most continuous attraction was in moral questions. His standard was not ours; but he had been brought up well by a manly and virtuous father. He was an acute observer of life, he had good taste, strong sense, a natural shrinking from excess of every kind. The professed teachers of the day seem to have repelled rather than attracted him. The Stoic lecturers survive for us in his gibes at their tediousness and dogmatism and in his caricature of their paradoxical teaching. Epicureanism was recommended to him by having found an exponent in a great poet; and accordingly, in Sat. I at least, the influence of Lucretius dominates his philosophical views as well as his diction and rhythms. But he plays with Epicureanism as he does with Stoicism. His heart is with the 'abnormis sapiens.' He is beginning to feel, what he asserts more roundly in the Epistles, that Homer is a better teacher than any of the schools. He feels, no doubt, another influence in the treatises of Cicero, of whom he was a diligent student, but Cicero again teaches him to be interested in all philosophies, and to bind himself to none.

The term 'Sermones,' then, was part of the εἰρωνεία, natural and assumed, which marks so deeply the Satires as well as the rest of Horace's writings. They were 'talks,' not 'Satires.' He was preaching, but he would preach in the least obtrusive way. He misdoubts his right to preach. He is always inclined to turn the laugh

[1] Juv. S. 5. 127.

upon himself. He would escape more and more into the background and let others seem to speak. He is an interested, amused, hearer and learner, not a Stoic, nor even an Epicurean, dogmatist.

No one interfered with his patent to the title. Persius, who, even when in his Stoic fervour he departs furthest from Horace's spirit, copies his form most closely, gives no name to his own composition. Juvenal, to whom there are no uncertainties, no lights and shades in his confident and ruthless declamation, returned to the name of Satires[1].

## § 6. *Personal names in the Satires.*

If the Satires are imitations of conversation, they have naturally a personal element. Conversation starts from persons and incidents, it prefers concrete instances to abstract descriptions, a flavour of innocent malice is not out of place in it, its greatest adornment is the art of telling stories vividly and at the happy moment. As a whole it must be allowed that Horace's writing has this effect in a singular degree after the lapse of nineteen centuries. Even if Nomentanus and Opimius had no life outside his verses, he gives them life enough for his purpose. The interest of going behind what he has told us and seeing how far his characters can be identified with particular persons historically known, lies not so much in any gain of point to the Satire that may be looked for,—the persons are too obscure, as well as the results too uncertain, for that,—but in the light which it may throw on the methods of the poet, on his personal motives, and on his relations to his contemporaries.

The Scholiasts are prepared in most cases to tell us who each person named is. They had access to earlier sources of information[2], and no doubt in some cases they have preserved for us a true tradition. But they evidently blunder. They differ from one another, showing that the tradition itself was unsettled. They betray that they are merely paraphrasing the context, sometimes the context misunderstood. They are not trustworthy on the question on which they had the greatest advantage over us, viz. the question whether a name is borrowed or not from some earlier writer. An instance which

[1] Dryden gives the palm to Juvenal as a satirist, but he professedly takes Satire in the narrower sense. When Pope 'imitates Horace' he copies and even improves upon the wit of individual lines and passages, but he misses always much of the play, the delicacy, the inner unity of thought, and he puts Horace to very un-Horatian purposes. English 'Satire' has always had at its heart a personal bitterness which is entirely absent in Horace. The truest representation of his spirit in English literature is to be found in the gentler prose-satire of Steele and Addison.

[2] See on the Scholiasts, General Introd. to vol. i. § 2.

seems to combine several of these defects is to be found in their notes on the 'causa Petilli,' a *cause célèbre* of the time, or one still remembered, to which Horace alludes in Sat. 1. 4. 94, and again in 1. 10. 26. In the first passage he gives him the fuller name of Petillius Capitolinus, and speaks of the charge brought against him as that of theft, and of his having been acquitted. The Scholiasts write of this as with perfect knowledge, and say that Petillius was a friend of Augustus, who had charge of the Capitol, and was accused of having stolen the crown of Jupiter, but was acquitted by favour of Caesar. It has been pointed out however, as conclusively discrediting this story, (1) that a coin has been found with a temple on the obverse and the inscription Petillius Capitolinus, which seems to show that Capitolinus was a cognomen of the gens Petillia, and traced by them to some honourable origin; (2) that the crime of robbing Capitoline Jove of his crown was proverbial as early as Plautus: see Trin. 1. 2. 46, Menaechm. 5. 5. 38.

It has been already suggested that in looking for real names a distinction is probably to be drawn between Horace's earlier Satires (represented chiefly by Sat. 1. 2) and the later ones. In the greater part of them his purpose was general. He was assailing follies, not gibbeting individuals[1], and we have no indications or traditions of his having vented personal dislikes by making his enemies 'slide into verse and hitch . . in a rhyme.' At the same time he enforces his lessons by anecdotes, and sums up classes in individual names. He even justifies the method humorously by tracing it to the example of his good father, who taught him morals in a concrete shape, not by describing the character he was to aim at or avoid, but by pointing, as they passed in the street, to one and another as models or warnings (Sat. 1. 4. 105 f.). There are many cases in which we can imagine no motive for reticence, and in which the particularity of designation would lose all point if the particulars were not real. Such names are Sisyphus[2] and Turbo[3] the dwarfs; Fufius and Catienus, the actors[4]; Lepos[5] the dancer; Horace's neighbours in his old Apulian home, Flavius[6] the schoolmaster at Venusia, Servius Oppidius of Canusium[7], Ofellus[8], Cervius[9], Arellius[10]; oddities met

[1] We must exclude the bad poets and critics with whom he has both a personal and a literary quarrel, and whom he undoubtedly satirizes by name, Fannius, Hermogenes Tigellius, Demetrius, Furius Bibaculus, also the Stoic lecturers who bored him, Fabius and Crispinus. We exclude also the mysterious Canidia.

[2] Sat. 1. 3. 47.
[3] Sat. 2. 3. 310.
[4] Sat. 2. 3. 60, 61.
[5] Sat. 2. 6. 72.
[6] Sat. 1. 6. 72.
[7] Sat. 2. 3. 168.
[8] Sat. 2. 2. 2, etc.
[9] Sat. 2. 6. 77.
[10] Sat. 2. 6. 78.

on his travels, as Aufidius Luscus, the jack in office at Fundi[1]; some of the money-lenders well known about the Forum, and who could hardly strike again at a friend of Maecenas, Nerius, Perillius with his nick-name of Cicuta[2], the 'younger of the Novii,' the sight of whom accounts for the look of pain or the uplifted hand of Marsyas' statue[3]; some 'scurrae'; such a scornful list of the scum of society as in Sat. 1. 8. 39.

There are cases again in which we obviously have allusions to anecdotes or characters which were public property, not meant maliciously, but the employment by way of illustration of what was already in everyone's mouth. Such are for instance Labeo the type of a madman[4], Albucius and his poison, Scaeva and his long-lived mother, Turius the severe judge[5]. It is possible again that where stories or traits which reflect discredit are given the names may be the veils of known persons more or less transparent to Horace's contemporaries or his immediate circle.

But there are two sources of his anecdotes and of his names, which, though we cannot measure exactly how much is due to each, are certainly answerable for a good many, and which so far as they go show that his purpose was genuinely to illustrate and vivify his moral descriptions, not to give pain or teach the world to sneer.

1. It is certain that many of his stories and instances belong really to the last generation[6]. His satirical sketch of Tigellius' character in Sat. 1. 2. and 3 (which in the latter satire he makes typical of his satiric style) relates to one who was already dead. Fausta, 'the daughter of Sulla,' takes at least one scandal of Sat. 1. 2 some years back. Arbuscula the mime-actress, and the son of Aesopus, of whom stories are told in 1. 10. 77 and 2. 3. 239, are persons known to us in Cicero's letters. The reference to Alfenus in 1. 3. 130, whoever be the person, is by the tense of 'erat' thrown back to a date antecedent to the text. So is the story of Staberius' will in 2. 3. 84 f., with the further indication that the 'epulum arbitrio Arri' is to be illustrated from an anecdote told by Cicero in Vatin. 12. 30 f[7].

[1] Sat. 1. 5. 34. [2] Sat. 2. 3. 69, 75.

[3] Sat. 1. 6. 121.

[4] Sat. 1. 3. 82.

[5] Sat. 2. 1. 47–54.

[6] It will be seen that the same is the case in the Epistles.

[7] Are not some of the best stories due to his own invention, dramatic renderings of a general truth? This was only to do on a small scale what he does on a large one in all the Satires of Book II, where the whole scene and narrative is invented. It may be noticed how such a name as Opimius in Sat. 2. 3. 142 has every qualification for such a purpose. It is a good Roman name: it was familiar to readers of Lucilius: and its etymology lends itself to the play in the contrast 'pauper Opimius;' cp. 'immitis Glycerae' etc. in the Odes. Cp. such a story as that of Maenius (clearly an invented name) in Epp. 1. 15.

2. Some anecdotes and allusions are confessedly due to older poets, and it is certain that the list might be extended if we possessed Lucilius and the Latin dramatists in anything more than fragments. In Sat. 2. 2. 47 Horace refers to Gallonius as having introduced the 'acipenser' to Roman tables and speaks of the evil as having happened 'haud ita pridem.' But this is from Lucilius, a fragment to the effect being quoted by Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24. Three names which are found in Lucilius throw some light on Horace's methods of employing the names he found in his predecessors. (1) *Pacideianus*[1]. In Lucilius (4. 17) he is the 'best gladiator since the beginning of the world.' In Horace Sat. 2. 7. 98 his name is given casually as one of the three gladiators, the rough wall-drawing of whose performance fascinates Davus. If Horace uses a literary name here instead of a contemporary one, where may he not be doing so[2]? (2) *Maenius*. We know of Lucilius' use of the name from Porph. on Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 21, who quotes as from the older poet, 'Maenius columnam cum peteret,' and interprets it by the story that Maenius, when his home was sold over his head, reserved a column of it, thence called 'Maenii columna,' from whence he might see the gladiators. This is evidently a foolish invention to connect Maenius with the column, due to some one who did not know that the 'columna Maenia' was erected in honour of Maenius, the colleague of Camillus, in B.C. 338. We may suppose rather that in Lucilius there was a play on Maenius (i.e. some spendthrift) 'making for his own column,' i.e. subjecting himself to the jurisdiction of the 'triumviri capitales,' who sat by the columna Maenia; cp. the play in Cic. pro Sest. 8. 18. In any case 'Maenius' is to Horace a name that occurs when he wants one for a good-for-nothing fellow, the 'pot that blackens the kettle' in Sat. 1. 3. 21, the glutton and spendthrift in Epp. 1. 15. 26 f., possibly also the associate of Nomentanus in Sat. 1. 1. 101. (3) *Nomentanus* is a name which occurs in Horace in four different contexts. In the place just referred to he is with Naevius (or Maenius) the type of a spendthrift. In 1. 8. 11 he stands with 'Pantolabus scurra' as a representative of those who ruin themselves and come to a pauper's burial. The line is repeated in 2. 1. 22 as a specimen of Horace's personal satire. In 2. 3. 175 and 224 he is

[1] It is worth noticing that as in the case of Gallonius so in that of Pacideianus there is a double literary reminiscence; for Cicero draws attention to Lucilius' description of him in De opt. genere oratorum, 6. 17. Cp. Tusc. Disp. 2. 17. 41; ad Q. Fr. 3. 4. 2.

[2] Caelius, the brigand (1. 4. 69), has a name found in Lucilius, and the line in which it occurs, 'Ut semel in Caeli pugnas te invadere vidi,' makes it possible that he was a brigand in Lucilius also.

again a spendthrift, and in the second passage of that Satire a dramatic picture is given of his way of inviting the purveyors of luxury and vice to help him dispose of his fortune. In 2. 8 he is one of Nasidienus' two 'scurrae,' the other being 'Porcius.' We notice there that Nasidienus is evidently a disguised name, if not an invented character, and it is necessary therefore that though the guests are real persons the 'scurrae' of the host should have fictitious names. That of Porcius can hardly but be explained by 'Ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas' of his greedy mode of eating. Nomentanus is therefore, as elsewhere, a typical not a personal name. Now Nomentanus occurs in two fragments of Lucilius (2. 6. and 8) as the name of a man whom he is exposing and to whom he wishes ill. Yet the Schol. explains the name in Horace of one L. Cassius Nomentanus, who spent 7,000,000 sesterces on his gluttony, and whose cook Dama was hired by Sallustius Crispus. Even if there was such a person, we may yet think it probable that Horace was thinking, not of him, but of the Lucilian Nomentanus.

Horace refers from time to time to characters and scenes of Terence (1. 2. 20, 2. 3. 262 f.), and there is one reference which the Scholiast on A. P. 237 points out to a play of Caecilius [1]. But for his purpose the mimes and 'togatae [2]' would be still more appropriate, and that there are references to these in his writings can hardly be doubted.

It should be noticed that the literary use of names from the poets is quite in accordance with his way of using the prose author whom he knew best. 'A doctor' in Sat. 2. 3. 161 is 'Craterus,' the doctor of Cic. ad Att. 12. 13 and 14. The names that supply the dramatic framework of Sat. 2. 2, and 3, and probably 4, are from Cicero's letters. It is analogous also to his use of Greek stories (as of Polemon in 2. 3. 254) and of Homeric and tragic personages (2. 3. 132 f. and 187 f.) [3].

It has been often pointed out that some of Horace's names are adapted etymologically to the characters they indicate. That in inventing names he should employ this device is natural. It has been a device of satirists and allegorists in all ages, and he has

[1] According to a probable emendation of Ribbeck: the text has the impossible 'Lucilius.'

[2] The Schol. explains Epp. 1. 13. 14 as a reference to a play of Titinius. As he wrote 'togatae' or comedies of native Roman life it is very probable that 'Pyrrhia' is a wrong reading.

[3] Among the phrases which seem to want the explanation of some literary antecedent are the 'fecunda gens Meneni' of Sat. 2. 3. 287, and the perplexing 'correctus (or 'corrector') Bestius' of Epp. 1. 15. 37.

traces of it in the nomenclature of the Odes,—Phidyle, Lalage, Lyce, Bibuli Consulis, etc., see App. I. of vol. I. But it is not done wholesale nor on any apparent system. One of the most evident instances, 'Pantolabus scurra' (1. 8. 11, 2. 1. 22), is very probably, like Nomentanus, a stock name of satire, not Horace's own. Of others, the most certain are Opimius (2. 3. 142), Porcius (2. 8. 23), Novius the upstart (1. 6. 40). The Scholiasts assert that Maltinus in 1. 2. 25 was coined from 'malta,' a word in Lucilius for an effeminate person. Some colour is given by the verses which follow to the connection of Balbinus in 1. 3. 40 with 'balbutire.' The name Canidia in 1. 8, besides being as the Scholiasts say a substitution for Gratidia, may have been itself suggested by 'canus,' and if so, Sagana by 'saga,' though the quantity of the *a* is different. Other instances have been found in Cupiennius, 1. 2. 36, as from 'cupere'; Avidienus, 2. 2. 56, from 'avidus' (although here also there is the difference of quantity, and the person described was 'avarus' rather than 'avidus'); Pantilius, 1. 10. 58, from *πᾶν τίλλειν*; Sectanus (a v. l. for Scetanus in 1. 4. 112) from 'sectari'; Voranus, 1. 8. 39, from 'vorare.' Even when such doubtful instances are included the whole number is a small percentage of Horace's names. In several of the cases the other names used in the same connection have no such colour.

It is not perhaps irrelevant to notice that in the Satires as in the Odes if names are kept occasionally to a given character as Maenius and Nomentanus, some on the other hand are used in a subsequent Satire with no relation to their use in an earlier one. So Albucius 2. 1. 48 and 2. 2. 67, Barrus 1. 6. 30 and 1. 7. 8, Cervius 2. 1. 47 and 2. 6. 77, Naevius 1. 1. 101 and 2. 2. 68, Novius 1. 3. 21, 1. 6. 40 and 121. We may add Scaeva in Sat. 2. 1. 53 and Epp. 1. 17.

## § 7. *Order of the Satires in their several books.*

The number and nature of the poems to be arranged do not admit of as much thought or variation in their arrangement as appears in that of the Odes, but the principles at the bottom of the arrangement are the same. (1) It is not chronological. Sat. 1. 1, as we have seen, is subsequent to Sat. 2, if it be not, as many think, the last written in the Book; 1. 7 is perhaps the earliest of all. Sat. 2. 1 again has indications of the latest date to be found in the Book to which it belongs. (2) Each Book has its Satires written or

chosen as prologue and epilogue. (3) For the rest we may trace from time to time either links of thought which attract Satires together or the desire of variety which seems to keep them apart. Of the first, instances are Sat. 1. 2 working out the thought which had come to the front in 1. 1. 101 f.; 1. 4 giving its full significance to 1. 3; perhaps 2. 4 matching a sally against the Epicureans with 2. 3 which had laughed at the Stoics. Of the second, the separation of 2. 3 from 2. 7, of 2. 2 from 2. 4, and of that again from 2. 8. There is perhaps a suggestion of the irony so often seen in the placing of the Odes in the collocation of Sat. 2. 7, with its coarse slave-humour and its turning of his satiric sting upon himself, after 2. 6, in which his tone has been higher and more didactic than usual: compare the position of Epp. 1. 15, 16, 17.

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum praecordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

PERSIUS.

# LIBER PRIMUS.

## SATIRE I.

### THE FOLLY OF WISHING INSTEAD OF ENJOYING.

THIS folly is seen in its extreme form in the hoarder of money. His case, his unreasonableness and the vanity of his excuses, are set out at length, but the Satire begins and ends more generally. Men are always wishing for what they have not, and so they do not enjoy what they have, and when life is over do not feel that they have had their share.

Verses 1–12 state the difficulty generally. The world is a scene of discontent—restlessness—every one wishing to be what he is not.

(13–41). The absurdity of this is shown by two considerations.

13–22. (*a*) That if you could imagine men's wishes granted, they would not make the exchange. The wish is not a real one.

23–41. (*b*) That if you take the great object of wishing and motive of action, *money*, every one, whatever his profession, will tell you that he seeks it for an end—give him an assured competence and he looks to retire. He is like the ant storing for winter. Is he? The ant when winter comes uses its store and ceases from work, but the seeker after money never stops while there is a man left richer than himself.

(41–107). Horace then proceeds to argue more fully with the man who accumulates but does not use, partly directly, partly imagining and replying to pleas which he may be supposed to urge for himself.

41, 42. What is the pleasure of storing, however large an amount of precious metal, in the earth?

43, 44. 'If you once touch the heap it melts away.' But surely it is meant to be touched.

45–50. The pleasure is measured not by the size of the store but by the capacity of enjoyment. However full your barns are you can't eat more than I can.

51. 'It is pleasant to feel that you are drawing from a large store.'

52–60. It makes no difference if the amount we draw is the same. Nay, it does make a difference in another way. I prefer the clear and quiet little spring to the dangerous and turbid river.

61, 62. 'Where are we to stop? A man is estimated by his possessions.'

63–67. It is useless arguing—the miser is so wrapt in his self-esteem. If the people hiss him he will applaud himself.

68–79. You are like Tantalus, thirsting amid water. Money has definite uses—you get none of its pleasures—all its pains.

80–83. 'At least money secures help in sickness.'

84–91. You are alienating the love ready formed for you, and which you might so easily retain.

92–100. Take care that you do not come to the end of Ummidius.
101, 102. 'So you mean I must turn spendthrift and prodigal.'
103–108. There is something between a miser and a prodigal—a happy mean.
109–116. He returns to his original point. Life is spoilt by perpetual discontent—each trying to outdo his neighbour.
117–119. This is why we so rarely see Lucretius' picture of the 'satisfied guest,' ready to leave the banquet when his time comes and confess that he has enjoyed it.
120, 121. Enough—you will think I have been at Crispinus' stores.

The reference to Lucret. 3. 938 and 960 is made clear in v. 119 (see note on that line), but Horace has the whole passage from v. 931 in mind; v. 957 might serve as the text of this Satire, 'quia semper aves quod abest, praesentia temnis.'

QUI fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit illa
Contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?
'O fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
Miles ait multo iam fractus membra labore.
Contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris:
'Militia est potior. Quid enim? concurritur: horae
Momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'
Agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,

1. **quam sortem ... illa** = 'sorte illa quam,' the subst. being put with the rel. instead of with the demonstr. See on Epod. 2. 37.

2. **dederit . . . obiecerit.** The verbs are suited to the substantives. Deliberate choice assigns. Chance casts in one's way: her mode of distribution is after her kind, haphazard. The alternative means 'however they come by their lot,' whether they are responsible for the selection or not. B. reads 'sors,' but it has many miswritings in this Satire. 'Fors,' 'ratio' is a Ciceronian antithesis, ad Att. 14. 13 'sed haec fors viderit ea quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest.'

3. **laudet,** *μακαρίζει,* 'commends,' i. e. not for their qualities but for their lot. From the negative 'nemo' a positive subject ('unusquisque') must be understood for 'laudet.' So below, v. 109. For instances in prose see Madv. § 462 b.

**diversa sequentes,** those who follow another path.

4. **gravis annis.** Virg. Aen. 9. 246: cp. Liv. 7. 39 of veterans 'graves aetate.' On both sides Horace makes the moment of grumbling the moment of feeling the discomfort of the profession. The soldier when years and hard work begin to tell on him; the trader when he is caught by bad weather. For the latter cp. Od. 1. 1. 15, 2. 16. 1.

7. **quid enim,** *τί γάρ*; Sat. 2. 3. 132. Cp. our elliptical use of 'why,' 'what.' 'Why! there is the battle shock,' etc.

**horae momento,** 'in an hour's short space.' Epp. 2. 2. 172 'puncto mobilis horae.' Cp. Liv. 5. 7 'horae momento simul aggerem ac vineas . . . incendium hausit.'

9–12. Look into the law court. The lawyer when he feels the pinch of his profession, early and late, envies the countryman. The defendant when he has to make a journey from the country to appear in court thinks how much more convenient it would be to live in town.

9. **iuris legumque.** 'Ius' is opposed to 'lex' or 'leges' in several of its senses. It is 'law' or 'a body of law,' as opposed to a special enactment. It is used of departments of law, 'ius gentium,' 'ius honorarium,' which did

Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
Ille datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est
Solos felices viventes clamat in urbe.
Cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem
Delassare valent Fabium. Ne te morer, audi
Quo rem deducam. Si quis deus, 'En ego,' dicat,
'Iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
Mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus: eia!
Quid statis'? nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.
Quid causae est merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas

not belong to the Twelve Tables or to the legislative powers of the comitia. It is used for processes of law, 'in ius ire,' 'iure agere.' In such cases as the present (cp. Epp. 1. 16. 41 'qui consulta patrum qui leges iuraque servat') the conjunction is intended to express 'law on all its sides.'

10. **sub galli cantum**, 'at cock-crow,' an exaggeration, as when Cicero is laughing at the 'iurisconsulti,' pro Mur. 9. 22 'Vigilas tu de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille (the soldier) ut eo quo intendit mature cum exercitu perveniat; te gallorum, illum buccinarum cantus exsuscitat.'

11. **ille**, *δεικτικῶς*. That poor fellow.

**datis vadibus**, lit. 'having named sureties.' The person who had done so was bound, 'respondere vadato . . . quod si non fecisset, perdere litem' Sat. 1. 9. 36.

13. **cetera de genere hoc**, *τὰ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα*, a Lucretian formula, 4. 590, etc.

14. **Fabium.** 'Fabius maximus, Narbonensis, equestri loco natus Pompeianas partes secutus aliquot libros ad Stoicam philosophiam pertinentes conscripsit' Porph. His name recurs in Sat. 1. 2. 134. He seems to be a Stoical teacher whom Horace is ridiculing as he does Crispinus in these same Satires.

15. **quo rem deducam.** The 'sum of the whole matter,' the conclusions to which what I have said so far has been leading. 'All this desire of change is unreal. They would not change if they could.'

**si quis deus**: the thought is repeated in Sat. 2. 7. 24 'Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat usque recuses.'

**en ego . . . iam faciam.** We need not separate the two clauses grammatically. 'See, here am I! I will,' etc. It is one sentence, but each word gives its own colour to it. 'En' calls attention to the speaker: 'ego,' the emphatic pronoun, gives the assurance that the promise can be fulfilled, 'you have the word of a god:' 'iam,' 'this moment.'

17. **consultus**, absol. = 'iurisconsultus,' as Epp. 2. 2. 87, 159. Heindorf points out that 'rusticus' is certainly the pred. It was the lawyer who had wished (v. 8) to be a countryman. The countryman had only wished to live in town.

**hinc . . . hinc.** It is a complete metaphor from the theatre. They are bidden to change their parts and accordingly to change their places on the stage.

18. **eia!** 'Quick!' 'move on.' So Sat. 2. 6. 23 'Eia, Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat urge.' It stands after the imperatives as here in Virg. Aen. 9. 38 'Ferte citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros Hostis adest, eia!'

19. **nolint.** The construction returns to a proper apodosis to 'si quis deus . . . dicat' v. 15, after the interruption caused by the momentary continuance of the dramatic form 'quid statis'?

**licet esse beatis**, for the dat. cp. A. P. 372 and see Madv. § 393 c.

20. **quid causae.** Madv. 285 b.

**ambas buccas inflet.** A comic description of the expression of anger. The Greek *τὰς γνάθους φυσᾶν* (Dem.

Iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac
Tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?
Praeterea ne sic, ut qui iocularia, ridens
Percurram: quamquam ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima:
Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo:
Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
Perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne

de Fals. Leg. 442), is used rather of the grimaces of self-importance; but φυσᾶν is used in both senses. Plautus (Bacch. 4. 2. 21) has 'sufflari' of an angry soldier. Cp. perhaps Horace's own expression A. P. 94 'iratus . . . tumido delitigat ore.'

**illis**: it is indifferent whether we consider it as a dat. after the anger of 'iratus' or the expression of anger in 'buccas inflet.'

**ambas**, like the Greek emphatic dual (as χεῖρε, ὄσσε), giving a rhetorical force, although it is one which will not bear pressing logically, as though he could actually puff one cheek without the other.

23. **praeterea**: another Lucretian formula of transition. He passes, with an apology for his satirical tone, to the second proof of the unreality of the wish for change, namely, that though men of all trades profess to toil for the sake of attaining the power to rest, they are never satisfied to take the rest.

**ut qui iocularia**, sc. 'percurrit,' or perhaps some more colourless verb, as 'narrat' or 'tractat,' to be supplied from 'percurram.' For the ellipse cp. Sat. 1. 3. 9, 1. 8. 32.

**iocularia.** Cic. de Leg. 1. 20. 53 'ioculare istuc quidem et a multis saepe derisum,' sc. a saying of jest, a drollery. Heindorf thinks the word had a definite reference to the badinage of the Atellanae, quoting Livy's account of the beginning of stage-plays at Rome (7. 2) 'iuventus . . . inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus.' The quotation however does not establish any technical sense in the word itself. It is not clear what the special lightness of treatment is for which Horace apologizes. Can the dramatic picture, the apparition and offer of the deity, the tragi-comic anger of Jupiter, be a parody?

24. **percurram** can hardly be intrans. 'run on to the end,' as Dill[r]. and others, for as we saw we have to elicit from it a transitive verb in order to govern 'iocularia.' It seems to mean 'pass lightly, rapidly, by.'

25. **olim**, the indefinite time of similes or fables: Epp. 1. 10. 42, 2. 2. 197, and see on Epod. 3. 1.

**crustula.** Sat. 2. 4. 47, dim. of 'crustum,' small pastry.

**blandi**, 'coaxing.' Horace is no doubt thinking of Lucretius' simile 1. 936 foll.

26. **elementa**, their 'alphabet.' Epp. 1. 1. 27.

27. **sed tamen**: not introducing the apodosis or leading clause to 'ne sic . . . percurram' (that is to be looked for in the continuance, in an altered key, of the direct statement, 'Ille gravem,' etc., see on Od. 1. 33. 1), but a conclusion of the parenthesis; 'but yet, though satirical humour has its place and use, let us for the moment be grave.'

28, 29. **ille . . . hic**, δεικτικῶς. Cp. v. 11.

**gravem duro**, for the relation of the epithet, see on Od. 1. 3. 10: the plough had need to be tough if the ground is heavy: cp. also Epod. 5. 30. It is the hard toil of the ploughman which is in point.

**perfidus caupo.** Cp. Sat. 1. 5. 4 'cauponibus malignis.' The purpose of the epithet adds to its sting. He is naming in the case of each profession what costs the most toil. The tavern-keeper's hard cheating is set off against the countryman's ploughing, the soldier's campaigning, the trader's dangerous voyages.

Audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem
Sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
Aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
Parvula, nam exemplo est, magni formica laboris
Ore trahit quodcunque potest atque addit acervo,
Quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
Quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
Non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
Quaesitis sapiens; cum te neque fervidus aestus

30. **currunt**, of sailing, as Virgil's 'vastum trabe currimus aequor.' So Od. 1. 28. 36; Epp. 1. 1. 45, 1. 11. 27.

**hac mente**: Sat. 2. 2. 90.

32. **aiunt**. The position of the verb seems to imply that these are their own expressions.

**cibaria**, used gen. of a soldier's rations or the allowances in kind of other public servants, and so the meaning here is 'enough for a bare and measured maintenance'; **congesta**, as Palm. points out, introduces the similitude.

33. **exemplo**, the model, the stock example, as in the Book of Proverbs 6. 6–8, 30. 25, and Virg. G. 1. 186 'inopi metuens formica senectae'; Aen. 4. 402 'formicae . . . hiemis memores.'

**parvula . . . magni laboris** recalls the antithesis which pervades the fourth Georgic, 'ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant.'

36. **quae**. As the editors say = 'at ea'; cp. 'quod si comminuas' v. 43. The adversative force is of course in the thought, not in the Pronoun. It is a reply. What the relative does is to make us feel the identity of the subject in the two statements. Horace takes the money-getters on their own ground. They appeal to the example of the ant. This very ant condemns them. There is the same force (whatever be the case or construction of 'quod') in the ordinary use of 'quod si,' 'whereas if,' 'yes, but if': it puts the new conditional statement and the original statement at the same starting-point.

**inversum annum**. Summer and winter are represented like night and day (Virg. Aen. 2. 250 'vertitur interea caelum') as two hemispheres which succeed each other. In the winter the lower one has come to the top.

**contristat Aquarius**. Virg. G. 3. 279 'pluvio contristat frigore caelum'; ib. 304 'cum frigidus olim Iam cadit extremoque irrorat Aquarius anno.' The sun entered the sign of Aquarius on Jan. 16.

37. **usquam**, with a verb of motion, as we say 'where' for 'whither.' Cp. Sat. 2. 7. 30, Epp. 1. 7. 25.

**et**, after a negative clause; see on Od. 1. 27. 16 and Epod. 15. 14.

**illis**, those of which you were speaking.

38. **sapiens**. So I have printed with Orelli, Ritter, Dill[r]., and Munro. Keller gives 'patiens.' The balance of external evidence is nearly even. B. has 'patiens,' which the pseudo-Acron read 'patiens atque contenta.' Cruquius gives 'sapiens' as the reading of all his MSS., and the Comm. Cruq. interpreted it 'prudens, provida.' The schol. of Porph. is so much mutilated as to be valueless in evidence. Keller points out that the same confusion infests the MSS. in Epp. 1. 7. 40. 'Sapiens' is more in Horace's style, summing up his view of the ant's conduct in the last word, before he proceeds to contrast with it that of her professed imitator; 'patiens,' although Sat. 2. 6. 91 ('praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso') and Epp. 1. 17. 13 ('si pranderet olus patienter') show that it might well stand for 'contenta,' would not be as pointed.

**fervidus aestus . . . hiems**. The expression is at first taken from the case of the ant, 'she rests in winter, you rest never': in **ignis, mare, ferrum** it is proverbial. See Od. 1. 16. 10, Epp. 1. 1. 46. Orelli quotes Eupolis (Frag. Com. ed. Meinek. 2. p. 487) οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

Demoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,
Nil obstet tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter.
Quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
'Quod si comminuas vilem redigatur ad assem.'
At ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
Milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
Non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus: ut si
Reticulum panis venales inter onusto
Forte vehas humero, nihilo plus accipias quam
Qui nil portarit. Vel dic quid referat intra
Naturae fines viventi, iugera centum an
Mille aret? 'At suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'
Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
Cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?

40. **alter**, 'any second person'; cp. Sat. 1. 5. 33, 42; Epp. 1. 6. 32; Madv. § 496.

42. Orelli points out that the whole verse is a fuller expression of Sat. 1. 8. 43 'abdiderint furtim terris'; here 'furtim' is more closely connected with 'defossa,' 'timidum' with 'deponere.'

43. **quod**: see on v. 36 'quae.' 'Yes, but this mass of which you speak if you were once to break in upon it would dwindle to a paltry "as."' This is the first answer of the hoarder.

44. **ni id fit**, i. e. 'nisi comminuis.'

45. **milia frumenti centum**, sc. 'modiorum.'

**triverit area**, the conditional use without a conditional particle; cp. Sat. 2. 3. 292. For the expression itself cp. Virg. G. 1. 298 'terit area fruges,' and cp. Sat. 2. 8. 46 'cella pressit.' Prof. Palmer points out the resemblance of this line to two lines of Lucilius (18. 1 and 2.) 'Milia ducentum frumenti tollis medimnum, vini mille cadum,' 'aeque fruniscor ego ac tu'; lines which may very possibly come from a similar argument.

46. **hoc**, 'for that reason.' Sat. 1. 3. 93 'minus hoc iucundus'; 1. 9. 8; Madv. § 256, obs. 3.

**capiet**, 'hold'; 'you will not be able to eat more.'

47. **reticulum**, a bag made of netting. Cp. Juv. S. 12. 60 'cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagenae'; he is speaking as Horace is of the things carried on a journey. We may remember the travellers' difficulties and niceties about bread, Sat. 1. 5. 89–91, and see on Epp. 1. 15. 14.

**venales** = 'servos.' For the picture of the train of slaves following a great man on a journey cp. Sat. 1. 6. 108.

49. **referat . . . viventi**: 'viventi' is best explained by Heindorf as not governed by 'referat,' but as a dative of reference, analogous to the dative used with adjectives to signify a person in respect to whom the property exists, as in 'onus grave ferentibus,' 'what does it matter in the eyes of, in respect of, one who lives,' etc.?

**intra naturae fines**: if the wishes and indulgences of life are limited to what nature requires. Yonge quotes Seneca, Epist. 16 'si ad naturam vives nunquam eris pauper; si ad opiniones nunquam eris dives.' Cp. Hor. Od. 3. 1. 25–32.

51. **at suave est . . . acervo**. This is the second apology for accumulating.

52. **relinquas**, still allow, do not prevent.

53. **cumeris**: cp. Epp. 1. 7. 30 'in cumeram frumenti.' The Schol. explains 'cumera' as a box or bin of wickerwork or sometimes of earthenware in which corn was kept, also as a vessel of measurement containing five or six 'modii.'

Ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna,
Vel cyatho, et dicas, ‘Magno de flumine mallem
Quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.’ Eo fit,
Plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,
Cum ripa simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer.
At qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo
Turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis.
At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso
‘Nil satis est,’ inquit, ‘quia tanti quantum habeas sis.’
Quid facias illi? Iubeas miserum esse libenter
Quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis
Sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces
Sic solitus: ‘Populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.’

54. **urna . . . cyatho**: both liquid measures; the ‘urna’ being 24 sextarii or half an ‘amphora,’ i. e. a little less than 3 gallons, the ‘cyathus’ being $\frac{1}{12}$ of the ‘sextarius,’ ‘half a wine-glass.’

55. **mallem.** ‘I could wish if I had the choice.’ This is the best supported reading. Some MSS. have ‘malim,’ and Dillr. and Munro amongst other editors prefer it. The picture is not so much at the moment of a man choosing between offered lots as of one dissatisfied with his own. The answer in the next sentence is, ‘let him have his choice and it will often end in his ruin.’

56. **tantundem**, though it be exactly the same quantity.

**eo fit**, ‘so it comes to pass.’ The similitude has passed into a fable.

58. **Aufidus acer**, ‘violens’ Od. 3. 30. 10, ‘longe sonans’ Od. 4. 9. 2, cp. 4. 14. 25; the Aufidus stands with Horace generally for a mountain torrent in flood: see vol. i. p. 36.

59. **neque limo turbatam**, a point added to the original image. The flooding river is muddy as well as dangerous; ‘allegorice sordidos quaestus,’ Acr.: the dirt which has to be swallowed by one who makes haste to be rich.

61, 62. The third argument of the hoarder.

61. **bona pars**: cp. A. P. 297: ‘bona pro magna dictum, ut saepe Ennius et alii veteres,’ Porph. Lucretius (5. 1025) and Terence (Eun. 1. 2. 43) have ‘bona magnaque pars’; Cic. de Or. 2. 3 ‘bonam partem sermonis.’

**cupidine falso**, as ‘pravi’ Od. 3. 24. 51; ‘mistaken’: for the gender see on Od. 2. 16. 15.

62. **tanti quantum habeas sis.** The miser is quoting (it seems) Lucilius (incert. 5. 22, recovered from Schol. on Juv. S. 3. 142) ‘quantum habeas tantum ipse sies tantique habearis.’ The mood is probably the same as in the original, ‘sis’ = ἂν εἴης. Heindorf explains it as a return, after ‘inquit,’ to the orat. obliqua.

63. **illi**, the man who as the representative of the ‘bona pars’ is supposed to have answered ‘nil satis est.’ Bentley would read ‘miseram,’ so that ‘illi’ may refer directly to the ‘bona pars.’ For the dat. cp. Cic. pro Caec. 11. 30 ‘quid huic tu homini facias?’

64. **quatenus**, ‘inasmuch as,’ Od. 3. 24. 30; Sat. 1. 3. 76, 2. 4. 57. I take the opportunity of correcting a careless misstatement in my first edition on the first of these passages. It is a frequent use in Lucretius; see Munro on 2. 927.

**id facit**, sc. ‘miser est.’ Sat. 1. 4. 79. Such self-delusion is impenetrable; bring home to him the fact that the world does *not* estimate him the higher for his wealth, he only falls back on his own approbation.

Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina—Quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis
Indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris
Cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
Panis ematur, olus, vini sextarius, adde
Quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.
An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
Formidare malos fures, incendia, servos
Ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? Horum
Semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
'At si condoluit tentatum frigore corpus,
Aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
Adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te

68–79. All the time you are getting none of the pleasure of your wealth, though you get all its inconvenience.

68. Horace begins as in epic vein, ('commendandum est hoc pronuntiatione' Acr.,) he is interrupted by a smile from his auditor. Why does he smile? Very possibly, Heindorf answers (quoting Cic. Tusc. 1. 6. 10 'adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?') at the reference apparently serious to the old-world myth of Tantalus. Horace hastens to explain that it is an allegory; myth though it be, change only the name and it is strictly true and of yourself.

71. **indormis**: cp. Virg. G. 2. 507 'condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro'; Aen. 6. 610 'qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis.'

**inhians**, keeping even in sleep the look of eager attention.

**tamquam sacris**: Sat. 2. 3. 110 'metuensque velut contingere sacrum,' where see note.

72. **tabellis**, which please no sense but the eye.

72–78. Heindorf pointed out that Horace is probably imitating some lines of Menander (Κυβερνῆται 1–4) *τἀργύριον εἶναι, μειράκιόν, σοι φαίνεται | οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθ' ἡμέραν μόνον | τιμὴν παρασχεῖν δυνατόν, ἄρτων, ἀλφίτων, | ὄξους, ἐλαίου, μείζονός τ' ἄλλου τινός.*

74. **vini sextarius**, about a pint; a temperate man's allowance. It was Augustus' maximum; Suet. Aug. 77.

75. **doleat negatis**, Sat. 1. 2. 112 'quid [natura] sit dolitura negatum.'

77. **malos fures**: the miser holds up his hands at their wickedness.

78. **hoc**, summing up the previous infinitives; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 60.

79. **bonorum**, sc. 'vigilare,' 'formidare,' etc.; it points the irony of the question 'hoc iuvat'? is this your idea of pleasure? For the gen. after 'pauperrimus' cp. Od. 3. 30. 11 'pauper aquae,' Sat. 2. 3. 142 'pauper . . . argenti,' and so 'dives' Epp. 2. 2. 31, etc.

80–83. The fourth apology for accumulating.

80. **condoluit**, from 'condolesco,' the inchoative form; the preposition is intensive: Plaut. Truc. 2. 8. 2 'mihi de vento miserae condoluit caput.'

**tentatum**: see on Od. 1. 16. 23.

81. **adfixit**, 'has nailed you,' 'made you a prisoner,' to your bed. Perhaps a case where (with Bent., Orell., Ritter, Munro) we may prefer the reading of a minority of MSS., the majority, incl. V, reading 'affixit.' There is a similar variety where there can be little doubt that 'adfigit' is the true reading in Sat. 2. 2. 79 'adfigit (affligit) humo divinae particulam aurae.' Cp. Seneca, Ep. 67 'ago gratias senectuti quod me lectulo adfixit.' 'Adfixit' suits better the whole picture 'assideat,' 'roget ut te suscitet.'

Suscitet ac gnatis reddat carisque propinquis.'
Non uxor salvum te volt, non filius; omnes
Vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.
Miraris, quum tu argento post omnia ponas,
Si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?
An si cognatos, nullo natura labore
Quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
Infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum
In Campo doceat parentem currere frenis?
Denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus

85. **noti**, 'acquaintances.' Cic. pro Caelio 2. 3 'notis ac maioribus natu.' It stands here as a class in the descending scale of intimates below 'vicini.'

**pueri atque puellae.** Sat. 2. 3. 130 'Insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae.' It has, as Heindorf suggested, the air of a proverbial expression, and perhaps only means like 'old and young,' 'man and maid,' and the like, 'all the world'; but compared with Od. 3. 1. 4, it may well have the more definite meaning of 'the judgment of the simplest.'

88. **an si.** This is the reading of B, of Keller's D, E, of 'two Bland,' and it is interpreted by Porph. It is supported by Bentley and of recent editors by Ritter and Macleane. If we accept it the sense is plain. Horace has said, 'Do you wonder at finding that no one pays you the love which you are not earning'? He adds an alternative suggestion, 'Or can it be that you imagine that, though Nature gave you the love of kin without asking for any toil on your part, it would be a ridiculously impossible task for you to try to keep it?' Bentley justifies the taking 'nullo labore' for 'with no labour *to you*' by Sen. Apocolocyntosis 'Sponte sua festinat opus nulloque labore Mollia contorto distendunt stamina fuso,' and id. Epist. 84 'quod in corpore nostro videmus sine ulla opera facere naturam.' More difficulty is introduced if with Orelli, Dill^r., and Munro we read 'At si.' This also has considerable MS. authority. It still leaves it open to us to point the sentence as a question (as Munro) and to take it substantially as before. The majority however of those who accept it take the sentence categorically. 'Nay, should you think at no cost of labour to hold and keep the love of the kin whom nature gives you would be wasting your pains as utterly as one who should try,' etc. Bentley objected to this, (1) the involved order of the words 'natura quos tibi dat' interrupting the construction of 'nullo labore retinere' (a harshness hardly met by the reference to Sat. 1. 5. 72 and 2. 1. 60. Dill^r. would get over the difficulty by taking 'nullo labore' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'dat' and 'retinere,' but this is beyond Horace's use of that construction), (2) the apparent contradiction of 'nullo labore,' 'operam perdas.' How can you waste your labour if you spend none? (3) the want of correspondence in the similitude 'si quis asellum,' etc. The difficulty in that case lies with the intractable nature of the material; but according to this interpretation the difficulty in the thing to be illustrated lies with the insufficient trouble of the operator.

90. **asellum currere.** The Comm. Cruq. vouches for the existence of a proverbial expression 'docere asinum currere,' and it has been supposed to be alluded to in Scipio's jest on Ti. Claudius Asellus, 'agas asellum et cetera' Cic. de Or. 2. 64. 258 with Wilkins' note.

**parentem frenis**, as if it was a horse, 'equus frenis, asinus fusti paret.' Düntzer.

92. **denique**, 'The sum of my answer is.' It is intended to introduce the last word on the general subject of hoarding, although the miser interrupts with yet one more plea, so that there is room (v. 106) for a second 'denique': but Horace is still specially answering the argument that money would secure attention in sickness. The futility of

Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
Incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Ummidius quidam: non longa est fabula: dives
Ut metiretur nummos; ita sordidus ut se
Non unquam servo melius vestiret; adusque
Supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus
Opprimeret metuebat. At hunc liberta securi
Divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
'Quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius aut sic
Ut Nomentanus?' Pergis pugnantia secum

the plea has been exposed. He adds a picture of the end of the miser's friendless life, murdered by his venal attendant-paramour, not without some kind of approbation from the world.

**finis quaerendi**: the expression is from Lucilius, fragm. incert. 1. 6 'Virtus quaerendae rei finem scire modumque.'

**plus** answers to 'minus,' 'since you have more [than you had] fear penury less [than you did].'

94. **ne facias quod**, the colourless use of 'facere,' standing, as our 'to do,' for some more definite verb; see on v. 64; 'lest that befall you which befell Ummidius.'

95. Bentley wished to substitute 'qui tam' for **quidam** against the MSS., and Palmer follows him.

96. **ut metiretur**, to the point of estimating his money by weight instead of by counting—a proverbial expression. Cf. Xen. Hellenic. 3. 2. 27 *τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον*: 'dives ut metiretur' would be Horatian, see Sat. 2. 7. 10: but here 'ita' is probably supplied from the second clause.

100. **divisit medium**. Virg. Aen. 9. 750 'Et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem Dividit.'

**fortissima Tyndaridarum**, as Bentley explains it, lit. 'bravest of the children of Tyndarus' (with Bentley the 'Tyndaridarum' is a masc. form)—i. e. a second Clytemnestra—*γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ*. The epithet 'fortissima' therefore properly belongs to Clytemnestra, not to her imitator, but the reference to heroic precedent is meant to make his fate somewhat ridiculous, as though the world would smile at it and think it served him right rather than be indignant at it. It has been suggested that there may have been a further appropriateness in the actual name of the freedwoman (for the story is clearly a real one)—a 'Clytemnestra' or 'Tyndaris.'

101. The miser's last plea, 'What! you wish me to be a spendthrift.'

**vivam Naevius**, 'sic ut' is to be borrowed from the following clause. See on v. 96, and cp. the similar omission of 'ut' in the second clause in Epod. 1. 34. Naevius (or Nevius) is the reading of the MSS. It was altered to Maenius first by Glareanus, with next to no external grounds, in order to identify the representative of prodigality here with the Maenius of Sat. 1. 3. 21 and Epp. 1. 15. 26, and so Orelli and Dill[r]. give it.

102. **Nomentanus**. Cp. Sat. 1. 8. 11, 2. 1. 22, 2. 3. 175, 224, 2. 8. 23, 25, 60. The Scholiasts call him Cassius Nomentanus, 'adeo sine respectu calculorum suorum prodigus ut septuagies gulae ac libidini impenderit,' and make him belong to Horace's generation, giving a story that Sallust the historian hired his cook for 100,000 sesterces a year. The form of Acron's note however betrays its little value, 'aliter, Nomentanus aut nomen proprium est aut gentile de Nomentana civitate.' In reality the name is from Lucilius (fragm. 2. 4 and 5). See Introd. to Satires, p. 12.

**pergis**, 'you proceed to set together forehead to forehead things that fight one another,' i.e. to set off against one another, as if there was no neutral third alternative, contradictory opposites.

Frontibus adversis componere: non ego avarum
Quum veto te fieri vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.
Est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli.
Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
Illuc unde abii redeo, qui nemo, ut avarus,
Se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentes,
Quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber
Tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum
Turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
Ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,

103. **frontibus adversis**, a filling out of the metaphor of 'componere,' though in terms which suggest rather a bull-fight, Virg. Aen. 12. 716. Lucretius uses the phrase of two clouds meeting, 6. 116.

**componere** is used of getting up a fight between two gladiators: cp. Sat. 1. 7. 20. Palmer prefers to make it = 'reconcile.'

104. **fieri** belongs to both clauses.

**vappam ac nebulonem.** Horace puts the two names together again in Sat. 1. 2. 12. 'Vappa' is properly wine which had lost its flavour: so Sat. 1. 5. 16, 2. 3. 144. Catullus 28. 5 applies it in special opposition to the name 'Frugi' (see Ellis in loco) to a man whose character is gone. 'Nebulo' is a word of Lucilius: 14. 20 'lucifugus nebulo'; 20. 9 'nugator ac nebulo.' In the first passage he seems to be alluding to its etymology, 'a skulker.'

105. According to the Scholiasts Horace has put real names (Tanais being a freedman of Maecenas) to a coarse Greek proverb which expresses the alternative of excess and defect.

106. **est modus in rebus**, i. e. 'in omnibus rebus,' 'modus,' 'measure,' 'moderation,' the Greek *μέτριον, μεσότης*. Horace perhaps has in mind the verse of Lucilius quoted on v. 92, where 'modus' and 'finis' are brought together. As the 'denique' seems to show he is returning to what he said there.

108. **qui nemo, ut.** This was the reading of V. There is in favour of it (1) that this is 'the point from which he started,' 'Qui fit Maecenas,' etc. The following words 'laudet diversa sequentes' show that we are going back to the very question propounded in vv. 1, 2; (2) that the accidental omission of 'qui' will explain 'nemo ut,' and (for the purpose of avoiding the hiatus) 'nemon ut.' It is hard to see how 'qui' can have arisen from either of the other readings. The difficulty lies in explaining 'ut avarus.' Can it mean 'Why as the hoarder [*is not*] so no one is satisfied with himself'? Or does the phrase 'se probet,' which alone does not come from vv. 1, 2, lead us back to the special story of the miser at Athens, v. 66 'at mihi plaudo': 'why no one imitates the miser in the story'? Prof. Palmer proposes to understand 'fiat' between 'qui' and 'ut,' 'how it comes that,' taking 'nemo avarus' together, but he gives no example of such an ellipsis.

112. **hunc atque hunc**, 'one and then another.'

113. **sic** with 'festinanti'; one who is started on this race always finds a richer man than himself to compare himself with, just as in a chariot-race each driver's eyes are set on the one before him, not on those he has passed.

114. The resemblance of the commencement 'Ut cum carceribus,' followed by 'Instat equis auriga,' to Virg. G. 1. 512 foll. 'Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae . . . Fertur equis auriga' is too great to be accidental. Whether any argument can be drawn from this as to the date of either poem may be doubted. See Prof. Sellar,

Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
Praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
Inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum
Dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vita
Cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
Iam satis est. Ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
Compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

Roman Poets Virgil, ch. 5, note on p. 174. He thinks Virgil was the copyist. For the 'carceres' see Dict. Ant. s. v. Circus.

115. **illum praeteritum,** 'that other competitor whom he has passed:' 'illum,' perhaps with some sense of contempt. 'Extremos inter euntem,' the expression of his contempt, 'as amongst the hindmost in the race.'

119. **uti conviva satur,** cp. Epp. 2. 2. 214. It is from Lucret. 3. 938 'Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis Aequo animoque capis securam stulte, quietem'? and ib. 959 'nec opinanti mors ad caput astitit ante Quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum.' See Munro on the first of these passages. He points out that 'verbum non amplius addam' is a verbal echo of another line from this passage, though the sense is different, 'cur amplius addere quaeris' v. 941. Notice that Lucretius is tracing the unreadiness to die to the same cause as Horace, 'quia semper aves quod abest, praesentia temnis.' We have in fact the germ of the Satire.

120. **Crispini**: Sat. 1. 3. 139, 1. 4. 14, 2. 7. 45. From these passages we gather that he was a fluent writer (perhaps, as the Scholiasts say, of verses) and a Stoic, and that he had incurred Horace's contempt; see above on v. 14. There is nothing to be added to this from external sources.

**scrinia**: Epp. 2. 1. 113. Cylindrical cases for rolls of papyrus. It seems to mean here 'the cases (Crispinus is so voluminous that he needs more than one) which contain Crispinus' writings.'

**lippi,** probably in a moral sense 'purblind': cp. Sat. 1. 3. 25, where it is part of a definite metaphor, and see Conington on Pers. S. 1. 79. Bentley, taking it literally, and thinking that Horace could not ridicule in another an infirmity which attached to himself (Sat. 1. 5. 39, Epp. 1. 1. 29), wished to read 'lippum.'

# SATIRE II.

## A FOOL'S WAY OF AVOIDING ONE FOLLY IS TO FALL INTO ANOTHER.

THIS is the text of the earlier part of the Satire, and, though the thread is not kept perfectly, of the unreadable discussion of vice in which it ends. It is a text on which Horace is fond of dwelling—we have already had it in Sat. 1. 101 f.

The general view is no doubt right which makes this a specimen of Horace's earliest attempts at Satire. It is the Satire, which by quoting v. 27 in Sat. 1. 4. 92, he makes the typical instance of the personality by which he had roused alarm and enmity. The Scholiasts tell us that the real Maltinus (or Malchinus) of v. 21 was Maecenas. If this tradition is true, it must follow that the Satire was written before Horace had made Maecenas' acquaintance, and that it was by Maecenas' wish that the line was left as it had stood. Such a liberty was certainly never repeated.

For the Tigellius of v. 3 see introduction to the next Satire.

AMBUBAIARUM collegia, pharmacopolae,
Mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
Maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.
Quippe benignus erat. Contra hic, ne prodigus esse
Dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,
Frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.
Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
Praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
Omnia conductis coëmens obsonia nummis,
Sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,

1. **Ambubaiarum**. The word occurs again in a similar connection in Suet. Ner. 27 'ambubaiarum ministeria.' It is explained by the Scholiasts as a designation of Syrian women who played the flute—from the Syriac name of the instrument. Cp. Juv. 3. 62 'Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes Et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas Vexit.'

**collegia**, 'guilds,' 'fraternities,' a term used ironically.

**pharmacopolae**, vendors of drugs. They would have a bad name both as quacks and as purveyors of poison—such a 'pharmacopola circumforaneus' is mentioned as an agent in murder in Cic. Clu. 14. 40.

2. **balatrones**, perhaps the same word as 'blatero,' and so probably meaning properly 'idle or random talkers.' It occurs as the nickname of a 'scurra' in Sat. 2. 8. 21, etc. Here it seems to designate some class of mime-actors.

4. **quippe**: gives their reason, and in their own words. They called him 'generous.'

**hic**. As 'hunc' in v. 7 'another.'

8. **ingrata**, 'thankless,' 'insatiable.'

**stringat**, as a bough is stripped of leaves.

9. **conductis**, 'borrowed,' as Juv. S. 11. 46 'conducta pecunia.'

Respondet. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,
Dives agris, dives positis in fenore nummis:
Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat atque
Quanto perditior quisque est tanto acrius urget;
Nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili
Sub patribus duris tironum. 'Maxime,' quis non,
'Iuppiter!' exclamat simul atque audivit? 'At in se
Pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.' Vix credere possis
Quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti
Fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato
Inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic.
Si quis nunc quaerat, 'Quo res haec pertinet?' illuc:
Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui

11. **laudatur ab his**, as Tigellius by the street-singers, etc. The point is not that his conduct is variously judged, but that he only attains the praise of one party at the expense of incurring blame from another. In his dread of being thought mean he becomes extravagant.

12. **Fufidius**, 'avarus quidam fenerator' Schol.

**vappae ac nebulonis**, Sat. 1. 1. 104.

13. The line recurs in A. P. 421. For **positis** cp. Epod. 2. 70.

14. **quinas mercedes**: five interests, i.e. five times the usual interest. This was 'centesimae usurae,' one per cent. per month, or 12 per cent. per annum. This usurer exacted 60 per cent. With the expression cp. 'binae centesimae,' i.e. 24 per cent. Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 71. 165.

**capiti exsecat**. Porph. explained, 'slices off,' 'deducts from the capital,' i.e. in lending the money he deducts at once the first month's interest. Orelli and Ritter object to this explanation that it ignores the distributive force of 'quinas,' which ought to imply 'on each occasion,' and therefore take it in the more general sense as a stronger form of 'extorquet.' It recalls Seneca's phrase (Benef. 7. 10) 'sanguinolentas usuras,' 'that draw blood.' 'He draws from his principal, even if it takes a knife to do it, five times the usual interest.'

16. **nomina sectatur**, i.e. he tries to get their names into his books as borrowers. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 105 'cautos nominibus rectis nummos.'

17. **tironum**. The words 'tiro' and 'tirocinium' are used frequently of the moment when a young man exchanged the 'praetexta' for the 'toga pura' or 'virilis,' and especially of a ceremony with which the change was accompanied when he was led into the forum by his father, 'deductus in forum tiro' Suet. Ner. 7.

19. **pro**, 'in proportion to.'

20. **pater ille**, Menedemus in the Heautontimorumenus.

24. The key line of the Satire. Cp. the argument in Sat. 1. 1. 101 foll. It is implicitly the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue lying in the mean: see Epp. 1. 18. 9.

25. **Maltinus**. The MSS. and the Scholiasts are divided between the forms Maltinus (or Malthinus) and Malchinus. Maltinus is said to be derived from 'malta,' a Lucilian word for an effeminate person, but Maltinus is a Roman name found in history and in inscriptions. For the traditional reference of the line to Maecenas see Introduction and Introd. to the Satires, p. 6. Seneca, Epist. 114. 6, says that it was recorded of Maecenas that he always walked in Rome 'solutis tunicis.'

**est qui**: sc. 'ambulat.'

Inguen ad obscoenum subductis usque facetus;
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas
Quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste;
Contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem.
Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'Macte
Virtute esto,' inquit sententia dia Catonis,
'Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido
Huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas
Permolere uxores.' 'Nolim laudarier,' inquit,
'Sic me,' mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.
Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
Qui moechis non vultis, ut omni parte laborent;
Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas,
Atque haec rara cadat dura inter saepe pericla.
Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis
Ad mortem caesus; fugiens hic decidit acrem
Praedonum in turbam; dedit hic pro corpore nummos;
Hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud
Accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem
Demeteret ferro. 'Iure' omnes; Galba negabat.
Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda,
Libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas
Non minus insanit quam qui moechatur. At hic si
Qua res, qua ratio suaderet, quaque modeste
Munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
Esse, daret quantum satis esset nec sibi damno
Dedecorique foret. Verum hoc se amplectitur uno,
Hoc amat et laudat: 'Matronam nullam ego tango.'
Ut quondam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille,
Qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,
'Nil fuerit mi,' inquit, 'cum uxoribus unquam alienis.'
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde
Fama malum gravius quam res trahit. An tibi abunde
Personam satis est, non illud quicquid ubique
Officit evitare? Bonam deperdere famam,

26. **facetus**: it is his idea of elegance.
27. **pastillos**, dim. of 'panis,' of lozenges meant to perfume the breath. The line is quoted in 1. 4. 92 as a specimen of Horace's personal satire.

Rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Quid inter
Est in matrona, ancilla, peccesne togata?
Villius in Fausta Sullae gener, hoc miser uno
Nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque superque
Quam satis est, pugnis caesus ferroque petitus,
Exclusus fore cum Longarenus foret intus.
Huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis
Diceret haec animus: 'Quid vis tibi? numquid ego a te
Magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum
Velatumque stola mea cum conferbuit ira'?
Quid responderet? 'Magno patre nata puella est.'
At quanto meliora monet pugnantiaque istis
Dives opis natura suae, tu si modo recte
Dispensare velis ac non fugienda petendis
Immiscere. Tuo vitio rerumne labores
Nil referre putas? Quare ne paeniteat te
Desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris
Plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.
Nec magis huic inter niveos viridesque lapillos
(Sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum) tenerum est femur aut crus
Rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.
Adde huc quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte
Quod venale habet ostendit, nec si quid honesti est
Iactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet.
Regibus hic mos est: ubi equos mercantur opertos
Inspiciunt, ne si facies ut saepe decora
Molli fulta pede est emptorem inducat hiantem,
Quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
Hoc illi recte: ne corporis optima Lyncei
Contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa
Quae mala sunt spectes. O crus! o brachia! Verum
Depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.
Matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,
Cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata (nam te
Hoc facit insanum), multae tibi tum officient res,
Custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,
Ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,
Plurima quae invideant pure apparere tibi rem.

Altera nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est
Ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;
Metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis
Insidias fieri pretiumque avellier ante
Quam mercem ostendi? 'Leporem venator ut alta
In nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,'
Cantat et apponit: 'Meus est amor huic similis; nam
Transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.'
Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores
Atque aestus curasque graves e pectore pelli?
Nonne cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,
Quid latura sibi quid sit dolitura negatum,
Quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?
Num tibi cum fauces urit sitis aurea quaeris
Pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter
Pavonem rhombumque? Tument tibi cum inguina, num si
Ancilla aut verna est praesto puer impetus in quem
Continuo fiat malis tentigine rumpi?
Non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.
Illam, 'Post paulo,' 'Sed pluris,' 'Si exierit vir,'
Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi quae neque magno
Stet pretio neque cunctetur cum est iussa venire.
Candida rectaque sit; munda hactenus ut neque longa
Nec magis alba velit quam dat natura videri.
Haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum
Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi,
Nec vereor ne dum futuo vir rure recurrat,
Ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno
Pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vepallida lecto
Desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,
Cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mi.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est ac pede nudo,
Ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est; Fabio vel iudice vincam.

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# SATIRE III.

## SATIRE IS ONE THING, PERSONAL CENSORIOUSNESS ANOTHER.

HORACE begins with a satirical picture of Tigellius as the type of a character made up of contradictions and inconsistencies (vv. 1–19).

He supposes himself interrupted (v. 19) with the question 'Have you no faults of your own?'

Vv. 20–28. I pretend, he answers, to no infallibility. That is the vice of the censorious in private life. They are blind to their own faults, keen of sight to their neighbours.

29–37. Little faults of temper or manner or dress overshadow sterling merits.

38–40. Contrast the lover turning his mistress's defects into beauties.

40–54. If friendship cannot go as far as that, it can imitate a father making the best of his boy's deformities.

55–66. But we even turn virtues into vices.

66–69. This censoriousness recoils on ourselves—for we have our own faults too.

69–75. We need (1) mutual forbearance.

76–79. (2) some discrimination of the relative gravity of faults.

80–95. We see this in other cases. We should think a man mad who crucified a slave for a peccadillo. Is it not worse to break off a friendship because of some trifling accident or impropriety? What are we to do when it comes to graver offences?

96–98. The Stoic will tell you that all offences are equal; but this doctrine will not square with life, neither with moral feeling nor with utility, the true basis of moral distinction.

98–112. Historically the sense of justice is posterior to the experience of injustice.

113–116. The Stoic is wrong in assuming a natural criterion of right and wrong, wrong in his conclusion that one breach of law is as bad as another.

116–124. We need a just apportionment of punishment to offence. Not that I fear too great leniency. It is the rule of Draco that we are promised when the Stoic is king.

124–126. 'When he is king,' do I say? Why, he is king, so he tells us, as he is everything else that is good.

126–133. A Stoic is supposed to reply, 'You forget Chrysippus' explanation of the paradox.'

133–142. 'Well,' Horace answers, 'it is a poor sovereignty. It does not save you from humiliations. No one recognizes it except Crispinus. I shall leave you your throne, contented for myself to live on terms of mutual forbearance with my unphilosophical friends.'

The connection of vv. 1–19 with the rest of the poem is not made perfectly clear; but the comparison in the following Satire, vv. 78–104, between the innocent sallies of Satire, half playful and directed against types rather than persons, with the license given to real malignity in private conversation, seems to show that this is the link here also, and the true subject of the Satire.

The musician *Tigellius* of this Satire (vv. 3–19) and of the last (vv. 1–4) is identified with the Tigellius of Cicero's letters (ad Att. 13. 49, 50, and 51, ad Fam. 7. 24). He was the nephew (or grandson) of Phamea (named in these letters and ad Att. 9. 9; 9. 13, and ad Fam. 9. 16), a rich freedman from Sardinia. He had quarrelled with Cicero because he thought him slack in a cause of Phamea's which the great orator had undertaken, but was prevented from pleading by the fact that the case of P. Sestius came on the same day. We gather from the letters that he was a favourite of the dictator Caesar. Cicero speaks (to Gallus ad Fam. 7. 14) with contempt of his Sardinian origin, 'hominem pestilentiorem patria sua.' 'Habes Sardos venales: alium alio nequiorem.' He calls him 'salaconem' (*σαλάκωνα*), 'a swaggerer,' and speaks of him as 'addictum Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo praeconio.' Porph. (on this Sat. v. 1) has preserved a line of that lampoon, 'Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit.'

The Scholiasts identify him with the 'Hermogenes Tigellius' of 1. 4. 72, 1. 10. 80, the 'Hermogenes' of v. 129 of this Satire and of 1. 9. 25, 1. 10. 18, and the 'Tigellius' of Sat. 1. 10. 90. It seems clear however that this was another and a younger person. The Tigellius of Sat. 1. 2. 3 and 1. 3. 4 is already dead. The Hermogenes Tigellius of 1. 4. 72 and 1. 10. 80 is still alive, although Sat. 1. 4 contains internal evidence of having been composed later than Sat. 1. 2 (cp. 1. 2. 27 and 1. 4. 92), and Sat. 1. 10 of having been composed later than Sat. 1. 4 (see 1. 4. 11 and 1. 10. 50). We may add that whereas the elder Tigellius was lampooned by Calvus, Hermogenes Tigellius in Sat. 1. 10. 19 is said to sing Calvus's songs.

OMNIBUS hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
Ut nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
Iniussi nunquam desistant. Sardus habebat
Ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,
Si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam non
Quicquam proficeret; si collibuisset ab ovo

2. **cantare**, an instance of the government *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*. It follows both 'inducant animum' and 'rogati;' see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

3. **Sardus.** See the quotations in the introd. to this Satire. Its emphatic position shows that the epithet is meant to be contumelious.

**habebat hoc.** Cic. Phil. 2. 32. 78 'habebat hoc omnino Caesar,' 'this was his way.' It is a colloquialism, which is lost if we supply 'vitium.'

4. **qui posset**, 'though he could.'

5. **peteret . . . proficeret.** Often referred to as instances of the impft. for the plpft. subj.: but is it not rather an instance of the pure hypothetical 'si petat . . . proficiat,' thrown into a past tense, the force of the subj. being not to express a doubt, but to generalize; 'if at any time he asked he would gain nothing'? Cp. the Greek use of *ἄν* with the impft. answering to the relative with the optative, as Soph. Phil. 290 *πρὸς δὲ τοῦθ', ὅ μοι βάλοι | νευροσπαδὴς ἄτρακτος αὐτὸς ἂν τάλας | εἰλυόμην.* There is none of the force of 'as is (or 'was') not the case' which belongs to the regular use of the impft. or plpft. subj. in conditional sentences. In 'collibuisset' we have the plpft. because the word to be dealt with was not 'collibeat' but 'collibuerit,' the verb never (as Heindorf remarks) being found in the present. See on Sat. 1. 6. 79.

**amicitiam patris**, i.e. of his father by adoption, the dictator C. Julius Caesar: for Tigellius' relation to him see above in introduction to the Satire.

6. **ab ovo usque ad mala**, i.e. from

Usque ad mala citaret, 'Io Bacche!' modo summa
Voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.
Nil aequale homini fuit illi; saepe velut qui
Currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,

the beginning to the end of the banquet. It began with the 'gustus,' also called 'promulsis,' dishes supposed to whet the appetite, served sometimes immediately on leaving the bath. Amongst them are mentioned eggs: Mart. 12. 19. 1 'In thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum'; Plin. Epist. 1. 15 of a supper prepared for himself and one friend, 'Paratae erant lactucae singulae, cochleae ternae, ova bina.' The apples are part of the dessert, 'mensae secundae.' Mart. 10. 48. 18, at the end of the description of a supper, 'saturis mitia poma dabo.' In the gastronomic lecture of Sat. 2. 4, eggs are the first subject treated, v. 11; apples come at the end, v. 70.

7. **citaret.** Bentley pronounced the verb impossible, and would substitute 'iteraret,' but it would seem that he had missed the parallel 'paeanem citare,' which has since been quoted from Cic. de Orat. 1. 59. 251. 'Io Bacche' in this case represents the accusative. 'Citare' is probably the frequentative of 'cieo' in the sense of 'ciere vocem, murmur, tinnitum,' etc. Prof. Wilkins it is true reads in that place 'recitaret,' but on 'a priori' grounds; and is it certain that 'recitare paeanem' would be a suitable phrase? Cicero is speaking of practising the voice in singing.

**Io Bacche**: the reading is doubtful, the MSS. being divided between 'Bacche' and 'Bacchae.' All the Bland. give 'Bacche,' but the difference between 'e' and 'ę' and that in a proper name, is one on which stress can hardly be laid in MS. testimony. Hymns to Bacchus were called from their first words Ἰόβακχοι and Βακχέβακχοι (cp. ἰηπαιωνίσαι καὶ βακχέβακχον ᾆσαι Arist. Equ. 408). The lengthening of the short 'e' is justified by the metrical ictus; cp. 'Hyla Hyla omne sonaret' Virg. Ecl. 6. 44. It is possible that the effect of the voice dwelling on the note is imitated. Of recent editors Haupt, Ritter, Holder, and Munro give 'io Bacchae.' No instance of such a cry is quoted except from Eur. Bacchae, as v. 596, where the Bacchants are personages in the drama.

**modo summa voce**, i. e. now in a low key, now in a high one: another instance of his changeableness. 'Summa' = the Greek ὑπάτῃ, 'ima' ('vox acuta' Od. 3. 4. 3) = νήτῃ, the terms used respectively for what we should call the lowest and the highest note of the tetrachord, the designations being apparently given from the position of the strings of an instrument as it was actually handled, not as with us from the parts of the human throat employed in giving the sounds.

8. **chordis.** It admits of doubt whether this is a dative, 'voce' then being the note of the human voice, 'now on his "highest" note, now on that which answers "lowest" to the tetrachord'; or an instrumental ablative 'voce' being the note absolutely, 'the note which sounds "lowest" when you strike the tetrachord.'

9. **aequale**, 'uniform,' 'equable.' Cp. 'inaequalis' in describing a similar character, Sat. 2. 7. 10.

**saepe velut qui.** The constr. is 'saepe currebat velut qui [curreret] fugiens hostem, persaepe [incedebat] velut qui Iunonis sacra ferret.' With the ellipsis of a verb to the first 'qui' cp. Sat. 1. 1. 23. The verb which describes a particular form of movement ('currere') having been transferred from its proper place in the first relative clause to the leading clause makes it necessary to understand a colourless verb or one which describes another kind of movement with the second leading clause. Cp. the zeugma with 'crepat' in Od. 1. 18. 5, 6.

11. **Iunonis sacra ferret.** 'Κανηφόροι apud Athenas hodieque dicuntur quae sacra in capite portant et sensim incedunt et lento gradu' Porph. Cp. Sat. 2. 8. 13 'ut Attica virgo Cum sacris Cereris procedit,' and Cic. de Off. 1. 36. 131 'Cavendum est ne tarditatibus utamur in ingressu mollioribus ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur.'

**habebat.** Bentley read 'alebat,' following one MS. which gives 'halebat.'

Saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,
Omnia magna loquens; modo, 'Sit mihi mensa tripes et
Concha salis puri et toga quae defendere frigus
Quamvis crassa queat.' Decies centena dedisses
Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus
Nil erat in loculis. Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
Mane, diem totum stertebat; nil fuit unquam
Sic impar sibi.—Nunc aliquis dicat mihi: 'Quid tu?
Nullane habes vitia?' Immo alia et fortasse minora.
Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, 'Heus tu,'
Quidam ait, 'ignoras te, an ut ignotum dare nobis

12. **decem servos.** A small household it would seem. The edd. quote Val. Max. 4. 4. 11 'M. Scaurus quantulam a patre hereditatem acceperit in primo libro refert eorum quae de vita sua scripsit. At enim sibi decem sola mancipia totumque censum centum quinque ac triginta milium numorum relictum.' Cp. Horace's own establishment, which he looks on as very modest, 'Cena ministratur pueris tribus' Sat. 1. 6. 116.

**reges atque tetrarchas loquens,** having their names in his mouth, as though he was intimate with them. Cp. Ulysses' rebuke of Thersites Hom. Il. 2. 250 τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις. For the form the editors compare Cic. ad Att. 9. 2 'nihil nisi classes et exercitus loquens.' Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 84 'sulcos et vineta crepat mera.'

13. **mensa tripes.** The shape seems to imply simplicity of fashion, moderate size, and common material. Cp. Martial's 'simplex Delphica' (12. 66. 7). For the extravagance lavished on tables see Mayor on Juv. Sat. 1. 137. The most costly were 'orbes,' i. e. round slabs or solid sections of the trunks of trees, esp. the 'citrus,' resting on a single foot of ivory.

14. **concha salis puri**: 'pauperiores in marina concha salem tritum habere solent' Porph. It may be doubted whether 'concha' necessarily meant an actual shell; see Od. 2. 7. 23. The modesty of the requirements lies in the short list of his necessaries, a table, a vessel which will hold his salt and keep it clean (cp. Pers. Sat. 3. 25 'purum et sine labe salinum'; a saltcellar is the one piece of ancestral plate in a humble home there and in Od. 2. 16. 14), and a gown which, however coarse in material, will keep out the cold. With 'toga quamvis crassa' contrast 'tenues togae' Epp. 1. 14. 32.

15. **decies centena,** sc. 'milia sestertiorum.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 237, 240. It stands for a 'good round sum.' Cp. Juv. S. 10. 335.

**dedisses.** See on Sat. 1. 1. 45.

16. **quinque diebus,** as Epp. 1. 7. 1, for a short period: Heind. remarks, that we should say 'in a week,' and that it shows that the hebdomadal division of time had not yet got possession of language.

17. **erat** for 'esset'; Madv. § 348 c. obs.: but the indicative gives reality, as though it were a thing that often happened.

**loculis,** a casket used to carry money and other valuables. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 146, Epp. 2. 1. 175; and see Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 89.

19. **aliquis.** The person supposed is someone who dislikes satire, such as Horace argues with in Sat. 1. 4 and 2. 1.

20. **immo alia.** 'Nay,' I do not imply that. I have my faults, but not the special one which I speak of, 'for all I know' less serious ones. Horace proceeds to contrast satire with the censoriousness of private life. That does imply self-righteousness.

21. **Maenius . . . Novium.** Maenius is the name of a Lucilian spendthrift. See introd. to the Satires, p. 12. Is Novius here, as in 1. 6. 121, a usurer; the two extremes blackening one another? Or is Horace referring to some familiar scene in a play, or to two characters from Lucilius?

**carperet,** 'was picking to pieces.'

22. **dare verba**: 'verba' being opposed to 'res,' mere words, and so = 'to

Verba putas?' 'Egomet mi ignosco,' Maenius inquit.
Stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari.
Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum
Quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? At tibi contra
Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo quod
Rusticius tonso toga defluit, et male laxus
In pede calceus haeret: at est bonus ut melior vir

cheat;' Ter. Andr. 1. 3. 6, Cic. ad Att. 15. 16.

23. **ignosco.** Horace plays on the etymology. 'Is it that you are blind, or that you think us blind'? 'I shut my own eyes'; 'non ignoro sed ignosco.'

24. **improbus,** ἀναιδής, the leading idea being, as often, of excess.

**amor,** the love shown by that answer, i.e. 'self-love.'

**notari,** properly of the censor's mark affixed to the name by way of ignominy, thence metaphorically; cp. Sat. 1. 4. 5, 106, 1. 6. 14, 2. 7. 8; Epp. 1. 17. 15.

25. **pervideas.** Bentley would read 'praevideas . . . mala,' the former a conj. of Rutgers, confirmed by one or two later MSS., which he interprets in the sense of παραβλέπειν in the apposite verses probably of Menander (Meineke, Menandri Reliquiae Incert. 5) τί τἀλλότριον, ἄνθρωπε βασκανώτατε, | κακὸν ὀξυδορκεῖς, τὸ δ' ἴδιον παραβλέπεις; 'mala' he joins to 'lippus.' The use however of 'praevidere' = 'praetervidere,' 'to overlook,' is unsupported. 'Pervideas' has its natural sense, 'to look all through,' as Ov. Pont. 1. 8. 34 'Cunctaque mens oculis pervidet illa suis.' For the oxymoron 'pervideas lippus' cp. (with Bentl.) Od. 3. 7. 21 'scopulis surdior Icari Voces audit,' Sat. 1. 2. 91 'Hypsaea caecior . . . spectes.'

**inunctis,** while they are still smarting from the application of the ointment, and so incapable of sight.

27. **aquila.** Hom. Il. 17. 674 ὥστ' αἰετός, ὅν ῥά τέ φασιν | ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν.

**Epidaurius.** The snakes of Epidaurus were probably proverbial in the mouths of Romans, from the story of the snake of Aesculapius brought from Epidaurus to Rome in B.C. 291, and lodged on the island in the Tiber.

**contra** = 'vicissim,' 'in return.'

29. The Scholiasts have a story that this picture of the passionate and slovenly man of genius is intended for the poet Virgil. This may rest upon some early tradition, but it is unlikely in itself. Such guesses are easy to make and impossible to disprove. Cp. the identification of the poet Propertius with the 'bore' in Sat. 1. 9.

**aptus** = 'placens.'

**acutis naribus,** of delicate perception; opp. 'obesae naris' Epod. 12. Cp. 'emunctae naris' Sat. 1. 4. 8. The Schol. offers an alternative explanation, taking 'aptus' as = 'aptus ferendis,' and 'acutis naribus' like 'naribus uti' Epp. 1. 19. 45, 'adunco naso' Sat. 1. 6. 5, of the grimace of contempt, 'intolerant of criticism.' Bentley, showing that 'acutae nares' could hardly have this meaning, would alter it to 'aduncis.'

30. **horum,** 'of our time.' A common usage, Liv. 1. 55 'horum magnificentiae operum.' Cp. infr. v. 60 'hoc genus vitae.'

**eo,** 'for the reason,' Sat. 2. 8. 65.

31. **rusticius** with 'tonso.' Cp. 'curatus inaequali tonsore' Epp. 1. 1. 94.

**defluit,** 'hangs,' 'slips from the shoulder.' Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 96 'toga dissidet impar.' For the great pains taken in adjusting the 'toga' see Quintil. 11. 3. 137 foll.

**male** with **haeret,** or ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'haeret' and 'laxus,' as below v. 45. Cp. Ov. A. A. 1. 516 'Nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet.'

32. **at . . at . . at.** The repetition of the particle 'yet,' 'yet,' 'yet' gives rhetorical emphasis. So 'sed' in Juv. Sat. 5. 61, 8. 149. For 'at' in this sense, urging a plea in arrest of judgment, cp. Od. 2. 18. 9.

Non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique te ipsum
Concute num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.
Illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae
Turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec
Delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.
Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus; et isti
Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
At pater ut gnati sic nos debemus amici
Si quod sit vitium non fastidire: strabonem
Appellat paetum pater, et pullum male parvus
Si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim

35. **concute,** 'shake,' as a dress, to see if anything is concealed in it. Cp. for the same metaph., though with a different purpose, Virg. Aen. 7. 338 'fecundum concute pectus.' 'Excutere' is more common in this sense.

37. **filix.** Virg. G. 2. 189 'filicem curvis invisam pascit aratris.'

38. **illuc praevertamur quod,** 'let us take refuge in the thought that.'

39. **decipiunt:** *λανθάνουσι.*

40. **Balbinum.** The Scholiast's note is 'Luciliana urbanitate usus in transitu amaritudinem aspergit,' but there is no tradition, or conjecture of value, as to the personality of the persons mentioned. The name has been thought to be coined from 'balbus,' used of the baby-talk of lovers; see below v. 47. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 274; see Prof. Palmer there.

**polypus.** Horace here and in Epod. 12 lengthens the first syllable, following therein Lucilius (29. 114). It is to be noticed that the word occurs in Greek literature usually in the form *πουλύπους*: see Liddell and Scott, s. v.

**Hagnae.** The MSS. are divided between this reading and 'Agnae,' but Bentley showed that 'Hagna' is the form found in inscriptions. It is the Greek *ἁγνή*. 'Libertinam fuisse recte colligas' Bentley.

42. **virtus.** See on Od. 2. 2. 19, the personified judgment of the virtuous man.

43. **at;** 'but at least if that cannot be' (cp. 'at' after 'quamvis' or 'si' as Virg. G. 4. 208, 241): the form 'vellem erraremus' implies that it is a hopeless wish. If we cannot reach the complete blindness of a lover we may the partiality of a father. There is rather more MS. authority (including B) for 'ac,' but the transition is harsh.

**gnati:** understand 'si quod sit vitium non fastidit.'

44. **strabonem . . . paetum:** two terms used to express different degrees of squinting: 'paetus' expressing the lighter and one which was thought almost a beauty, so much so that it was attributed to Venus. Cic. de N. D. 1. 29. 80 'Ecquos (deos) si non tam strabones at paetulos arbitramur'? Varr. quoted by Priscian, p. 684 'de Venere paeta strabam facit.'

44–48. With these lines should be compared Ovid's advice to the lover to make the best of his mistress' defects: 'Nominibus mollire licet mala. Fusca vocetur Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit: Si straba sit, Veneri similis: si rava, Minervae: Sit gracilis, macie quae male viva sua est. Dic habilem, quaecunque brevis,' etc. A. A. 2. 657 foll. Both are imitations of Lucr. 4. 1160 foll.

45. **pullum,** 'a chicken.' It is a diminutive from the same root as 'puer.' It is found as a cognomen. L. Junius Pullus was consul in B. C. 250, and there is a Q. Numitorius Pullus mentioned in Cic. de Inv. 2. 34, de Fin. 5. 22. 62.

**male parvus,** 'small to a fault;' for the use of 'male' with an adj. see on Od. 1. 17. 25 and Sat. 1. 4. 66.

Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus, illum
Balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.
Parcius hic vivit, frugi dicatur. Ineptus
Et iactantior hic paulo est, concinnus amicis
Postulat ut videatur. At est truculentior atque
Plus aequo liber, simplex fortisque habeatur;
Caldior est, acres inter numeretur. Opinor
Haec res et iungit iunctos et servat amicos.
At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque
Sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo; illi

47. **Sisyphus**: according to the Schol. 'a dwarf' kept by M. Antony 'intra bipedalem staturam, quem ipse Sisyphum appellabat ob ingenii calliditatem.'

48. **balbutit**, 'calls fondly his "Varus," his "Scaurus."' The point seems to be not only that these were mild adjectives to describe the deformity, but also that they were adjectives which give a certain heroic character to it as recalling the names of distinguished Roman families.

49. **ineptus** describes a man wanting in tact. Cp. Cicero's definition de Or. 2. 4. 17, which Horace has possibly in mind, 'qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, ineptus esse dicitur,' where 'plura loquitur aut se ostentat' recalls 'iactantior' in this place.

50. **concinnus** seems here to mean 'witty,' 'good company.' Cp. 'asperitas inconcinna' in Epp. 1. 18. 6.

**amicis**, best taken after 'videatur,' 'claims to be thought by his friends,' etc. Others take 'concinnus amicis' together and render 'postulat ut videatur,' 'is wishing to be thought,' etc. i.e. 'this is his way of trying to make himself agreeable;' but we are not dealing with the motives of men but with the claims of a friend to kindly construction.

52. **simplex** answers to 'plus aequo liber,' 'fortis' to 'truculentior.'

53. **caldior**, 'hot-headed.' Cic. de Inv. 2. 9. 28 'idcirco aliquem calidum vocari quod temerario et repentino consilio sit.' For the syncopated form cp. 'soldum' Sat. 2. 5. 65, 'valdius' Epp. 1. 9. 6, A. P. 321, and see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

**acres**, 'men of spirit and energy.'

**opinor**: parenthetical as in Epp. 1. 16. 78, 2. 2. 17.

55. **invertimus**, 'turn the wrong way upwards,' 'turn into vices.' Orelli illustrates from Liv. 22. 12 '[M. Minucius L. Fabium] pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat.'

56. **sincerum vas**: Epp. 1. 2. 54.

**incrustare**, 'to cover with a film,' 'to foul.' Porph. quotes from Lucilius (3. 28) 'incrustatus calix.'

57. **multum demissus homo; illi.** There is a question of reading and a question of interpretation, not necessarily involved one with the other. The MSS. generally have 'illi' and the Schol. clearly recognize it, for they interpret 'illi . . . tardo.' The old Bland. however had 'ille,' which Cruquius defends, and he has been followed by Bentley and of recent editors by Ritter, Dill[r]., Haupt and Munro. Bentley and others of the school which favours conj. emendation, as Haupt, complete the reading by inserting 'ac' or 'et' after 'tardo.' Holder gives 'illi.' The question of interpretation is whether in vv. 56–58 'probus . . . damus' there is one instance of perversion of character or two. Neither view is irreconcileable with either 'ille' or 'illi'; but 'ille' has been chiefly defended by those (as Bentley) who uphold the first alternative. He points out that what Horace is illustrating is the disposition 'virtutes ipsas invertere,' not merely to give a blacker colour to failings. The virtues he chooses are 'probitas' 'prudentia,' 'simplicitas.' 'Tarditas' might not be a great fault, but it is never spoken of as a

Tardo cognomen, pingui, damus. Hic fugit omnes
Insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
Cum genus hoc inter vitae versemur ubi acris
Invidia atque vigent ubi crimina; pro bene sano
Ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus.
Simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter
Obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem
Aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone molestus;
'Communi sensu plane caret,' inquimus. Eheu,
Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!

virtue. On the other hand, although it is true that 'demissus' is used sometimes in a bad sense, it is used as often in a good sense for 'unassuming,' and is especially connected in this sense with 'probus' and equivalent terms, as in Cic. de Or. 2. 43. 182 'ea omnia quae proborum, demissorum, non acrium sunt, benevolentiam conciliant'; pro Mur. 40. 87 'sit apud vos modestiae locus, sit demissis hominibus perfugium.' Bentley quotes, from Quintilian 6. 5, a sentence in which 'imbecillitas' is said to be mistaken for 'probitas,' and one from Plutarch ('Artaxerxes') in which μέλλησις (= 'tarditas') is said to have passed for ἐπιείκεια ('probitas'). The construction which he supposes of 'multum demissus homo ille,' 'an unassuming man,' may be paralleled in Od. 4. 9. 51 'non ille . . . timidus.' It is unnecessary to do violence to the MSS. by inserting 'ac'; the asyndeton helps the sense of climax. Those who adopt the other view make 'multum demissus homo' the judgment of the censorious. 'If we have amongst our friends a man of sober worth, he is of a poor spirit; to another who is slow we give the nickname of stupid.' We may well prefer Bentley's interpretation though following the common reading. With 'multum demissus' cp. 'multum celer' Sat. 2. 3. 147, 'multum similis' Sat. 2. 5. 92, 'multum dissimiles' Epp. 1. 10. 3, 'multum diversa' Epp. 2. 2. 62.

58. **tardo . . . pingui.** For the dat. see Madv. § 246, Obs. 2.

59. **malo**, probably masc.

60. **versemur**: So V (the other MSS. having 'versetur') and Bentley argues for it. Whichever reading is adopted 'hoc genus vitae' will probably imply a general condition of the present time, not any special risk of the supposed person. For the use of 'hoc' see above on v. 30 'horum hominum.'

61. **pro bene sano.** Orelli quotes from Liv. 22. 39 'sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent.'

63. **simplicior quis et est.** 'Et' couples 'simplicior' and '[talis] qualem.' For the position cp. v. 61 and Sat. 1. 6. 65 'Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis Mendosa est natura.'

**libenter obtulerim**, 'I should never mind having shown myself.' Some editors in criticizing this passage have credited Horace with less than his usual irony.

65. **impellat.** In the sense of 'disturb,' 'call his attention,' much as its frequent use with 'aures' Virg. G. 4. 349, Pers. Sat. 2. 21 'Iovis aurem impellere.' The reading has been questioned, though the MSS. are unanimous and the glosses of the Schol. 'adloquatur,' 'interpellat,' seem to recognize it. Bentley proposed 'impediat,' which he supported with great ingenuity, but 'tacitum impediat' does not seem likely.

66. **communi sensu**, 'the social sense,' the added sense or tact which comes from living with others and which fits a man for so living. There is an exhaustive account of the meanings of 'sensus communis,' both in classical and in later Latin, in Sir W. Hamilton's Notes on Reid (p. 756 foll.). He pointed out that this is its meaning in the present passage as also in Cic. de Or. 1. 3. 12, 2. 16. 68, and Juv. Sat. 8. 73. Quintilian (1. 2. 20) gives as a reason for preferring a school education to home education that a boy learns 'sensus communis.' It prevents him from becoming, as we say, an egotist.

Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur. Amicus dulcis ut aequum est
Cum mea compenset vitiis bona; pluribus hisce
(Si modo plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet, amari
Si volet: hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.
Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
Postulat ignoscet verrucis illius; aequum est
Peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.
Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae
Cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res
Ut quaeque est ita suppliciis delicta coercet?
Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere iussus
Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius
In cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter

69. **dulcis**, 'indulgent'; inf. v. 139: cp. Sat. 1. 4. 135.

70. **cum** has been taken either as a preposition or as a conjunction. The first seems preferable. As Orelli truly says, 'compensare aliquid cum aliquo,' and 'compensare aliquid aliquo' do not mean the same thing. The first is to 'weigh one thing against another,' their comparative weight being as yet undetermined. The second is to 'set one thing off against others,' the weight of the first thing being settled, to put something else in the scales which will balance it. We want here the first meaning. With the position of 'cum' cp. Ov. Fasti 5. 551 'Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores,' Madv. § 474, c. obs.

72. **hac lege**, 'on this condition.'

76. **quatenus**, Sat. 1. 1. 64, 'since.'

77. **stultis**, *ἄφροσιν*. Horace begins his definite reference to the Stoic doctrines. He humorously accepts for himself and the mass of mankind the title the Stoic would give to all but the perfect man or 'sapiens.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 32 'insanis Et tu stultique prope omnes.'

78. **suis**, 'its own weights and measures,' such as Reason ought to have—reasonable ones. It should not be led away by the indiscriminating judgments of men at large, nor should it (v. 116 foll.) endorse the philosophical folly which makes all offences equal.

79. **suppliciis coercet**: both words of some severity of punishment; 'proportion the severity to the true offence'; for 'coercet' cp. infr. v. 134.

80. **tollere**, 'to remove from table.'

81. **ligurrierit**, the desiderative form, 'has been tempted to lick.'

**ius** is the sauce in which the fish had been served up. Cp. Sat. 2. 4. 38, 62, 2. 8. 45 foll.

82. **Labeone**. The Scholiasts explain this of M. Antistius Labeo, a 'iurisconsultus' of high distinction, who is ranked by Tacitus (Ann. 3. 75) with Ateius Capito, and mentioned as dying in the same year (A. D. 21), 'duo pacis decora, sed Labeo incorrupta libertate et ob id fama celebratior.' They further assert that it was on account of his free speaking of Augustus that Horace thus gibbets him 'ut gratificetur Augusto.' Bentley pointed out how improbable this is. This Labeo would have been a young man at any date when this Satire could have been composed, and Horace, even if we suppose that he would at any time have espoused Octavianus' quarrels in such an indecent way, was not yet within the future emperor's circle. Weichert suggested, and Estré and Orelli follow him, that they may be right in the person, wrong in the reason, that Labeo as a young man may have become notorious for the excessive punishment of a slave; but it seems clear that it was the reason and that only which suggested to them the person. Bentley would read 'Labieno,' supposing the reference to be

Sanos dicatur. Quanto hoc furiosius atque
Maius peccatum est! paulum deliquit amicus,
Quod nisi concedas habeare insuavis: acerbus
Odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
Qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
Porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
Comminxit lectum potus mensave catillum
Evandri manibus tritum deiecit, ob hanc rem

to an orator described by the elder Seneca (Praef. ad lib. 5 Controv.) who, from accesses of furious temper, was nicknamed 'Rabienus,' and who slew himself from vexation on the destruction of his books by his enemies. The Scholiast's note, however, seems a sufficient evidence that 'Labeone' is the correct reading. We are left therefore without the means of explaining the reference.

**inter sanos** = 'apud sanos,' 'a sanis,' as Livy 6. 34 'haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor habebatur.' Some edd. have taken 'inter sanos dicatur' as = 'inter sanos numeretur': sometimes putting the mark of a question, 'though madder than Labeo, would he be reckoned among sane persons?' (Doering): sometimes categorically, 'he would be madder than Labeo, although reckoned among sane persons.' (Heindorf.)

83. **hoc**, the nom. case; 'this which follows.'

85. **concedas**, 'excuse.' In the next Satire (1. 4. 140) it is used in this sense with a dative. A doubt has been raised as to the punctuation. The Pseudo-Acron took 'insuavis, acerbus' together, the asyndeton as in v. 58. Of recent editors Orelli and Ritter follow him. Bentley, followed by Dill$^{r}$., Holder, and Munro, joins 'acerbus odisti.' In either case 'acerbus' is a stage beyond 'insuavis.'

86. **Rusonem.** The Schol. add nothing except that they call him Octavius Ruso. Mayor on Juv. Sat. 3. 9, in his exhaustive note on Recitation, compares a similar story told by Philostratus, the author of the 'Lives of Sophists,' of one Varo, whose debtors were allowed to count attendance at his declamations as a set-off against interest due to him. Polemon, whose biography he is giving, found the task too severe, 'sprang up, held out his hands and cried *φέρε τοὺς τύπους*, "bring the writ."' Macaulay's story of the criminal who chose the galleys in preference to listening to Guicciardini's history, is a descendant of these older jests.

87. **tristes Kalendae.** See on Epod. 2. 69.

88. **mercedem aut nummos**, 'interest or principal.' The price paid for the use of the money, or the money itself. For 'merces' in this sense see Sat. 1. 2. 14.

**unde unde** = 'undecunque.' Catull. 67. 27. So 'ubi ubi,' 'quis quis.'

**amaras.** So 'recitator acerbus' A. P. 474.

89. **porrecto iugulo**, as a conquered gladiator offering his throat to be cut (Cic. Mil. 11. 31 'dare iugulum'). For the metaph. cp. (of Horace at the mercy of the bore) 'me sub cultro linquit' Sat. 1. 9. 74, and the 'recitator acerbus' of A. P. 474, who 'tenet occiditque legendo.'

90. **catillum.** Sat. 2. 4 75, where note the uses of such a vessel.

91. **Evandri manibus tritum**, i. e. of some absurdly exaggerated antiquity. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 20, where Damasippus is said to have hunted up the brazen footpan used by Sisyphus; also Martial's epigram upon the rage for old curiosities (8. 6) 'Archetypis vetuli nihil est odiosius Eucti... Hoc cratere ferox commisit praelia Rhaecus Cum Lapithis; pugna debile cernis opus. Hi duo longaevo censentur Nestore fundi, Pollice de Pylio trita columba nitet.' The Scholiasts explain it of the work of Aulanius Evander, an artist contemporary with Horace; and it is to be noticed that this is one of the places where Porphyrion refers defi-

Aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
Sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus
Sit mihi? Quid faciam si furtum fecerit, aut si
Prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit?
Quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant
Cum ventum ad verum est; sensus moresque repugnant
Atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.
Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,

nitely to earlier authorities, 'qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt aiunt,' etc. The identification was natural and tempting to those to whom the name of Evander was familiar as that of a worker in bronze; but it does not follow that it is right. There is some difficulty as to date. Evander is not said to have come to Rome till after the capture of Alexandria in B.C. 30, when he was brought among the captives. The parallels quoted make strongly for the other interpretation. Martial's 'Pylio pollice trita' is very possibly an echo of this place. If we adopted the Scholiast's explanation we must take 'tritum' as = 'tornatum' (Virg. G. 2. 444 'radios trivere rotis'), but with an extension of meaning similar to that with which Virgil uses 'tornus' in Ecl. 3. 38 of the instrument with which a wooden cup was ornamented with the vine and ivy. The 'catillus' is doubtless of metal, which might be dinted by a fall, not earthenware which would be destroyed.

92. **ante.** It is doubtful whether this is to be taken with 'positum,' as a tmesis, 'anteponere' having its sense, frequent in Plautus, of 'to set before,' 'to place on table';—Cicero uses 'ponit ante' (but for the purpose of emphasis) for 'anteponit' in Off. 3. 17. 71;—or (as Ritter) with 'sustulit,' 'has snatched first—before me.' There is the same uncertainty in Tibull. 1. 1. 13 'Et quodcunque mihi pomum novus educat annus, Libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.'

95. **fide**: archaic form of dative. See on Od. 3. 7. 4.

**sponsum negarit**, 'has denied a pledge;' said that the pledge which has been given has not been given. 'Spondere' is the legal term covering many kinds of engagements.

96. **quis**, 'quibus,' i. e. the Stoics. Cp. Cic. de Fin. 4. 19. 55, a passage which the resemblance of expression makes it probable that Horace had in mind. 'Recte facta omnia aequalia, omnia peccata paria esse: quae cum magnifice primo dici viderentur, considerata minus probabantur: sensus enim cuiusque et natura rerum atque ipsa veritas clamat quodammodo non posse adduci ut inter eas res quas Zeno exaequaret nihil interesset.'

**fere** with 'paria,' 'much on a level.' He takes the general tendency of the Stoic doctrine, guarding himself against the answer that they admitted certain differences. Compare other instances in which a qualifying particle is added to the enunciation of broad doctrines, 'fere' Epp. 1. 6. 9, 'prope' Sat. 1. 3. 98, 2. 3. 32.

**laborant**: *ἀποροῦσι*.

97. Horace appeals against the Stoic dogma first to the moral feelings ('sensus moresque') of mankind; secondly to public utility. This, he says (following the Epicurean doctrine), is the highest source of our distinction of social right and wrong; and it is evident that offences are not all equal as judged by that standard. If right and wrong were a distinction of nature self-evident, the Stoics might have more to say for themselves. His view of the utilitarian origin of all law he supports by a sketch of the origin of society based both in substance and expression on Lucret. 5. 925 foll.

98. **iusti et aequi**: the double expression means justice of all kinds and degrees, in rule and in sentiment.

99. **prorepserunt . . . animalia.** Though speaking of the human race he purposely, in describing their first state of savagery, uses terms which apply to them in common with the animal world.

**primis terris**, as 'prima tellus' Sat. 2. 2. 93. He is thinking of the mode of generation described in Lucret. 5. 803 foll.

Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis quae post fabricaverat usus,
Donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent
Nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
Oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges,
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli
Causa, sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum
Viribus editior caedebat, ut in grege taurus.
Iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
Nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;

100. **mutum et turpe pecus.** All the words describe man as not yet distinguished from the lower animals; 'mutum' has reference to the invention of language v. 103.

**glandem.** Lucr. 5. 939, Virg. G. 1. 8, the suitable food of men as imagined in their primeval forests, 'silvestres homines' A. P. 391.

101. **ita porro,** and so on progressively.

102. **usus,** 'need.'

103. **verba . . . nominaque,** A. P. 234, the Greek *ῥήματα καὶ ὀνόματα*, a rough classification of parts of speech; the two standing together for language — language with all its apparatus. Language was the first necessary step towards law. Before that, they had felt the inconvenience of unrestrained desires, but had not learnt to classify and name their annoyances (theft, etc.). It is evident then, Horace argues, that law is not an original part of our nature but an invention slowly attained and for the practical end of restraining the lawlessness of a state of nature.

**voces sensusque notarent:** 'notarent' is used by a kind of zeugma, 'give meaning to their sounds and expression to their feelings.' It is a variation of 'vocibus sensus notarent,' but the phrase is from Lucr. 5. 1058 'Pro vario sensu varias res voce notaret.'

106. **fur . . . latro.** The second adds the idea of violence, so that the line generally describes the sanctity given to property, life, marriage.

107, 108. For a new setting of the thought of these lines see Od. 4. 9. 25, etc. 'Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.'

109. **incertam,** 'lawless.'

110. **editior,** 'the superior'; ἅπαξ λ. in this sense.

111. **iniusti.** The use of the word involves *ex hypothesi* an anachronism, but it helps to make the point clearer. Horace argues that there is no transcendental, preexistent, 'ius' or 'iustum.' They are afterthoughts, resorted to for the purpose of stamping a state of things which existed before them and the vexations of which had been felt. Certain actions were inconvenient — men invented 'iura,' and stamped those actions as 'iniusta.' Notice the Lucretian phrase 'fateare necesse est.'

112. **tempora fastosque:** the two words mark the points in history which are here relevant — dates and orderly succession. It is a question of chronology, which of the two came first, 'ius' or 'iniustum.'

113. **nec . . . nec,** 'as not,' 'so not.' As the line that separates the just and unjust is not one of nature's drawing, so philosophy will not persuade us that it is a hard and fast line, admitting no shades or varieties on either side of it.

114. **bona,** ἀγαθά, 'things advantageous,' not in a moral sense.

Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti
Et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit. Adsit
Regula peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,
Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
Nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
Verbera non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res
Furta latrociniis, et magnis parva mineris
Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
Permittant homines. Si dives, qui sapiens est,
Et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex,

115. **vincet.** Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 225. A Lucretian use, 5. 735 'ratione docere et vincere verbis'; but it is found in Cicero, as pro Clu. 44. 124; so 'evinco' Sat. 2. 3. 250.

116. **fregerit.** Cp. 'fragili myrto,' 'easily plucked,' Od. 3. 23. 16. The instances were probably proverbial, as Plutarch (Solon. 17) says of Draco's laws, that the same penalty, death, was fixed *τοῖς λάχανα κλέψασιν* and *τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις*.

117. **nocturnus.** Epod. 16. 51; Madv. § 300, obs. 2.

**sacra legerit**: 'legere' is used by Lucilius in the sense of 'to steal.' The meaning remains in the adj. 'sacrilegus.'

119. **scutica**, 'a leather thong,' an instrument like the 'ferula,' of school punishment, 'si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit' Dom. Marsus apud Sen. gramm. 9.

**flagello.** Sat. 1. 2. 41 'flagellis Ad mortem caesus' Epod. 4. 11 'sectus flagellis.' It was the extreme instrument of punishment. Cic. pro Rab. 4. 12 contrasts it by climax with 'virgae.'

120. **ferula**, the stem of the *νάρθηξ* or giant fennel, used as a cane. See Mayor's note on Juv. Sat. 1. 15.

**ut caedas non vereor**, 'as for your striking with a cane one who deserves to suffer severe punishment, I have no fears of that.' The separation of 'ut caedas' from 'vereor,' and the fact that it precedes instead of following, soften the departure from the usual rule which would have required 'ne' instead of 'ut.' The construction is as though 'illud' explained by 'ut caedas' were the obj. of 'vereor.' Cp. Liv. 28. 22 'nihil minus quam ut egredi moenibus auderent timeri poterat.' Mr. Haskins (Journal of Philology vol. 7. p. 263) has, however, proposed to take 'ut' in its usual sense: 'I have no fear of your not [even] punishing with the rod,' etc., i. e. I am not afraid of your letting off altogether; and this may be right.

121. **cum dicas**, 'when you say,' in orat. obl., as it qualifies the clause that follows 'non vereor;' 'when you hold that doctrine of the equality of offences, I well understand that it means a levelling up, not down; a doctrine of severity, not laxity.'

122. **furta, latrociniis**, (cp. 106) theft with, or without, violènce.

**magnis**, dat. after 'simili'; in exact language it would be 'ei falci qua magna recisurus sis.'

123. **falce**, 'pruning-hook.'

124 foll. Having put into the mouth of the Stoic the profession of what he would do if he were made king, Horace takes the occasion which he has made to laugh at a second Stoic paradox—that the wise man is a king (see notes on Od. 3. 2. 17–20, 4. 9. 39; Epp. 1. 1. 107). The Scholiasts quote from Lucilius (inc. 134) 'nondum etiam qui haec omnia habebit, Formosus, dives, liber, rex solus feretur?'—a passage which it seems clear Horace has in view.

**dives.** Cicero (Paradox 6) discusses the Stoic paradox 'solum sapientem esse divitem.' Cp. id. ad Fam. 7. 16.

125. **sutor bonus**, an *ad invidiam* illustration of the doctrine that the ideal wise man is the master of every art.

Cur optas quod habes? 'Non nosti quid pater,' inquit,
'Chrysippus dicat: Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam
Nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens.' 'Qui?'
'Ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes cantor tamen atque
Optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus vafer, omni
Abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,
Tonsor erat, sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
Est opifex solus, sic rex.' Vellunt tibi barbam
Lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuste coerces
Urgeris turba circum te stante miserque
Rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum.
Ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum
Praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces

126. **pater,** in the sense in which Cic. (N. D. 2. 9. 33) calls Zeno 'Stoicorum pater.' It is a Stoic speaking.

127. **Chrysippus**: Sat. 2. 3. 44, 2. 3. 287; Epp. 1. 2. 4; the second founder of Stoicism; *εἰ μὴ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στοά*, Diog. Laert. 7. 183. He was born at Soli in Cilicia, B.C. 280, and died in 207.

**crepidas, soleas,** the Greek and the Roman slippers.

128. **sapiens**: the subj. repeated and in the emphatic place is meant to be characteristic. The Stoic is for ever talking of the 'sapiens.'

129. **Hermogenes**: see introd. to this Satire.

130. **Alfenus.** There is an Alfenus Varus, a 'iurisconsultus' of eminence, of whose legal writings there are excerpts in the Digest. The Scholiasts on this place say that Horace is speaking of him, that he was a native of Cremona and practised there as a 'tonsor' (acc. to one MS.) or as a 'sutor' (acc. to the others), that he removed to Rome and became the pupil of Servius Sulpicius, and eventually famous in the law. Whether the identification is right there is nothing to show.

132. **tonsor.** This was the original reading of V, and it is supported by one MS. of Acron's note. Other MSS. have 'sutor.' Bentley argues strongly for 'tonsor,' on the ground that Horace's thesis is that the wise man is a cobbler; he is illustrating this from other arts, that of the singer and the barber. It would be dull to take an instance of the very art in question; 'tonsor' is given by Munro and Ritter.

133. **vellunt,** perh. with Heindorf 'are plucking' all the time that you are declaiming on the royalty of the wise man.

**barbam**: affected by philosophers; Sat. 2. 3. 35 'sapientem pascere barbam,' Juv. Sat. 14. 12 'barbatos .. magistros.'

134. **fuste,** also appropriate; cp. Apul. Inst. 11. 8 'qui pallio, *baculo*que, et baxeis, et hircino barbitio philosophiam fingeret.'

136. **rumperis** (sc. 'ira') **et latras**: the picture of impotent rage, with allusion to the title 'Cynic'; cp. Epp. 1. 17. 18 'mordacem Cynicum.'

137. **quadrante,** the customary price at the public baths, cp. Sen. Epist. 86 'balneum res quadrantaria.'

138. **stipator,** the proper term for one of a royal suite.

139. **Crispinum**: Sat. 1. 1. 120.

**et,** answered by 'que' in v. 141. This passage is quoted by Madv. on Cic. de Fin. 5. 22. 64 'quis est quin intelligat et eos qui fecerint dignitatis splendore ductos immemores fuisse utilitatum suarum, nosque cum ea laudemus nulla alia re nisi honestate duci.' He holds them as rare instances of a careless juncture of clauses.

**dulces,** supr. v. 69.

Ignoscent si quid peccaro stultus amici,
Inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
Privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

140. **stultus**: not being a philosopher.

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## SATIRE IV.

### AN APOLOGY FOR WRITING SATIRE.

It should be noticed that Horace in v. 71 foll. expressly repudiates the idea of publishing his Satires. He composes them for his own pleasure and profit, and only reads them to friends, and when pressed to do so.

With this Satire should be compared Sat. 1. 3. and 2. 1.

Verses 1–7. Satire in Lucilius' hands came straight from the great comic poets of Greece, who, when they saw a rogue, had no scruple in painting him as such. The spirit is identical, the metre only changed.

7–13. In spite of high merits he failed in point of form, from thinking of quantity rather than quality.

13–21. That is the mistake of people like Crispinus, not mine.

21–38. Yet this does not secure me popularity. Poetasters, like Fannius, have fame, but I have not ventured to publish, and I have not the courage to recite. Why is Satire unpopular? Because so many people know that its shafts may fairly be aimed at them. They accuse the poet of trading on the weaknesses of his friends.

38–56. Hear my reply. Let me say first that they do me too great honour if they call me a 'poet.' I do not claim the name. It is an old question whether comedy is poetry. Its language is the language of common life:

56–62. its passion the passion of common life. Take to pieces a line of Ennius, and the fragments are the fragments of a poet. Do the same for Lucilius, and you have nothing that marks the poet.

63–65. But we will leave this question, and ask again why Satire is looked on so jealously.

65–78. You suggest that my trade is that of the informer. I might answer that it is the guilty, not the innocent, who dread even the informer. But I am very unlike an informer. I seek no publicity, even in days when no place is sacred from recitations.

78–79. You say I take pleasure in giving pain.

79–91. You must ask my friends about that. True malignity is to be found in the gossip of private life. But you who are so much on the look out for malignity listen with pleasure to the illnatured buffoonery of the supper table.

91–103. You see rancour in my playful and general Satire, and yourself defend an old friend who is under a cloud in such a way as without sneering to teach the world to sneer.

103–129. My Satire contains nothing of that sort. It is only a following out of the method by which my excellent father taught me morals—by examples.

129–139. I have carried on the practice in my own self-training. My Satires are notes of it.

139–end. At worst it is an innocent weakness; you must pardon it. If you do not, beware—lest we poets come in force, for there is a host of us, and convert you against your will into a poet like ourselves.

EUPOLIS atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poëtae,
Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,
Quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, facetus,
Emunctae naris, durus componere versus.
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,

1. These three are put together by Quintilian (10. 1. 65) as the most famous names of the 'comoedia vetus' (as contrasted, according to the Alexandrine classification, with the Middle and New). Horace possibly recognizes the division by the use of the term 'vetus comoedia' in A. P. 281. 'Prisca' here and in Sat. 1. 10. 16 has probably no such technical sense. Cp. 'priscus' of Cratinus himself in Epp. 1. 19. 1. At the same time there is no doubt the feeling that comedy 'in early days' was more personal and free-spoken than it became afterwards. This is the point of the passage in A. P. 281 foll.

2. **virorum**, with emphasis, 'true men' (just as 'poëtae' in v. 1 is emphatic, 'true poets'). Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 247 'Vergilius Variusque poëtae.' Cp. perhaps Lucr. 3. 372 'Democriti quod sancta viri sententia ponit.' There is special reference to the manliness of their freedom. So Sat. 1. 10. 16 'Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est.' That line also illustrates the constr. of the gen. in agreement with the relative instead of the antecedent, for which see on Epod. 2. 37.

3. **describi**. Epp. 2. 1. 154, A. P. 18 'pluvius describitur arcus.' It seems to be a metaph. from drawing, 'delineated.'

5. **famosus**. Od. 3. 3. 26 *n.*
**notabant**, Sat. 1. 3. 24 *n.*

6. **hinc**, 'from them.' Od. 3. 17. 2. So 'unde' Sat. 1. 6. 12.

7. **pedibus numerisque**. A general description of 'metre,' 'feet' and their rhythmical disposition. Lucilius adopted (though not universally) the Hexameter.

**facetus**, 'witty,' as Cicero calls Aristophanes 'facetissimus poëta veteris comoediae' Leg. 2. 15. 37.

8. **emunctae naris**. The expression is repeated, perhaps imitated by Phaedr. 3. 3. 14 'Aesopus naris emunctae senex.' Quintilian uses 'emunctus,' speaking of the Attic writers (12. 10. 17) as 'limati et emuncti.' Cp. 'nares acutae' Sat. 1. 3. 30, 'of keen perception.'

**durus componere**. Explained by Sat. 1. 10. 1 'Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus Lucili' and ib. v. 58 'Versiculos . . . magis factos et euntes Mollius': 'harsh in the construction of his verse:' 'durus' as 'poëta durissimus' Cic. ad Att. 14. 20. 3. In A. P. 446 we have 'duros versus.' For the infin. see App. II to vol. i. p. 380.

9. **hoc**, 'in this that follows,' viz. his rapidity of composition. With this picture cp. the boast of Horace's interlocutor in Sat. 1. 9. 23 'quis me scribere plures Aut citius possit versus?'

Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno.
Cum flueret lutulentus erat quod tollere velles;
Garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
Scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror. Ecce,
Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'Accipe, si vis,
Accipiam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora,
Custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.'
Di bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli
Finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis:

10. **dictabat**, Epp. 2. 1. 110, as to an amanuensis; but it takes its place side by side with 'scribere' (see vv. 12, 13), as a verb describing literary composition, without special consideration at the moment of the method used.

**stans pede in uno**: probably explained as a proverbial expression meaning 'as an easy thing,' something that you could do without needing both feet. Schutz illustrates by Terence's 'manibus pedibusque obnixe facturum' Andr. 1. 1. 134, and Prof. Palmer still more appositely from Quintil. 12. 9. 18 'in his actionibus omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est.'

11. **cum flueret**, 'as he flowed along in a muddy stream;' for metaph. cp. Od. 4. 2. 5–8.

**tollere**, as 'tollenda' in Sat. 1. 10. 50, 'to remove.' The Scholiasts took these words strangely, making 'cum' = 'although,' and 'tollere' = 'excipere, et pro tuis habere.' Heindorf and Ritter follow them. Orelli points out how incongruously this verse would be placed if, as this interpretation implies, it contains praise. Quintilian's interpretation settles the point if it was doubtful, 10. 1. 94 'Ego ab Horatio dissentio qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat.'

12. **piger ferre.** App. II. vol. i., p. 380.

13. **ut multum**, sc. 'scriberet,' 'for his writing a quantity I care not at all.' 'Nil moror' more commonly is followed by acc. and inf.

14. **Crispinus**: cp. on Sat. 1. 1. 120.

**minimo me provocat.** Porph. explains this by a proverbial expression, 'minimo digito provocare,' which he vouches for as existent in his own time ('solemus dicere') with the meaning 'to challenge contemptuously;' 'cum volumus quem intelligi tantum valere minimo digito quantum alium viribus.' Acr. repeats this, but adds the alternative explanation, 'Minimo provocare dicuntur hi qui in sponsione (in laying a wager) plus ipsi promittunt quam exigant ab adversario,' so that the constr. would be as 'sponsione provocare,' and the sense 'offers ~~one~~ long odds.' It would seem, in spite of the definiteness of their statements, that both Scholiasts were feeling their way to an explanation of a difficult phrase, and in that case we can hardly be more confident. No fresh light has been thrown on it. Bentley wished to read 'nummo' for 'minimo' (a confusion of writing found elsewhere), 'would lay me a sesterce,' i. e. (as he explains) such a sum as his poverty allows.

15. **accipiam.** The older MSS. are divided between this reading and 'Accipe iam' as though Crispinus were becoming more and more urgent. V. had 'accipiam.'

17. **inopis quodque pusilli** = 'quod inopis pusillique,' etc. See note on Od. 1. 30. 6. There is a good note on the subject in Dissen's Tibullus on 1. 1. 51.

**inopis**, of want of ideas.

**pusilli**, of want of spirit, so that perhaps they answer in inverse order to 'raro,' 'perpauca;' he rarely finds the spirit to speak, and when he does he finds little to say. The constr. which attaches **loquentis** to **animi** (Lambinus and Bentley wished against the MSS. to read 'loquentem') may be compared as a more prosaic form of the same trope with Od. 4. 9. 34–44, note on v. 39. For the qualitative gen. after **finxerunt me**, an extension of its use with 'sum,' cp. Sat. 2. 8. 84 'redis mutatae frontis.'

At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis,
Ut mavis imitare. Beatus Fannius ultro
Delatis capsis et imagine; cum mea nemo
Scripta legat vulgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
Quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote plures
Culpari dignos. Quemvis media elige turba:
Aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat.
Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum;
Hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;

19. The similitude expresses both windiness and length. The metaph. is imitated by Pers. Sat. 5. 10 and Juv. S. 7. 111.

21. **beatus.** Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 108 'quicquid scripsere beati,' of the happiness of self-satisfaction.

**Fannius**: 'ineptus Fannius Hermogenis .. conviva Tigelli' Sat. 1. 10. 80. He is not mentioned otherwise in extant Roman literature. The Scholiasts call him 'Quadratus,' which was a cognomen in the gens Fannia. Acr. says he wrote Satire, which is against the point of this passage, for Horace is saying that he is himself less popular than Fannius because he writes Satire. The meaning of the following words can only be guessed. The Schol. offer us several guesses, some evidently wrong, as that the senate presented Fannius with his bust and some book-cases; or that his heirs sent his bust and book-cases to some public library;—but Fannius surely was alive in Sat. 1. 10. **ultro** should mean that the act, whatever it was, was one of his own self-sufficiency. When Pollio founded out of the spoils of his Illyrian campaign the first public library in Rome, he put into it 'imagines' of the great authors, but admitted Varro alone of living writers (Plin. N. H. 7. 31). Pollio's campaign and triumph were in B. C. 39. It is possible therefore that the reference is to some story of Fannius having volunteered for the same honour. Or it may mean that he presented his bust and books to private libraries. For 'imagines' in private libraries see Mayor on Juv. S. 7. 29.

22. **capsis**: cases put to the same use as 'scrinia' (see on Sat. 1. 1. 120), but apparently the smaller. Sat. 1. 10. 63, Epp. 2. 1. 268.

**mea .. timentis.** Madv. § 297 a.

**nemo legat . . . recitare timentis.** Cp. vv. 71–74. They are not published and are not read to mixed audiences.

24. **genus hoc**, sc. Satire.

**sunt quos iuvat.** See on Od. 1. 1. 3.

**utpote plures**, *ὡς πλείους ὄντας τοὺς ψόγου ἀξίους.* An attraction, more Greek than Latin, of the causal clause 'quippe cum plures culpari digni sint' into apposition to the pronoun 'sunt quos.' These 'some' are, or belong to, the majority who know that they deserve the satirist's lash.

25. **elige.** The text is doubtful. 'Three Bland' had 'eripe,' 'one' (the special reading of V. is not given) 'elige.' Some good MSS. have 'erue.' Acron's schol. 'de medio populo producito' gives no clear indication.

26. **ob avaritiam.** 'Laborare ob' is a constr. not found elsewhere. Bentley would therefore read 'ab avaritia,' which has since been found in a single MS. There is some MS. authority for another change, 'miser' for 'misera,' i. e. 'miser ob avaritiam aut ambitione.' 'Laborare' is used absolutely, so that there is no inherent impropriety in the constr. 'laborare ob avaritiam.' Any harshness is softened by the distance and the intervention of a second construction. Orelli and Dill[r]. quote to show that the variation between 'ob' with accusative, and an ablative in the same sentence is common, though in the cases which they quote some difference of relation can be detected in the two clauses.

28. **argenti.** Epp. 1. 6. 17 'argentum, et marmor vetus aeraque et artes.' Cp. Od. 4. 11. 6; Epp. 1. 16. 76, 2. 2. 181; of works of art in silver, plate, etc. see Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 76.

**stupet.** Sat. 2. 7. 95 'Pausiaca tor-

Hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo
Vespertina tepet regio, quin per mala praeceps
Fertur uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid
Summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem :
Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poëtas.
'Faenum habet in cornu ; longe fuge : dummodo risum
Excutiat sibi non hic cuiquam parcet amico ;
Et quodcunque semel chartis illeverit omnes
Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque
Et pueros et anus.' Agedum, pauca accipe contra.
Primum ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poëtas
Excerpam numero : neque enim concludere versum
Dixeris esse satis ; neque si qui scribat, uti nos
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poëtam.

pes, insane tabella,' Virg. G. 2. 508 'Hic stupet attonitus rostris.'

**Albius**, whose son is beggared by this extravagance, v. 109. That the name belonged to Horace's friend, the poet Tibullus (Od. 1. 33 and Epp. 1. 4) who of course is not meant, is perhaps a proof that it is not taken at haphazard, but would have to a reader definite associations with some person either in real life or in previous literature.

29. The 'mercator,' the standing example of a man who 'makes haste to be rich.' With this descr. cp. 'per mala praeceps,' etc. Epp. 1. 1. 45, 46.

31. **fertur**, as though he were run away with. Virg. G. 1. 514 'Fertur equis auriga.'

32. **ut**, like 'ne quid,' after 'metuens,' 'lest he lose . . . or fail in increasing . . .'

33. They hate the poet because they are afraid of what he writes.

34. Porph. vouches for its having been a custom in his time to warn passers-by against a dangerous bull by fastening a wisp of hay to its horns. A metaph. allusion to the same practice is found in Plutarch, Vita Crassi. For the satirist as an angry bull cp. Epod. 6. 11 'in malos asperrimus Parata tollo cornua.'

35. **excutiat**, 'succeed in raising ;' 'excutere lacrimas.' Ter. Heaut. 1. 1. 115. **sibi**, dat. commodi.

36. **illeverit**. The expression seems to imply haste and carelessness. He will not even be at the pains to think carefully of what he writes.

37. **furno . . . lacuque**. 'The bakehouse (Juv. S. 7. 4) and the tank.' Agrippa had made 700 such 'lacus,' reservoirs filled from the aqueducts.

39. **primum** : the second question, though not formally introduced by 'deinde,' begins at v. 64.

**poëtas** : so the MSS. It was altered to 'poëtis' by Bentley on the authority of Comm. Cruq., who on Sat. 1. 6. 25 supports 'tribuno' by quoting 'dederim quibus esse poëtis.' Both constructions are possible, though perhaps the dative is more in Horace's way ; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 19 'licet esse beatis,' 1. 2. 51 ; 'munifico esse licet,' A. P. 372 'mediocribus esse poëtis non di non homines non concessere columnae.'

40. **concludere**, as 'pedibus quid claudere senis,' Sat. 1. 10. 59, 'pedibus claudere verba' Sat. 2. 1. 28. 'To round off,' 'to make the feet fit in exactly.'

41. **dixeris**. 'You are not likely to say,' Madv. § 550 b and 370.

42. **sermoni**, as often in Cicero, 'ordinary conversation,' see inf. v. 48. With the whole passage cp. Cic. Orat. 20. 67 'video visum esse nonnullis Platonis et Democriti locutionem etsi absit a versu tamen quod incitatius feratur et clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur potius poëma putandam quam comicorum poëtarum, apud quos, nisi quod versiculi sunt nihil aliud quotidiani dissimile sermonis.'

Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
Magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poëma
Esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
Nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
Differt sermoni, sermo merus. 'At pater ardens
Saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
Filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,
Ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante
Noctem cum facibus.' Numquid Pomponius istis
Audiret leviora, pater si viveret? Ergo
Non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,
Quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem

43. **ingenium.** The native gift; cp. its contrast with 'ars' A. P. 295. What particular gift, must be settled by the context, but it is specially used for the gift of the poet — imagination, fancy; cp. A. P. 323 'Grais ingenium Grais dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui.' Horace claims it for himself, Od. 2. 18. 9.

**mens divinior**, 'inspiration,' as something which raises him above the ordinary condition of human intelligence. The poet is 'divino quodam spiritu inflatus' Cic. Arch. 8. 18. One who has this inspiration is said 'spirare;' see the expression of v. 46 and note on Od. 2. 16. 38; cp. also Od. 4. 6. 29.

**os magna sonaturum**, i.e. a correspondent diction; cp. Virg. G. 3. 294 'magno nunc ore sonandum.' For the use of 'os' cp. Od. 4. 2. 8, A. P. 94, 323.

45. **quidam**, the 'nonnulli' of Cicero, l. c. Heind. points out that the reason given applies to the new comedy of manners, Menander and his Latin imitators, not to the old Attic comedy.

46. **acer spiritus**, fire of inspiration.

47. **rebus**: a wide word for the matter as opposed to the diction, including Aristotle's *διάνοια*, 'sententia,' 'thought,' as well as *μῦθος*, 'fabula,' 'plot;' cp. A. P. 89 'res comica,' 322 'versus inopes rerum.' Cp. with Orell. Quintil. 10. 1. 27 'ab his [poëtis] et in rebus spiritus, et in verbis sublimitas . . . petitur.'

**pede certo**, i.e. laws of rhythm, fixed succession of quantities. So 'tempora certa' v. 58.

48. **at**, etc., an interruption, answered in v. 52. 'Surely there is fire in the scenes where a father storms at his son,' etc. The cases imagined are commonplaces of Latin comedy.

49. **meretrice**, for the relation of the ablative cp. Od. 3. 5. 6 'turpis maritus coniuge barbara.' **nepos**, Epod. 1. 34.

51. Persius seems to have this among other passages in view, 5. 163 'an siccis dedecus obstem Cognatis? an rem patriam rumore sinistro . . . frangam, dum Chrysidis udas Ebrius ante fores exstincta cum face canto?' So that the 'faces' would be the 'funalia' of Od. 3. 26. 7, and the picture of a tipsy serenade.

52. Horace answers, 'After all, this is only the language of passion in real life: for poetry we want not metre only but poetical diction; no one would mistake Ennius for prose even if you destroyed the metre.'

52. **Pomponius** may be a real person whose circumstances would be known to the readers. Or he may be the person in comedy alluded to; 'pater si viveret' in that case meaning 'if it were a father in real life,' opp. 'personatus pater' v. 56.

54. **puris**, 'plain,' 'unadorned;' see Bentley on A. P. 99. Quintilian, 8. 3. 14, recommends, as the suitable style for cases heard in private or before a small bench, 'purus sermo et dissimilis curae.' Cp. the use of 'purum' with 'argentum,' 'not chased.' It translates *ψιλός* Arist. Poet. 1. 7.

Quo personatus pactor pater. His, ego quae nunc,
Olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
Tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est
Posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis,
Non, ut si solvas 'Postquam Discordia tetra
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit,'
Invenias etiam disiecti membra poëtae.
Hactenus haec: alias iustum sit necne poëma,
Nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit
Suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer
Ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,
Magnus uterque timor latronibus; at bene si quis
Et vivat puris manibus contemnat utrumque.
Ut sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,
Non ego sim Capri neque Sulci; cur metuas me?

56. **personatus**, adj. from 'persona,' wearing a mask; 'the father on the stage.'

58. **tempora certa modosque.** The adj. belongs to both subst. Cp. the equivalent 'pedibus numerisque' of v. 7, 'regularity in quantities and rhythm.'

60. The Schol. here and Servius on Virg. Aen. 7. 622 'Belli ferratos rupit Saturnia postes' attribute these verses to Ennius.

62. **etiam** with **disiecti**; 'in our case you would not recognise, as you would in the case of Ennius, the limbs, even though you had dismembered him, of a poet.'

63. **iustum,** 'proper,' 'legitimate.' The subj. is 'genus hoc scribendi.'

65. **Sulcius . . . Caprius,** 'delatores et causidici' Porph. Neither appellation can be strictly accurate, as the use of 'delator' for an informer is post-Augustan and 'causidicus' is a term of the civil not criminal courts. It is usually supposed that the persons meant are professional accusers (such as are called 'quadruplatores' Cic. Div. in Caec. 7. 24 et al.) Ritter prefers to think of the 'apparitores' of the aediles, i. e. police officers. The names here may possibly be literary. Caelius occurs in Lucil. 30. 117, and in a context ('ut semel in Caeli pugnas te invadere vidi'), which is not unsuitable to a 'latro.'

**acer,** as 'canis acer,' 'of keen scent.' Perhaps Horace has actually in mind the comparison of accusers to watch-dogs, which is in view in Epod. 6, and which forms the subject of an elaborate paragraph in Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 20. 55–57, a passage which well illustrates the view that the class here spoken of are men who made a trade of accusation.

66. **rauci male,** 'valde,' Schol., the adverb intensifying the unpleasant signification of the adj. See on Od. 1. 17. 25. Perhaps 'with ill omened croak.' They are hoarse with bawling in court.

**libellis,** notes of the case, depositions, or other documents which the accusers would carry into court, as Juv. of the 'causidicus,' Sat. 7. 107 'comites in fasce libelli.'

69. **ut,** concessive, 'even suppose that;' Madv. § 440 a, obs. 4.

70–73. The moods in this passage have caused considerable discussion. 'Sim' has been altered (as by Heind. and Orelli) to 'sum.' On the other hand Bentley, following some inferior MSS. of Lambinus, would read 'recitem.' Orelli is unwilling to allow the general potential use 'modeste affirmantis' of the present subjunctive. He therefore alters 'sim,' and makes 'habeat' optative. If we keep 'sim' it is possible either to make it the apodosis to 'ut sis,' 'even though you be like Caelius I need not be like Caprius,' or perhaps better (with Lambinus) to make it a further supposition in the concessive clause, the apodosis being 'cur metuas

Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
Quis manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli.
Nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
Non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lavantes:
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanes
Hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentes, num sine sensu,
Tempore num faciant alieno. 'Laedere gaudes,'
Inquit, 'et hoc studio pravus facis.' Unde petitum
Hoc in me iacis? Est auctor quis denique eorum
Vixi cum quibus? Absentem qui rodit amicum;

me'? 'If you had clean hands you might laugh at the informers, but supposing that you are like Caelius, while *I* am not like Caprius, why should you fear me'? The mutual opposition of the two clauses under 'ut' is expressed by the emphatic 'tu sis,' 'non ego sim,' 'you are, I am not.' 'Habeat' is potential. We are still feeling the hypothetical construction of 'ut sis,' etc. 'It does not follow that my writing should lie in any bookseller's shop.' To make it optative renders the transition to 'nec recito' impossible, as Bentley felt. You can pass from a modified statement to an unmodified one, but a wish and a fact cannot be connected by 'nec.'

71. **taberna . . . pila**: cp. A. P. 374; variously explained of a pillar erected opposite a shop and of shops under arcades, such as are common in Italian towns now (see Burn's Rome and The Campagna, p. 90). The pillar opposite the shop would be used both as a support for an additional stall for exposing the wares, 'armaria quae apud pilas sunt' Porph., and for hanging advertisements and specimens: cp. Mart. 1. 118. 10 'Contra Caesaris est forum taberna Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis Omnes ut cito perlegas poëtas,' ib. 7. 61. 5 'nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagenis.'

72. **Hermogenis Tigelli**, Sat. 1. 3. 129, 1. 9. 25, 1. 10. 18, 80, 90; see Introd. to Sat. 1. 3. He is the representative of the foppish and effeminate taste of the day in music and poetry. So that Horace says 'I do not mean to court popularity either with the crowd or with the would-be critics whose taste I value no higher.'

73. **recito**: absol. as in Juv. S. 3. 9 'Augusto recitantes mense poëtas.' Bentley, thinking **cuiquam** inert, would read 'quicquam,' with very slight MS. authority.

75. **lavantes**, as Martial, 3. 44. 12, of the egotistical poet, 'in thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem.'

76. **suave**, etc., an ironical excuse, imagined for them. 'It is such a good room for sound.' The edd. compare Sen. Epist. 56 speaking of the noise endured by one who lodges near a bath; 'adice illum cui vox sua in balneo placet.'

**inanes**, 'frivolous,' a Lucretian use, 1. 639 etc. This is the comment on the excuse.

77. **sensu**: cp. the use of 'sensus communis' Sat. 1. 3. 66.

79. **inquit**, sc. 'aliquis,' of an imagined answer, even when the passage is generally in the second person; so Sat. 2. 2. 99. It is a prose usage. Bentley quotes Cic. pro Clu. 34. 92 and pro Flacc. 23. 55.

**studio**, with **facis**; 'with zeal.' As Cicero 'studio accusare' Rosc. Am. 32. 91.

**pravus**: as we say 'from a crook in your nature.' So Sat. 2. 7. 71 'quae belua ruptis Cum semel effugit reddit se prava catenis.'

80. **quis**, 'aliquis,' as Sat. 1. 3. 63.

**denique**: the same use as in an ordinary climax, though, as not unfrequently, there are only two steps in the ascent. Cp. Epp. 2. 127.

81–103. Horace first gives a picture of the malignity of disposition. Then, in the light of this, he contrasts with his own comments on his neighbours, first the readily-conceded licence of the jester at the banquet, then the inuendoes of a 'candid friend.'

Qui non defendit alio culpante; solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis;
Fingere qui non visa potest; commissa tacere
Qui nequit; hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
Saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,
E quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos
Praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,
Condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.
Hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur,
Infesto nigris. Ego si risi quod ineptus
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
Lividus et mordax videor tibi? Mentio si quae
De Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli

82. **defendit**: for the lengthened syllable cp. Sat. 1. 5. 90 'soleat,' 1. 9. 21 'subiit,' 2. 1. 82 'condiderit,' 2. 2. 47 'erat,' 2. 3. 187 'velit,' 2. 3. 260 'agit;' see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

85. **niger**, 'malignant.' Compare the use of μέλας; see Liddell and Scott.

**Romane**. The emphatic 'tu' calls attention to the import of the name. 'Tu qui vere Romanus sis.'

86. **quaternos**, four on each 'lectus.' It looks as if *three*, the number commonly found in the references of literature, was the limit only in the more luxurious society. On the other side five is spoken of as an excessive number, Cic. in Pis. 27. 67 'Graeci stipati, quini in lectulis.' The contrast of numbers, 'quaternos' 'unus,' seems to mean 'some one in a large party.'

87. **amet**. The reading of V, against the vulg. 'avet.' The subjunctive is more fitting in what technically is a relative clause in the orat. obl. dependent on 'videas,' and substantially is the most important statement in the sentence: the less important additions, 'qui praebet,' 'cum aperit' may stand in the indic., see Madv. § 369. For 'amet' cp. Sat. 1. 10. 60, etc., and see on Od. 2. 3. 10.

**quavis**, as Catullus (40. 6, 76. 14) used 'qualibet;' but by the choice of the designation for 'the host' in the next line 'qui praebet aquam,' a reflected force is thrown on 'quavis,' as though it were 'aqua' that was to be understood, 'with water whether clean or foul.'

88. **qui praebet aquam**. The expression must have come from an ἔρανος, where the guests brought all but the water; see Od. 3. 19. 6 'quis aquam temperet ignibus,' and cp. Sat. 2. 2. 69. There seems here to be some play both on the preceding words 'aspergere,' etc., and on the following, 'when he has gone from water to wine.'

**post**, 'postea.'

91. **infesto nigris**: though you hate the character described above as 'malignant.'

92. From Sat. 1. 2. 27, and standing generally as a type of the personalities of Horace's Satires. Similarly in Sat. 2. 1. 22 he quotes 'Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem' from Sat. 1. 8. 11.

**pastillos** (dim. of 'panis'), lozenges, of aromatic substances, used to scent the breath, Mart. 1. 88. 2.

93. **lividus**, 'spiteful.'

**mordax**: for the figure cp. Od. 4. 3. 16, Epp. 1. 18. 82, and especially Epod. 6. 15, where 'atro' = 'livido.'

**si quae**. So K. and H. after the best MSS. It is Horatian; see Sat. 1. 6. 10 'si . . . fors quae mihi monstret.'

94. **Capitolini Petilli**, Sat. 1. 10. 25 'cum Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli,' the subject of a 'cause célèbre' in Horace's time not elsewhere mentioned. We should naturally think of some trial 'de peculatu.' The Scholiasts complete the story: 'Fingit se loqui cum quodam qui amicus sit Petillii, amici Caesaris, qui accusatus quod coronam Iovis Capitolini rapuisset

Te coram fuerit, defendas ut tuus est mos:
'Me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
A puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus
Fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe;
Sed tamen admiror, quo pacto iudicium illud
Fugerit.' Hic nigrae sucus loliginis, haec est
Aerugo mera: quod vitium procul afore chartis
Atque animo prius ut si quid promittere de me
Possum aliud vere, promitto. Liberius si
Dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
Cum venia dabis: insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
Cum me hortaretur, parce, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:
'Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius, utque
Baius inops? Magnum documentum ne patriam rem
Perdere quis velit.' A turpi meretricis amore
Cum deterreret: 'Scetani dissimilis sis.'
Ne sequerer moechas concessa cum venere uti
Possem: 'Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni,'

absolutus est.' 'Cum Capitolio praeesset coronam rapuit. Ex crimine Capitolinus Petillius vocabatur.' The account is discredited by two facts, (1) Capitolinus is known to have been a proper 'cognomen' in the gens Petillia. (2) The crime of robbing Capitoline Jove of his crown is *proverbial* as early as Plautus, Trin. 1. 2. 46, Menaechm. 5. 5. 38. See Introd. to Satires, p. 9. For the inversion of family and gentile name see on Od. 2. 2. 3 'Crispe Salusti.'

96. **amicoque**: for the hypermeter, cp. 1. 6. 103 'peregreve,' Virg. G. 1. 295.

100. **nigrae**, recalling the 'niger' of vv. 85, 91. This is blackness itself.

101. **aerugo mera.** Horace uses the expression again A. P. 330 of avarice, 'aerugo et cura peculi,' fixing the meaning here as a 'poisonous canker' of the mind. Martial's use of the word 10. 33. 5 'viridi tinctos aerugine versus,' and 2. 61. 4 are recollections of this passage.

102. **prius**, to go still further back.

**ut**, sc. 'promitto si quid,' etc., 'as I promise anything else that I can promise with truth.'

104. **hoc** may be the abl. as in Sat. 2. 2. 109 'pluribus assuerit mentem,' or a cogn. accus. after the precedent of the double accusative with 'docere,' etc. There is some MS. authority for the reading 'insevit' which Lambinus completed by the conjectural reading 'mi,' but H. is speaking of his father's instruction, not of inherited dispositions.

106. **notando** describes the father's mode of teaching the lesson; 'branding by means of examples the vices one by one, that I might avoid them.' It has been less satisfactorily taken after 'fugerem' of Horace's own action, 'ut fugerem' in that case explaining 'hoc.'

109. **male vivat**, 'has a bad life of it.' Epp. 1. 17. 10, opp. 'bene vivere;' see below on v. 138.

**Albi filius**: see above on v. 28.

110. **Baius**, so K. and H. with the best MSS. including the four Bland. The name occurs in inscriptions. Other MSS. give Barrus, Barus, Varus, Balbus, etc. Bentley conj. 'ut qui Paris' or 'Farris.'

**inops**, sc. 'sit.'

Aiebat. 'Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
Sit melius, causas reddet tibi: mi satis est si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
Dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
Incolumem possum; simul ac duraverit aetas
Membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.' Sic me
Formabat puerum dictis; et sive iubebat
Ut facerem quid: 'Habes auctorem quo facias hoc;'
Unum ex iudicibus selectis obiiciebat;
Sive vetabat: 'An hoc inhonestum et inutile factu
Necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
Hic atque ille?' Avidos vicinum funus ut aegros
Exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,
Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
Absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis
Perniciem quaecunque ferunt, mediocribus et quis
Ignoscas vitiis teneor. Fortassis et istinc
Largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,

115. **quid . . . causas**, a brachylogy = 'causas cur hoc vel illud melius sit vitatu petituve.' For the position of 'que' see on Od. 1. 30. 6. 'A philosopher will explain to you the grounds of moral choice. My aim is only practical, for myself to keep traditional rules of conduct; and for you, to preserve your life and your good name till you are old enough to take care of yourself.'

118. **custodis**, that is, παιδαγωγοῦ. Cp. A. P. 161 and see on Sat. 1. 6. 81. Horace's father discharged the duty himself.

122. **quo**, sc. 'auctore;' 'a pattern for so acting.'

123. **iudicibus selectis.** The expression describes the register ('album') of 'iudices' for the 'Quaestiones Perpetuae' drawn up for the year by the 'Praetor Urbanus.' To be so selected was a proof of respectability. Cic. Clu. 43. 121 'praetores urbani qui iurati debent optimum quemque in selectos iudices referre.' Ovid uses the expression in a similar way Am. 1. 10. 38, Trist. 2. 132.

**obiiciebat**, 'suggested.'

124. **an**, to be taken before 'addubites.' 'Can you *then* doubt?' see Madv. § 453.

**inhonestum et inutile**, offending against both canons at once of conduct, 'honestum' (τὸ καλόν), and 'utile' (τὸ συμφέρον). Ep. 1. 2. 3 'quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe; quid utile, quid non.' Cp. Cic. de Off. 3. 2.

125. **flagret**, as Cic. commonly, 'flagrare invidia, infamia,' etc., 'to be in the full glow of,' i.e. to be the conspicuous victim of. Its more simple use is with passions, etc., 'amore' Epod. 5. 81, 'desiderio,' 'cupidine,' which may be supposed to cause the 'glow' from within.

126. **avidos**, sc. 'edendi,' as in Od. 3. 23. 4 and Sat. 1. 5. 75, the object of the 'eagerness' is to be inferred from the context; cp. Od. 3. 4. 58, where 'avidus' = 'avidus pugnae.'

**aegros**, predicative and temporal, 'when they are sick.'

127. **sibi parcere**, 'to be careful of themselves,' as Ep. 1. 7. 11 'sibi parcet.'

129. **ex hoc**, 'thanks to this'—to my father's plan of education.

**sanus ab.** 'Sanus' may be taken as a more coloured rendering of 'liber,' and taking the construction of that word, or we may compare 'securus ab,' 'metuere ab,' of the quarter, i.e. the respect, in which the danger exists.

132. **liber**, as above, v. 90, 'free-spoken.'

Consilium proprium: neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
Porticus excepit, desum mihi: 'Rectius hoc est:
Hoc faciens vivam melius: Sic dulcis amicis
Occurram: Hoc quidam non belle: numquid ego illi
Imprudens olim faciam simile?' Haec ego mecum
Compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti
Illudo chartis. Hoc est mediocribus illis
Ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis,
Multa poëtarum veniat manus auxilio quae
Sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

133. **lectulus.** Suet. Aug. 78 'A cena lucubratoriam se in lecticulam recipiebat. Ibi donec residua diurni actus aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat—in lectum inde trangressus.' So Ovid. Trist. 1. 11. 37 'Non haec in nostris ut quondam scripsimus hortis, Nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes.' Horace spent the morning till ten o'clock on his couch, Sat. 1. 6. 122.

134. **porticus.** Ep. 1. 1. 71, of the colonnades, of which there were so many in Rome (a fragment remains of the Porticus Octaviae, see Burn's Rome and The Campagna, p. 308) in which the citizens walked, or were carried in litters (Juv. S. 7. 178), and even drove (ib. 4. 5).

135. **vivam melius.** It covers both 'better' and 'more happily;' see above, v. 109, and compare the use of 'bene vivere' in a quasi-philosophical sense in the Epistles, Epp. 1. 6. 56, 1. 11. 29, 1. 15. 45.

137. '**olim,**' 'some day,' A. P. 386; see on Epod. 3. 1.

139. **illudo chartis.** The depreciatory use of 'ludo' of a man's own compositions (as in Sat. 1. 10. 37, see on Od. 1. 32. 2) with the addition 'in chartis.' Horace is giving a final account of his writing of Satire. It is his playful and childlike method of self-rebuke and self-instruction.

141. **veniat.** It does not seem necessary to read 'veniet' against the majority of MSS. The coming is put hypothetically, the result, if they do come, as a certain future.

142. **multo plures**, a comic exaggeration (Prof. Palmer well compares Juv. S. 14. 276 'plus hominum iam est in pelago,' 'there are more men nowadays at sea than on land'), which serves the purpose of bringing the Satire to a close, suggesting at the same time Horace's familiar ironical plea for writing (Od. 1. 1, Sat. 2. 1. 24 foll.), that he claims the freedom of taste that all others claim. Here it is 'more than half the world write poetry of some kind, and we should make common cause.'

143. **Iudaei**: the ref. is to their proselytizing spirit, S. Matt. 23. 15.

**in hanc turbam**, sc. 'in manum poëtarum.'

**concedere.** There is a certain play in keeping the same verb in slightly different senses: 'If you won't yield to us in one way you will have to do so in another.'

# SATIRE V.

## THE JOURNEY TO BRUNDISIUM.

THE idea of the Satire was from Lucilius. 'Lucilium hac satira aemulatus Horatius iter suum a Roma usque ad Brundisium describens quod et ille in tertio libro fecit, primum a Roma Capuam usque et inde fretum Siciliense.' A few fragments of the model exist: for one effect of its influence see note on p. 6.

A chief purpose doubtless of the Satire is to give a picture of the poet's relations to Maecenas, the freedom and absence of servility which characterize them; the literary circle with which they were shared, the absence, even at a critical moment in state affairs, of any political bearing in the intimacy.

So strongly is this last characteristic reflected in the poem that it lacks any reference to public events by which we might have fixed the occasion and date of the journey.

The only occasion on which we know of an arrangement having been concluded at Brundisium between Octavianus and Antony was the so-called peace of Brundisium in B.C. 40 (the occasion of Virgil's 4th Eclogue), when Maecenas represented Octavianus, Pollio Antony, and Cocceius was added as a referee (*κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν* Appian, Bell. Civ. 5. 709). This is excluded by the conditions of the case, as Horace was certainly not admitted to Maecenas' circle before B.C. 38; see Introd. to Satires, pp. 3, 4. It is however alluded to in v. 29, where Maecenas and Cocceius are called 'legati aversos soliti componere amicos.' Kirchner (followed by Franke, Orelli, and Ritter) maintained that the journey belongs to the 'treaty of Tarentum' in the spring of B.C. 37. Antony came on that occasion to Brundisium, as though that were the place appointed for meeting, but being ill-received by the inhabitants went on to Tarentum, where eventually terms were arranged through the intervention of Octavia, who called in the help of Maecenas and Agrippa as friends of Octavianus (Plut. Ant. 35). There is no further evidence as to any journey of negotiators on behalf of Octavianus to Brundisium, and if they also went on to Tarentum it is not explained why Horace stops the story where he does. Schutz has lately suggested, with great probability, that the reference is to the previous mission of Maecenas to Antony, then probably at Athens, in the autumn of 38 (Appian, B. C. 5. 728). Horace would then have accompanied him to the place of embarcation. It is natural that Maecenas should associate with himself for such a purpose Capito, who was a personal friend of Antony, and Cocceius, who had been previously employed by both sides as an impartial adviser. Cocceius is probably the M. Cocceius Nerva who was consul in B.C. 36, the great-grandfather of the Emperor Nerva. L. Fonteius Capito was 'consul suffectus' in B.C. 30. We find him immediately after the 'treaty of Tarentum' in Antony's company, and employed by him to bring Cleopatra to Syria.

1–6. Horace starts with Heliodorus and travels along the Via Appia, the first day to Aricia, the second to Appii Forum, reaching it in the evening.

7–26. The journey is continued through the night by boat along the canal [which had been part of a scheme of Octavianus for draining the Pomptine marshes (see A. P. 65)]. They land late in the morning, and have three miles to climb to Anxur on its cliffs.

27–33. Here the negotiators join them, coming possibly by sea.

34–38. Starting again they pass through Fundi, where the chief magistrate is fulsome and consequential, and after a long day reach Formiae, where they sleep at a house belonging to Murena, Maecenas' brother-in-law, Capito (who probably also had a 'villa' there) finding cook and dinner.

39–46. On the fifth day, as they pass through Sinuessa, Plotius Tucca, Virgil, and Varius join them. They sleep at a 'villula,' on the border of Latium and Campania.

47–49. On the sixth day they reach Capua early.

50–70. The seventh night is spent at Cocceius' 'villa' beyond Caudium. [They are now beginning to cross the Appennines.] Here the amusement of the evening is described, the encounter of the two 'scurrae.'

71–85. On the eighth day they reach Beneventum in the upper valley of the Vulturnus. [From this point the Via Appia proceeds through Venusia to Tarentum and from thence to Brundisium. Maecenas and his party go by a cross road which diverges from this and makes more directly for the N. coast.] The night is spent at a 'villa' near Trivicum. On the road they have been catching sight of the hill outlines of Horace's old neighbourhood.

86–93. They have now crossed the pass and descend rapidly (tenth day) to a little town with a name intractable for hexameter verse, and which cannot be identified. The eleventh day takes them to Canusium, where Varius leaves them.

94-end. The twelfth to Rubi, a long stage in bad weather. The thirteenth to Barium. We are now on the coast. The fourteenth and fifteenth to Egnatia and Brundisium.

EGRESSUM magna me accepit Aricia Roma
Hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,

1. **accepit**, 'welcomed,' Sat. 2. 6. 81, Virg. Aen. 3. 78. The verb is specially used with 'hospitio,' as Cic. ad Att. 2. 15. 4. Some good MSS. have 'excepit;' cp. Liv. 38. 41 'postero die Priaticus campus eos excepit.' If we retain 'accepit,' the fact that Aricia was the 'first stopping-place' is left to 'egressum . . . Roma,' and the emphasis is laid entirely on the contrast 'magna,' 'modico,' the exchange of the splendours of Rome for the first experience of a country inn.

**Aricia**. Virg. Aen. 7. 762 foll., Juv. S. 4. 117 (Mayor, n.), Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 15. A town sixteen miles from Rome, one mile and a half beyond the modern Albano. The present town of Lariccia, which is on the hill, covers the site of the ancient citadel, Aricia itself having lain in the valley to which the 'Via Appia' descended by the 'clivus Aricinus,' the haunt of beggars, Juv. l. c. and Pers. 6. 56.

2. **Heliodorus**: otherwise unknown. He has been identified by some with a writer on metre much praised by Marius Victorinus (fourth cent.) 'inter Graecos huiusce artis antistes aut primus aut solus.' For another conjectural identification see introd. to Od. 3. 19.

3. **Graecorum longe doctissimus.** Some good MSS. have 'linguae,' but the Schol. had 'longe'; 'linguae' may have been due to Od. 3. 8. 5 'docte sermones utriusque linguae,' and to a sense of hyperbole in 'Graecorum longe.' 'Graecorum' to Horace would be almost equivalent to 'rhetorum et grammaticorum,' but the hyperbole is intended and is playful.

**Forum Appi**. Cic. ad Att. 2. 10. There, as in St. Paul's journey to Rome (Acts 28. 15), it is mentioned in conjunction with 'Tres Tabernae' as among the stopping-places on the Via Appia. The ruins still exist at the forty-third milestone from Rome.

Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
Praecinctis unum : minus est gravis Appia tardis.
Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
Indico bellum, cenantes haud animo aequo
Exspectans comites. Iam nox inducere terris
Umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat.
Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
Ingerere. 'Huc appelle!' 'Trecentos inseris : ohe
Iam satis est!' Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora. Mali culices ranaeque palustres
Avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam
Multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
Certatim. Tandem fessus dormire viator

4. **nautis, cauponibus**, because it was a stopping-place where travellers embarked on the canal. Strabo 5. 3. 6 describes the canal which ran by the side of the Via Appia through the Pomptine marshes to within a short distance of Tarracina. It was used chiefly for night travelling, the boats being dragged by mules.

**malignis** : see Sat. I. I. 29 n.

5. **hoc iter**, i. e. the journey from Rome to Appii Forum.

**altius praecinctis** = 'expeditioribus,' a humorous adaptation of the measurement of distance in Hdt. and Thuc. *εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί*, as though all travellers went on foot.

6. **minus gravis.** Horace speaks, Epp. I. 17. 53, of the roughness ('salebras') of the road to Brundisium.

**tardis** : those who take it in short stages.

7. **deterrima.** 'Hodie quoque in Foro Appii viatores propter aquam quae ibi deterrima est manere vitant' Porph. The badness of the water is explained by the neighbourhood of the marshes. Notice that the custom of mixing water with wine is so fixed that Horace does not get out of the difficulty by drinking his wine neat, but goes without his supper.

9. **comites.** Not his own party, for at present Heliodorus alone was with him, but others, possibly who had arrived before, who were to share the boat.

**iam nox**, etc. The heroic tone of this verse and the next is meant to heighten by contrast the humour of the Dutch picture which follows, just as the 'Musa velim memores' of v. 53 introduces the vulgar sparring of the clowns.

11. **pueri nautis.** The scene shifts from the supper room to the landing-place of the canal. 'Pueri' are the slaves in attendance on travellers, 'nautae,' men in charge of the barges in which the journey was made.

12. **huc appelle**, of a slave hailing a boat.

**trecentos inseris.** Not an answer to 'huc appelle,' but another utterance distinguished in the babel of voices, of a boatman whose boat, boarded by a party larger than it will hold, or larger than was bargained for. 'Trecentos,' hyperbole for a large number, Od. 2. 14. 5, 3. 4. 79.

**ohe!** Sat. 2. 5. 96 'donec ohe iam . . . dixerit.'

14. **mali**, 'comice vituperantis :' cp. Sat. I. I. 77 n., 'the rascally mosquitoes.'

15. **avertunt**, sc. 'venientes;' 'warn them off.'

**ut**, 'whilst.' Ritter and Munro put a stop at 'somnos,' and connect this clause with the following sentence : 'whilst they are singing . . . there comes at last a hush and the bargeman sees his opportunity.'

16. **prolutus.** Sat. 2. 4. 26.

**vappa.** Sat. 2. 3. 144.

**viator.** One of the passengers, as we should say, in the steerage.

Incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
Nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
Iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
Sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
Ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
Fuste dolat. Quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
Milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus
Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
Huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus

21. **cerebrosus**, a word of Lucilius, 15. 18, *ἀκρόχολος*.

**prosilit**, 'leaps ashore.' The canal we must suppose was very narrow, as the bargeman seems to have driven the mule from the boat; he is now asleep on the bank.

22. **saligno**: cut for the purpose from the willows on the bank.

23. **dolat**. A comic word, as it seems properly to have been used of 'hewing,' 'trimming' with an axe.

**quarta**. As an 'hour' in the Roman sense was a twelfth part of the time between sunrise and sunset, the meaning of the 'fourth hour' will vary with the time of year. If the journey was made, as seems likely, near the equinox, it will correspond nearly with the hour between nine and ten of our time. There is the further doubt whether 'at the fourth hour' means at the beginning of it or at the end of it.

24. **tua, Feronia, lympha**. A shrine with a grove and fountain at the foot of the hills skirting the Pomptine marsh some three miles from Tarracina. Virgil mentions it in connection with Circeii and Anxur, Aen. 7. 800 'viridi gaudens Feronia luco.' Feronia was an Italian goddess, who had also a shrine at the foot of Mount Soracte, Liv. 1. 30.

25. **pransi**: the usual midday meal, Sat. 1. 6. 127.

**repimus**. An expressive word for the pace of carriages being dragged up a hill.

26. **Anxur**. The old (Volscian) name of Tarracina. It is the point at which the Volscian hills, and also the Via Appia strike the sea. For its lofty situation see Liv. 5. 12 'alto loco situm,' (although elsewhere (4. 59) he describes it as 'urbs prona in paludes,' 'sloping down to the marsh'), cp. 'praecipites . . . Anxuris arces,' Lucan. 3. 84. For the white rocks Mart. 5. 1. 6 'candidus Anxur.' Porph. speaks of the city as having descended in his day to the lower level, although there were still remains of building, even of the city walls, on the top of the hill where it stood in Horace's time.

27. **huc venturus**, probably by sea.

**optimus**. It has been doubted whether the epithet belongs to Maecenas or to Cocceius. Bentley is doubtless right in taking it with the latter. The same question has been raised at Sat. 1. 10. 82 'Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque Fuscus,' where the rhythm more imperatively than here requires the pause before 'optimus' for 'atque Fuscus' would be intolerable. It is also probably true that for Maecenas 'optimus' would be as Bentley says 'compellatio paullo familiarior:' it is a higher compliment to leave his name without an epithet. 'The worthiest of men' is then almost an apology for bringing the name of Cocceius into such near relation with that of Maecenas.

29. **soliti**. As the previous peace of Brundisium had been due to their offices. For Cocceius and for the reference of this verse see above in Introd. to the Satire.

30. **hic . . . ego**. This is Horace's personal reminiscence of Tarracina, in

Illinere. Interea Maecenas advenit atque
Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
Factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,
Praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.

contrast with the high affairs with which Maecenas and Cocceius were occupied.

**nigra.** Celsus (6. 6. 7) distinguishes two kinds of eyesalve, one called *τέφριον*, from its ashy colour. This and v. 49 are the only places where Horace speaks of himself as suffering from this weakness of the eyes, but he speaks as if it would be recognized as characteristic by his friends. Dill^r^., who thinks that it is only meant as a temporary effect of the night in the marshes, recalls Hannibal's loss of an eye from inflammation in the marshes of the Arno, Liv. 22. 2.

32. **Capito Fonteius**; see Introd. to the Satire. For the order of the two names see on Od. 2. 23.

**ad unguem factus**, 'perfect,' in accomplishments and refinement; cp. A. P. 294. The metaphor is explained by Porph. as taken from workers in marble who test the finish of junctures by passing the nail over them. So Pers. S. 1. 64 'per leve severos Effundat iunctura ungues.' There are parallel phrases in Greek (see Liddell and Scott, s. vv. *ὄνυξ, ὀνυχίζειν, ἐξονυχίζειν*).

33. **non ut magis alter.** Cp. Sat. 1. 7. 19 'uti non Compositum [par] melius cum Bitho Bacchius', 2. 8. 48 'sic convenit ut non Hoc magis ullum aliud.' It may be doubted in such cases whether 'ut' = 'that,' the verb understood being subj., 'to such an extent that no second person is more so,' or 'as,' the verb being indic., 'as no one else is in a greater degree.' The comparison of the constr. of v. 41 'quales neque candidiores Terra tulit' is in favour of the latter. For the position of 'non' we may compare 'non qui' in Epp. 1. 15. 28.

34. **Fundos**, hod. 'Fondi,' a town five miles inland, and halfway (thirteen miles from each) on the Via Appia, between Tarracina and Formiae. The Aufidia gens appears from Suet. Calig. 23 to have been native to Fundi, although some members of it attained office at Rome.

**praetore.** Acron's note is 'praetorem pro magistratu dixit, id est decemviro,' and Heindorf quotes Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 34. 92 'cum venissem Capuam coloniam deductam L. Considio et Sext. Saltio. quemadmodum ipsi loquebantur, praetoribus . . . Nam primum cum ceteris in coloniis duumviri appellentur hi se praetores appellari volebant.' Other details follow, of their making their lictors carry 'fasces' instead of wands, etc. Fundi is named by Festus as one of the 'Praefecturae' to which the Praetor Urbanus sent yearly a 'Praefectus iuri dicundo,' an officer who stood in the place of 'duumviri' elected by the people. Aufidius Luscus would be the 'Praefectus.' The more dignified title of 'Praetor' seems to be given to him in derision, perhaps as assumed by himself, as it was by the 'duumviri' at Capua. The abl. absol. 'A. L. praetore' is regular, and 'libenter' goes closely with it. Fundi was not a place to stay long in during the 'praetorship' of Aufidius.

35. **praemia scribae**: the preferment which this clerk from Rome has attained. Possibly Horace, himself a 'scriba,' knew him at Rome.

36. The 'praetexta,' or 'toga' with purple border, belonged to magistrates at Rome, and even in 'coloniae' and 'municipia' (Liv. 34. 7). The 'latus clavus,' or broad purple stripe down the front of the 'tunica' (Sat. 1. 6. 28) was the distinctive mark of the Senatorian order. Whether Aufidius had a right to the 'praetexta' may be a question. Perhaps he is represented as assuming every possible distinction of dress, lawful and unlawful. Orelli suggests that his 'latus clavus' would seem especially ridiculous in the presence of Maecenas, who was contented with the equestrian 'angustus clavus.'

**vatillum.** So the MSS. spell it rather than 'batillum.' What was the purpose of the 'shovel of hot charcoal' is a matter of guessing. Porph. speaks of his having it carried to his house from

In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
Postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque
Occurrunt, animae quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
Proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum

the public baths, apparently as a perquisite. The Comm. Cruq. says it was with the view of offering incense 'pro felici hospitum adventu.' In this case his offence would be officiousness as well as self-importance. Various other purposes have been suggested by editors early and late: the heating of branding irons for criminals who came before him, incense for the inauguration of his court; some have thought that 'fireshovel' is a contemptuous name for something carried before the 'praetor,' perhaps a clumsy imitation of the 'scipio eburneus' of the consul. It was proposed early to read 'bacillum,' a 'little staff' or 'wand,' which Cruquius supported by reference to the passage quoted above from Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 34, where there is mention of the 'baculi' carried before the magistrates of a country town. To suit this 'prunae' has been further altered to 'pruni,' 'a wand of plum-tree wood.'

37. **Mamurrarum urbe.** A satirical description, 'the city of Mamurra's family,' as though it would be best known to the world as the birth-place of one whose wealth and scandals were still in men's thoughts, the favourite of Julius Caesar, Suet. Jul. Caes. 73, 'decoctor Formianus' of Catull. 41. The place is Formiae (hod. Mola di Gaeta) on the Sinus Caietanus.

38. **Murena**: see Od. 2. 10, introd., 3. 19. 11. They lodged in the house of Murena, Maecenas' brother-in-law, who it would seem was absent. The supper was provided by Fonteius Capito, one of the company, who also may have had a villa at Formiae, or who may have brought cook and materials for the entertainment.

40. **Plotius.** Plotius Tucca, one of Virgil's two literary executors, Varius being the other. The three friends come together. Cf. the conjunction in Sat. 1. 10. 81 'Plotius et Varius Maecenas Vergiliusque.' Horace owed his own acquaintance with Maecenas to Varius and Virgil, Sat. 1. 6. 54.

**Varius**, see on Od. 1. 6. 1.

**Sinuessae**, near the modern Mondragone. Here the Via Appia turns sharply inland.

41. **quales neque candidiores.** For constr. see on Epod. 5. 59, and cp. above note on v. 33, 'souls of such sort as have never walked the earth more purely white.'

42. **terra tulit.** Sat. 2. 2. 93, Virg. Aen. 11. 285.

**neque quis**: answering not to 'quales,' but to 'neque candidiores;' the subjunctive 'sit' following 'quis' = 'tales ut iis,' regularly: 'nor to whom any should be more closely bound than I.'

44. **contulerim**, potential, Madv. § 350 b; 'sanus' involves a condition 'so long as I am in my senses,' as in Sat. 1. 6. 89 'Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius.'

45. **Campano ponti**, a bridge over the Savo (hod. Savone), which here was the boundary of Latium and Campania. It was three miles beyond Sinuessa. There is nothing to indicate whether the 'villula' was a private house or a public place of reception, whether an inn or a posting-house where travelling officials ('qui reipublicae causa iter faciunt' Porph.) received such entertainment as the 'parochi' were bound to supply. This was limited, by a 'lex Iulia de repetundis,' to beds, fuel, salt, and fodder for horses; see Cic. ad Att. 5. 16. The beginning of the practice is described in Liv. 42. 1, and other allusions to it are found in Cic. ad Att.

Praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.
Hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
Lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque;
Namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,
Quae super est Caudi cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirrhi,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
Contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
Ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus: 'Equi te
Esse feri similem dico.' Ridemus, et ipse

5. 10 and 21. Porph. gives 'copiarii' as the proper Latin name of these 'parochi.' 'Parochus' is used in a transferred sense in Sat. 2. 8. 36.

47. **tempore**, 'in good time,' 'early;' see Kritz on Sall. Jug. 56.

48. **lusum**, sc. 'pila.' For the game of ball see on Sat. 1. 6. 126. It is noticed that Horace dwells on what shows the individual freedom allowed in Maecenas' circle.

49. **lippis**: see above on v. 30. Horace had no infirmity which prevented him from playing ball at times; see Sat. 2. 6. 49, where he speaks of playing with Maecenas.

**inimicum**. Sat. 2. 4. 53.

**crudis**, 'those suffering from indigestion,' Epp. 1. 6. 61. The author of the life of Virgil which bears Donatus' name mentions among his ailments that 'plerumque stomacho laboravit.'

51. **super**, the meaning is fixed by 'Caudi cauponas:' they overshot the usual halting-place, the inns of Caudium. It is worth noticing that a large number of good MSS. (all the Bland. included) read 'Claudi,' an illustration of the untrustworthiness of MSS. in the case of proper names; see on Od. 3. 16. 41, 3. 20. 15. The mistake is later than the scholia of Porph., who has without hesitation 'supra tabernas Caudi oppidi.' It has begun to infect those of the Pseudo-Acron, which has side by side 'Caudium est civitas Samnii.' Lucan. 'Ultra Caudinas speravit volnera furcas,' and 'supra Caudi (some MSS. 'Claudi') cuiusdam cauponas.'

**nunc mihi paucis**, a mock heroic commencement. Cp. Juvenal's introduction of the story of the great fish, 4. 34 foll. Horace describes an encounter of wit between two buffoons (much like two jesters of feudal times), one of whom (Sarmentus) is travelling in Maecenas' train—the other (Messius) is a native of the neighbouring country (the Oscan language covered Samnium as well as Campania, see Liv. 10. 20), and belongs probably to Cocceius' household.

52. **Sarmenti**. Juv. S. 5. 3 'Si potes illa pati quod nec Sarmentus iniquas Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Galba tulisset,' on which the Scholiast tells us that he was of Etruscan origin, a slave of M. Favonius, who, on the proscription and death of his master, passed into Maecenas' possession, and was freed by him; he became a 'scriba' and sat in the knights' seats, which exposed him to a prosecution. He fell again eventually to indigence.

**Cicirrhi**, *κίκιρρος* acc. to Hesychius meant 'a cock.'

54. **contulerit lites**, a modification of 'conferre certamina,' to suit the wordy fray.

**clarum**: merely ironical, as 'opicus' = 'clownish;' or with special reference to the combat to come, 'famous in this field;' the 'Atellanae fabulae' (Liv. 7. 2) originated with them.

**Osci** may be nom. plur. or gen. sing.

55. **domina**, sc. the widow of Favonius; see on v. 52.

Messius 'Accipio,' caput et movet. 'O, tua cornu
Ni foret exsecto frons,' inquit, 'quid faceres, cum
Sic mutilus miniteris?' At illi foeda cicatrix
Setosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:
Nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
Multa Cicirrhus ad haec: Donasset iamne catenam
Ex voto Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset,
Nihilo deterius dominae ius esse. Rogabat
Denique cur unquam fugisset, cui satis una
Farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
Prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam.

58. **accipio.** Ter. Andr. 5. 4. 48 '*Ch.* Dos, Pamphile, est decem talenta. *Pam.* Accipio,' 'I am satisfied.' 'Be it so.' Mr. Yonge compares Soph. El. 668 *ἐδεξάμην τὸ ῥηθέν*.

**movet**, i.e. as acting the part.

**cornu ni foret exsecto**, in reference probably to the supposed 'unicorn,' which Pliny N. H. 8. 21 describes as 'asperrima fera reliquo corpore equo similis.'

60. **at** opposes the true explanation to the humorous one given by Sarmentus. Cp. Epp. 1. 2. 42.

61. **setosam**: the picture of his bristly hairs low on the forehead helps the resemblance to the wild horse.

62. **Campanum morbum.** The Scholiasts were puzzled. The Comm. Cruq. connects it with the verse before, explaining it of warts or excrescences which grew on the forehead, and which when removed would leave a scar. Heindorf's note suggests its probable connection with the jest which follows, through the name given (by Aristotle and Galen) to a similar complaint *σατυρίασις*. Compare the connection in Epp. 2. 2. 125 of the Satyr and the Cyclops-dance, and notice that Horace kept in mind the etymological connection of 'tragicus' with *τράγος*, 'a goat,' A. P. 220.

63. **pastorem Cyclopa**, the accusative as in Epp. 2. 2. 125. For the nature of these dances see Dict. Ant. s. v. 'Pantomimus.'

64. **larva**, here of the mask with white paint and gaping mouth ('personae pallentis hiatus'), which, according to Juvenal (3. 175), frightened children from a rustic stage.

65. A satirical reference to the practice of dedicating to some god implements that their owner has done with (as the gladiator in Epp. 1. 1. 4, and the lover in Od. 3. 26. 3); perhaps specially, as the Scholiasts say, to the custom among freeborn youths on attaining manhood of consecrating to the Lares their 'bulla.' Martial has a similar gibe (possibly with reference to this passage), on a man who from slavery had become an 'eques': 3. 29 'Has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas, Saturne, tibi Zoilus annulos priores.' The 'catenae' would imply that he had run away and been sentenced to the 'ergastulum' to work in chains.

67. **nihilo**, a disyll., as always in Lucret.; see Munro on Lucret. 1. 159.

68. **una farris libra.** Heindorf points out, from Aul. Gell. 20. 1, that this was by the Twelve Tables the minimum allowance to be made to a debtor in prison. Cato, De R. R. 56, fixes the usual allowance of slaves in the country at from four to five modii a month. This would give as the daily portion about three times what is mentioned here. Slaves it would seem from this ran away on account of bad fare.

70. **producimus**, so the great majority of MSS. against 'produximus.' Orelli's argument that the present would

Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum; ubi sedulus hospes
Paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni:
Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
Convivas avidos cenam servosque timentes
Tum rapere, atque omnes restinguere velle videres.
Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos
Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
Nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
Hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam
Ad mediam noctem exspecto: somnus tamen aufert

require 'hanc' rather than 'illam' seems to be answered by v. 77.

71. **recta**, 'without halts.' This seems to be mentioned because the stage is a short one, twelve miles. Beneventum owed to its position on the Appian road much of its historical importance, and especially the triumphal arch in memory of Trajan's Dacian triumph which still adorns it.

**hospes**, as 'hospitium' in v. 2 of an innkeeper. The picture is comic; the bustling host, the roaring fire, the skinny fieldfares.

72. **macros**. Contrast Epp. 1. 15. 41 'obeso Nil melius turdo;' cp. Sat. 2. 5. 10. The host has got what is reckoned a dainty, but they are in poor condition.

**arsit**, set himself (i.e. his house) on fire. As Virg. Aen. 2. 311 'iam proximus ardet Ucalegon,' Juv. 3. 201 'Ultimus ardebit.' The confused order of the words 'Paene macros arsit dum turdos versat' may be compared with Sat. 1. 3. 70, 2. 1. 60, 2. 3. 211; and see note on Od. 1. 6. 2. Orelli and Dill[r]. suggest (perhaps fancifully) that it is in imitation of the scene of confusion described. For the tense of 'versat' cp. inf. v. 100 and Sat. 2. 4. 79; Epp. 1. 2. 21, 2. 1. 7, 2. 2. 27; A. P. 465: and see Madv. 336, obs. 2.

73. Note the mock heroic rhythm and phraseology, 'dilapso Volcano,' etc. 'The firegod slipped abroad amid the old rafters of the kitchen, and the flame on its travels was well nigh wrapping the rooftree.'

75. **avidos, timentes.** The guests thought of their spoiling dinner—the slaves of the blame to be laid at their doors. The other touches are graphic. The first thought is to save the supper, the second to put out the fire. Note also the art which puts 'avidos' next to 'cenam.'

76. **videres**, the past tense of 'videas' = 'videre licebat;' see on Sat. 1. 3. 5.

77. **notos**, the mountains which stood at the head of the waters of his own Aufidus.

78. **Atabulus.** It is named in Pliny (N. H. 17. 37. 8) as a hot dry wind peculiar to Apulia and destructive to vegetation. Cp. the Vulturnus, a wind which blew on the plains of Apulia, 'torridis siccitate campis' Liv. 22. 46, and carried clouds of dust in the eyes of the Romans at Cannae.

79. **erepsemus**, of the slow process of climbing to the top of the pass. For the form cp. Sat. 1. 9. 73 'surrexe,' 2. 3. 169 'divisse,' 2. 3. 273 'percusti,' 2. 7. 68 'evasti.'

**vicina**, constructed as a subst. with gen.

**Trivici.** 'Trivicum' is not mentioned elsewhere. The modern town of Trevico is on the top of a hill; the farmhouse ('villa') where the travellers found refuge before their final ascent, lay, no doubt, below it in the valley.

80. **lacrimoso fumo.** A grievance which would try Horace especially, v. 49. They were among the hills now and might need fires for warmth as well as cooking.

Intentum Veneri ; tum immundo somnia visu
Nocturnam vestem maculant ventremque supinum.
Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia rhedis,
Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est : venit vilissima rerum
Hic aqua ; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
Callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator ;
Nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
Qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
Flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.

86. **rapimur**: they had crossed the pass and their road led down to the Apulian plain.

87. **quod versu dicere non est.** Ov. Met. 3. 478 'quod tangere non est,' Virg. G. 4. 447 'neque est te fallere quicquam.' Cp. Sat. 2. 5. 103, Epp. 1. 1. 32. Orelli prefers to understand 'facile' from the contrasted clause. The whole expression is from Lucilius, 6. 39, whom the Scholiast quotes, 'Servorum est festus dies hic, Quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis.' The Scholiasts go on to say that the place in question was Equus Tuticus (or Equotuticus). This, however, has been clearly proved to be a mistake. They were misled by a change in the course of the eastern branch of the Via Appia which dates from the reign of Trajan. Equus Tuticus was a stage on this Via Traiana, twenty-one miles from Beneventum. Horace and his companions seem to have taken a line to the South of this. To have gone by Trivicum to Equus Tuticus would have been to follow two sides of a triangle. Walckenaer fixes on Asculum, which is about the right distance from Trivicum and on the road which they seem to have travelled, but if we remember that Trivicum would have been unheard of but for this reference, and that the Scholiasts were at fault, it will seem more likely that this 'oppidulum' is one of which the name has perished.

88. **venit vilissima**: what is usually the least expensive thing in the world has here to be bought. This is the contrast, not 'vilissima' and 'pulcherrimus.'

89. **ultra**: to further stopping places. For the carrying of bread on a journey see on Sat. 1. 1. 47.

90. **soleat.** For lengthening of the syllable see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

91. **Canusi**, Sat. 1. 10. 30, 2. 3. 168. Near the south side of the Aufidus, fourteen miles from its mouth. In the immediate neighbourhood was the field of Cannae. Before reaching Canusium the old road joined the line of the 'Via Traiana,' so that the travellers are again on a route recognised in the Itineraries.

**aquae non ditior urna**, agreeing with 'locus ;' with 'aquae non ditior' cp. the parallel expression in which Horace makes the same complaint of Apulia generally, 'pauper aquae Daunus' Od. 3. 30. 11 (cp. 'siticulosae Apuliae' Epod. 3. 16). There are still some remains of an aqueduct which is said to have been built some 200 years later, to supply this deficiency, by the wealthy and munificent rhetorician, Atticus Herodes.

**urna**: the measure of capacity, as in Sat. 1. 1. 54.

92. Bentley (taking 'urna' in v. 91 as a nom.) would eject this line as dull and faulty. He criticizes especially the phrase 'condere locum,' but it may be justified probably (as Heindorf says) by the Greek *κτίζειν χώραν, νῆσον, κ.τ.λ.* Orelli thinks point was given to the line by its being an echo of Ennius, who in describing Cannae would have mentioned Canusium. Ritter would lay stress on 'forti,' the fit founder of a 'durum genus,' who can eat gritty bread and drink bad water. For the legend of Diomede's settlement in Apulia see Virg. Aen. 11. 243 foll. Canusium was one of the towns whose foundation was attributed to him, Strab. 6. 283, 284. For its continuous Greek character cp. Sat. 1. 10. 30 'Canusini bilinguis.'

Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
Postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque
Bari moenia piscosi; dein Gnatia Lymphis
Iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
Dum flamma sine thura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit. Credat Iudaeus Apella,
Non ego: namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
Nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

94. **Rubos**, hod. Ruvo.

**longum iter**, thirty Roman miles. This upper road from Beneventum by Brundisium is described by Strabo (6. 282) as not more than a bridle road (ἡμιονική), the carriage road (ἁμαξήλατος μᾶλλον) passing through Venusia and Tarentum.

95. **carpentes** = 'quia carpebamus.' See a note of Kritz on Sall. Jug. 10. 2.

**corruptius**: 'iter' in this clause is the road itself.

97. **Bari piscosi.** At Barium the road struck the coast, which thenceforward it follows. Bari is the first important station (seventy-five miles) on the railroad from Brindisi. It is, as it was, a fishing town.

**Gnatia**, or Egnatia, thirty-seven Roman miles from Barium. The miracle is mentioned by Pliny, N. H. 2. 111 'In Salentino oppido Egnatia imposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum protinus flammam exsistere.'

**Lymphis iratis**, 'under the displeasure of the water-goddesses.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 8 'iratis natus paries dis.' Varro R. R. 1. 1. 6 has 'Lympha' as a water-goddess, and the appellation has been found in inscriptions. The word is apparently the same as Nympha (cp. Od. 1. 37. 14 'lymphatam'), an earlier or alternative transliteration from the Greek. For other instances of the change between *l* and *n* see Curtius, Etym. 3. 37, Meyer, Vergl. Gr. 1. 65.

99. **dum . . . cupit.** For tense see supr. on v. 72.

100. **Apella**, the Roman form of the Greek Apellas or Apelles, as Marsya Sat. 1. 6. 120, etc. It seems to be a special name taken at random for one of a class, as Dama, Davus, etc., a Jewish freedman. The name is frequent among 'libertini' in inscriptions; three of the name are mentioned in Cicero.

101. **namque deos didici**, 'I am one of those of whom Lucretius speaks who have learnt his lesson' (5. 83 and 6. 56) 'bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum.'

103. **tristes**, as Mr. Yonge points out, corresponds to 'securum' v. 101; the special lesson which he has unlearnt is that natural phenomena are expressions of emotion in the gods. 'Tristes' is the opp. of 'laeti' Od. 3. 21. 21.

104. **que . . . que**: as of the journey so of the story.

# SATIRE VI.

## THE FREEDMAN'S SON.

Verses 1–6. YOUR princely Etruscan lineage does not lead you, Maecenas, to do what many do, despise such humbly born people as me the 'freedman's son.'

7–18. You think if a man is himself free born it matters little what his parents were, and your historical reasoning is sound; Servius Tullius was not the first of no ancestry who lived honourably and climbed to great position; on the other hand not 'all the blood of all' the Valerii made even the Roman people, for all their worship of ancestry, think Laevinus worth anything. How much sounder should our judging be!

19–26. It is no doubt all fair in political matters. It serves me right, if I, though a Decius, am rejected in favour of a Laevinus, or if an Appius as Censor strikes me off the senate. Why can't I be contented with my own place? But the well born have no monopoly of foolish ambition. You, Tillius, had better have rested without trying to regain your tribune's rank. You were less exposed to envy.

27–44. When a man gains a public position he makes the world ask about his birth, as a man who sets up as a good-looking fellow makes them pull his features to pieces. 'A slave's son going to order the execution of citizens'? 'Nay, Novius my colleague is a rank lower still.' 'That does not make you an aristocrat. Besides he has a stentorian voice, that is his claim on us.'

45–64. To go back to myself. People carped at me as 'a freedman's son' when I was a military tribune. They do so now because I am admitted to your house. The first perhaps was fair, the second is not. There was no luck about it. It was no chance introduction. Virgil and Varius told you what I was like. When I was introduced to you I was too much abashed to say much, but at least I made no pretensions. I said what was true about my birth and state. You answered little, but nine months after you sent for me and gave me a place in your friendship. I value this because I take it as a compliment not to my birth but to myself.

65–84. At the same time any merits of character that I possess, I am eager to acknowledge, I owe to my father. Poor as he was he insisted on giving me the best education. He brought me to Rome, spared nothing on me, would trust me to no 'custos' but himself. He guarded me not only from actual evil but from breath of reproach.

85–97. He did not mind if it ended in my coming down to his own trade after all —I have not done so, and I owe him all the more credit and thanks. Never in my senses could I be ashamed of such a father. I have no inclination to apologize for him. I would not change him if I could.

98–109. The world may think this madness, but you will perhaps think it a proof of sense; for position brings burdens, duties, expenses. Now I may live as I like; no one will accuse me of meanness as they do Tillius.

110. I am freer than he—I walk out alone, amuse myself as I choose; come

home to my simple supper, go to sleep without care, lie in bed as long as I like, spend the day according to my tastes. This is the life of those who are free from the pain and the burden of ambition—a happier life than if my whole family had been quaestors.

Though the Satire is mainly concerned in explaining and defending his own position, it also aims, both in the general picture and in particular turns, at exposing that which Horace ranks next to avarice as a vice of Roman society (Sat. 2. 3. 165 f.), 'ambitio,' in the sense both of pretending to, and of seeking, greater position than belongs to you.

NON quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines nemo generosior est te,
Nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,
Ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
Ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.
Cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
Natus dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
Ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum

1. **Lydorum quicquid**, 'of all the Lydians,' etc. Epod. 5. 1 'deorum quicquid.' The Lydian origin of the Etrucans is a commonplace with the Latin poets, as Virg. Aen. 2. 781, 8. 479, 9. 11. The legend is given in Herod. 1. 94 and was discredited by Dionys. Halicarn. 1. p. 21 foll. For Maecenas' Etruscan origin see on Od. 1. 1. 1, 3. 29. 1.

4. **legionibus**: not in the technical Roman sense, for the reference is to Etruscan not to Roman armies. Cp. Virgil's use of 'legio' as in Aen. 8. 605, 9. 368, 10. 120. The rhythm of the verse is from Lucr. 3. 1028 'magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt.'

5. **naso suspendis adunco.** Sat. 2. 8. 64 'Balatro suspendens omnia naso.' Cp. *μυκτηρίζειν*. The suggestion that the purpose of curling the nose is to hang on it the object of contempt is a comic touch of Horace's, as Persius recognizes in his repetition of the phrase 1. 118 '[Flaccus] Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso,' 'with a sly talent for tossing up his nose and catching the public on it' Conington.

6. **ignotos**, as in v. 24. The reading of the line is doubtful. The majority of good MSS. have 'aut' and so K. and H. printed. Their 'D' (the MS. lost in the siege of Strasburg) had 'ut,' and this is found as a correction in other MSS. Keller argues (Epilegomena) strongly for 'ut,' on the ground of sense; thinking 'aut ut,' 'et ut,' 'aut me ut,' which are given in MSS. of repute, confusions or adaptations due to 'ut' having been written as a correction over 'aut.' There is also a variant in MSS. of value, 'natos' for 'natum.' Professor Palmer reads *ex coniectura*, 'Ignoto, aut ut me libertino, patre natos,' thinking 'ignotos' an early corruption which led to all the other alterations.

8. **dum ingenuus**, 'provided he is free-born,' the limit which Augustus set on admission to his table. Suet. Aug. 74 'neminem unquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae, excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem.'

**vere**, 'rightly.'

9. **ante potestatem Tulli**: the same formula as in Sat. 1. 3. 107 'fuit ante Helenam.' 'It is an older thing than the standing historic instances, it is a law of life': Liv. 4. 3 'Serv. Tullium . . . captiva Corniculana natum, patre nullo, matre serva, ingenio, virtute regnum tenuisse,' Juv. S. 8. 259 'Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini Et fasces meruit.'

Multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
Et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos;
Contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis
Non unquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
Iudice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores

10. **nullis maioribus**: none that could be named, none who had 'imagines;' so Livy l. c. 'patre nullo.'

11. **et**, with **probos**, **vixisse** being common to both clauses.

12. **contra.** The constr. is continued from 'persuades hoc tibi vere.'

**Laevinum.** 'Hic P. Valerius [Laevinus] adeo foedis et proiectis in omnem turpitudinem moribus vixit ut provehi non potuerit ultra quaestoriam dignitatem' Porph. One Valerius Laevinus was distinguished in the war with Pyrrhus, another in the second Punic war, and a third triumphed over the Ligurians in B.C. 175. We are clearly to think here of a man of high lineage who on grounds of personal demerit failed to gain an election.

**Valeri**, sc. of P. Valerius Publicola the colleague of Brutus.

**genus**, of a single descendant, as 'Iapeti genus,' Od. 1. 3. 27, 'iuvenis ... ab alto demissum genus Aenea' Sat. 2. 5. 63.

**unde**, for 'a quo,' cp. esp. Od. 2. 12. 7, and see on Od. 1. 7. 7 and 1. 12. 17. But this is the instance of its use most nearly of agency, for 'a quo' rather than 'ex quo.'

**superbus**: an epithet, not merely a distinguishing 'cognomen.' The 'pride' of Tarquin heightens the historic fame of the house which took a leading part in expelling him.

13. **pulsus fugit.** The reading of V, though there is in one or two good MSS. the variant 'fuit.' Madvig discusses the tense in his Opuscula Academica, ii. p. 224. After showing that 'pulsus fuit' is an inapplicable form here (meaning as it does 'he has been, and at present is in the condition of having been, banished,'—for the simple passive aorist we require 'pulsus est'), he explains this as parallel with Virgil's use of the present in relative clauses where the leading verb is in a past tense, as Aen. 2. 275, 9. 266, 361, 11. 172. Cp. Sat. 1. 2. 56, 2. 3. 61, and see Persius' imitation 4. 2 'barbatum hoc crede magistrum Dicere, sorbitio tollit quem dira cicutae' with Conington's note.

**unius assis ... licuisse**, 'was never estimated at more than the value of a single as.' Cp. Catull. 5. 2 'Rumores ... Omnes unius aestimemus assis.' 'Pretio' has also been taken as the abl. of measure, 'was never estimated (on that account) at more by the value of a single as.' But the point is the absolutely low value set on him. Horace does not mean to say that birth went for nothing with the people;—otherwise it would contradict v. 9;—but that no birth would make up for worthlessness even in the eyes of the worst judges. The expression may be compared with Arist. Equ. 945 τοῖσι πολλοῖς τοὐβολοῦ, 'the many for an obol,' i.e. the worthless crowd.

14. **notante iudice**: there is no strict relation between the technical meaning of the two words. The people's adverse judgment involves disgrace as the mark of the Censor would. 'Notare' is a verb which Horace is fond of using in metaphors; see on Sat. 1. 3. 24.

15. **iudice quo nosti.** This construction was helped very probably by a flavour of resemblance to the Greek attraction of the relative, but it may be doubted whether there is any real attraction. The instances quoted are all of one kind, and involving an ellipsis which it is at least possible so to supply as to account for the case apart from any attraction. In this case it is not (as Mr. Yonge points out) the equivalent of 'quem nosti'; 'quo' is rather the indirect interrogative, there being substituted for a defining epithet of 'iudice' the compound clause 'quo, nosti' = οἵῳ οἶσθα, 'a judge, of what kind, you know.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 104 'confecto quo intenderat negotio redit'; where we may supply the ellipsis as well by writing 'quo confecto redire intenderat' as 'quod conficere intenderat'; Liv. 1. 29 'quibus quisque

Saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,
Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. Quid oportet
Nos facere a volgo longe longeque remotos?
Namque esto populus Laevino mallet honorem
Quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret
Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus:
Vel merito quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.
Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru
Non minus ignotos generosis. Quo tibi, Tilli,
Sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?
Invidia accrevit, privato quae minor esset.
Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus

poterat elatis' = 'elatis iis, quibus elatis quisque poterat [exire].'

17. **stupet in.** Virg. Aen. 10. 446 'stupet in Turno.'

**titulis** to be closely connected with **imaginibus**, the waxen masks of ancestry and the names and titles of honour inscribed on the presses in which they were kept. 'Let us accept the judgment of the world, want of rank *is* a disqualification *à priori* for office, in the opinion of people and aristocrats alike; and not unreasonably; but the temptation to play the donkey in the fable is too strong for most of us.' The answer to the definite question 'quid oportet nos facere'? would be, 'to show our small esteem for rank more logically and thoroughly.'

18. **nos.** Maecenas and Horace. Their distance from the crowd is in feeling not in birth. Bentley thinking the expression arrogant would read against the MSS. 'vos.'

**longe longeque.** Ov. Met. 4. 325, and even in prose, Cic. de Fin. 2. 21. 68.

20. **Decio . . . novo**: 'one of the devotion of a Decius, if he was at the same time "homo novus,"' i.e. had had no ancestor who had held a curule office. For the devotion of P. Decius Mus in the great Latin war see Liv. 8. 6. Cp. Virg. G. 2. 169, Juv. S. 8. 254 'Plebeiae Deciorum animae,' etc.

**moveret**, sc. 'senatu': 'strike from the list of the senate.' Cp. 'movere loco' Epp. 2. 2. 113, where the image is of the censor revising the list of the senate.

21. **Appius.** The reference is to Appius Claudius Pulcher, censor B.C. 50, who is named as exercising the office with severity by Cic. ad Fam. 8. 14.

22. **propria pelle**, from the fable of the ass in the lion's skin. Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 64.

23. **trahit constrictos**, 'drags a captive bound at her chariot wheels.' The image of the personified love of glory (φιλοτιμία) in her triumphal car is repeated in Epp. 2. 1. 177 'ventoso gloria curru.'

24. An instance of this enslavement to the foolish desire of rank.

**quo tibi.** Madv. § 239; see on Epp. 1. 5. 12.

**Tilli.** The Scholiasts say that the reference is to one Tillius, a Pompeian who was removed from the senate by J. Caesar, and who after his death resumed his dignities and became a 'tribunus militum.' There is nothing to complete or corroborate this account. He appears in v. 107 as a 'praetor.' The laticlave (see on Sat. 1. 5. 36), like the sandal leathers of v. 27, is part of the senator's distinguishing garb. It has been explained in close connection with 'fieri tribuno' by reference to Suetonius' statement (Aug. 38) that Augustus allowed the sons of senators to wear the laticlave, and on joining the army to become at once 'tribuni'; but we gather from the context rather that Tillius was of humble birth, and in v. 110 emphasis is laid on the fact of his being a senator. He is represented as resuming his position both civil and military.

27. **ut**, from the time when. Od. 4. 4. 42, Epod. 7. 19, Sat. 2. 2. 128.

**nigris pellibus.** For the senator's shoe see Mayor on Juv. S. 7. 192. It was

Pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum,
Audit continuo: 'Quis homo hic est? quo patre natus?'
Ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi
Et cupiat formosus, eat quacunque, puellis
Iniiciat curam quaerendi singula, quali
Sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo:
Sic qui promittit cives, urbem sibi curae,
Imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,
Quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
Omnes mortales curare et quaerere cogit.
'Tunc Syri, Damae, aut Dionysi filius, audes
Deicere de saxo cives aut tradere Cadmo?'
'At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno;
Namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.' 'Hoc tibi Paulus
Et Messalla videris? At hic, si plostra ducenta
Concurrantque foro tria funera, magna sonabit

apparently red ('mulleus'), fastened higher up the leg than other shoes (cp. 'medium impediit crus') with four straps ('corrigiae') of black leather, and with a crescent ('luna' Juv. l. c.) attached in front.

31. **et.** The reading of the best MSS., including 'omnes Cruq.' It is epexegetic of the clause which precedes the 'same malady as that of Barrus,' being the desire to be thought handsome. 'Ut,' which Orelli adopts, was a late reading, and intended to make this sense still clearer.

34. **promittit**, 'undertakes,' i.e. in offering himself for high office.

35. **imperium**: see on Od. 1. 2. 26. Here its conjunction with 'Italiam' marks its special reference to the foreign dominion, 'provinciae.'

38. **Syri**, etc.: three familiar names of slaves; for Damae see on Sat. 2. 5. 18.

39. 'To exercise extreme powers against Roman citizens.' The special powers named are ideal (cp. Lucr. 3. 1029 'Carcer et horribilis de saxo iactus eorum, Verbera, carnifices'), and we need not ask too particularly what special magistrate exercised them. Hurling from the Tarpeian rock was still a recognised punishment in certain cases. Tac. Ann. 2. 32, 4. 29, 6. 19.

**deicere**, a trisyll. See Virg. Ecl. 3. 96 'reice capellas.' Some MSS. however have 'e' for 'de.' So Orelli.

**tradere Cadmo.** 'Cadmus carnifex illo tempore fuisse dicitur' Porph. In answer to the objection taken by some editors that the 'carnifex' had nothing to do with Roman citizens, Cic. pro Rab. 4. 11 is quoted, 'tu qui civibus Romanis carnificem, qui vincula, adhiberi putas oportere.' There is rather less variety than usual in the MSS. as to a proper name, but the explanation may be a guess. Acr. has, after a note to the same effect as Porphyrion's, 'tradere, in exilium mittere,' which seems to mean that 'Cadmo' (or some other word of which it is a corruption) had been taken as the name of a place.

40. **Novius** can hardly but be a name chosen for its etymology, see p. 14.

**gradu sedet.** The expression is here figurative, though taken from the distinctions of place in the theatre; the real difference is explained in the following line.

41. **hoc** = 'ideo,' 'therein,' 'therefore.' Paulus, Messalla, the names of high aristocratic families.

43. **concurrantque . . . vincatque**: for the place of 'que' in each case see on Od. 1. 30. 6. For the noise of a great funeral the editors quote Seneca (de Morte Claudii, p. 681) 'Et erat omnium formosissimum [Claudii funus] et impensa cura plenum, ut scires deum efferri; tibicinum, cornicinum, omnisque generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus

Cornua quod vincatque tubas ; saltem tenet hoc nos.'
Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
Nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor ; at olim
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
Dissimile hoc illi est ; quia non ut forsit honorem
Iure mihi invideat quivis ita te quoque amicum,
Praesertim cautum dignos assumere, prava
Ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
Me possum casu quod te sortitus amicum ;
Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit : optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.
Ut veni coram singultim pauca locutus,
Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari,
Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
Sed quod eram narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,
Pauca : abeo ; et revocas nono post mense iubesque

conventus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.' With Persius 3. 103 'tuba, candelae' = 'a funeral.'

**magna** has been taken either with **funera**, or after **sonabit**, as Sat. 1. 4. 44, Juv. S. 7. 108 'ipsi magna sonant.' The rhythm is in favour of the latter; for 'quod' cp. in either case Sat. 1. 9. 25 'Invideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto.'

44. **tenet hoc**, 'he has this hold on us.'

45. **nunc ad me redeo**, a transition from Lucilius (inc. 98).

46. The words repeated are the words always in their lips: see on Od. 1. 13. 1, 1. 35. 15; and compare 2. 20. 5, 6.

47. **sim**. I follow K. and H. and Munro in giving 'sim' instead of 'sum' (Bent. and Orell.). It has much authority, and 'sum' is hard to reconcile with 'pareret.'

**convictor** : cp. the expression of Augustus' letter to Horace, vol. i. p. xxviii.

49. **hoc illi**, the present case—the former one ; 'hoc' of the nearest in thought, not of the last mentioned.

**forsit**, *ἅπαξ λεγ.*, a contraction of 'fors sit.' It is common in the fuller form 'forsitan.' A few MSS. have 'forsan,' and the unusual form would doubtless have been ousted by editors had it not been quoted by Priscian (p. 1015) from this place.

52. **ambitione procul** : 'ambitione relegata' Sat. 1. 10. 84. There was no thought on either side of bad or degrading modes of gaining favour.

53. **sortitus** : for the omission of 'sim' cp. Sat. 2. 8. 2 'dictus' for 'dictus es.' The ellipsis is more rare with the first and second persons than with the third.

56. **singultim** : not found elsewhere till Apuleius. It seems to mean 'with gasps,' of a stammering utterance ; adv. from 'singultus.' Ritter takes it as a collat. form of 'singillatim.'

57. **infans**, 'tongue-tied.'

59. **Satureiano**, i. e. Tarentino. Saturium was the name of a place or district near Tarentum ; *χώρα πλησίον Τάραντος*, Stephanus Byzant. (6th cent.). Strabo gives an oracle said to have been received by Phalantus, *Σατύριόν τοι δῶκα Τάραντά τε πίονα δῆμον Οἰκῆσαι.*

61. **abeo . . . revocas**. Horace waited patiently for nine months ; the acquaintance if it was to be renewed must be renewed by Maecenas. Contrast the conduct sketched by the man who asks for an introduction in Sat. 1. 9. 56–59 'haud mihi deero,' etc.

Esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego duco
Quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
Non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
Mendosa est natura alioqui recta, velut si
Egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos;
Si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra
Obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
(Ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis;
Causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera:

63. **turpi . . . honestum.** Perh. Epp. 1. 9. 4 'legentis honesta Neronis,' shows that these are more probably neut. than masc. (as Orelli).

65. **atqui.** 'But yet,' do not misunderstand me. Even when I say that I am proud to owe your friendship to myself, not to my father, I am indirectly expressing my obligation to him, for I owe him 'my own self.'

**ac mea paucis**: for the hyperbaton cp. Sat. 1. 549 'pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudi,' and below vv. 69, 70.

68. **nec.** The reading of V. The vulg. is 'ac,' which Bentley rightly objected to; 'sordes' ('meanness,' see v. 107) is the opposite vice to 'mala lustra,' 'haunts of debauchery.' Bentl. adopted 'aut,' which Orelli retains.

70. **collaudem**: perh. in its simplest sense, praise myself too, i. e. as well as my father.

72. **Flavi,** i. e. the school at Venusia.

**magni . . . magnis,** 'both bigger and grander than I was.'

74. **loculos** has been taken either as = the 'capsa' of Juv. Sat. 10. 117 'quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae,' of a case containing books, writing materials, etc., or in its more usual sense (see on Sat. 1. 3. 17) of a receptacle for money, here probably for counters. In the former case 'tabula' will be a writing tablet (cp. *δελτὸν ἐφαψάμενοι*, quoted by Mayor from Philostratus). In the latter it must be taken more closely with 'loculos' as the 'abacus' or counting board on which the counters were to be placed. The two will then describe the implements for the arithmetic lesson; cp. A. P. 325. The line is repeated Epp. 1. 1. 56. For the construction of the accusative with the passive part. see Madvig, § 237 b.

75. **octonis Idibus aera.** There is serious question as to both reading and sense. If we keep the vulgate it is best explained (see Bekker's Gallus, Excursus on 'Education') of the monthly payments and four months' summer holidays of country schools as contrasted with the yearly payment and full year's schooling in Rome, 'bringing their fees on the Ides of eight months.' The distributive is used regularly for the cardinal numeral with a noun which is plural in form even when singular in sense, as 'bina castra,' etc. In Orelli's explanation, 'eight-day Ides,' 'quia Idus in octavum post Nonas diem incidunt,' it is difficult to feel any ground for the distributive. An alternative reading is found in a few good MSS., and is given by Keller, 'octonos Idibus aeris,' where 'aeris' is equivalent to 'asses,' as in Cic. pro Q. Rosc. 10. 28 'duodecim aeris.' The distributive then means 'eight asses on each Ides.' This reading seems to be interpreted by Acr. 'nummos pro mercedibus, octonos asses aeris.' On the other hand the note of the Comm. Cruq. shows that he found

Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum
Artes quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
Semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentes,
In magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
Ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? Pudicum,
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi;
Nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret olim
Si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
Mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus: at hoc nunc
Laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque

'octonis,' and being puzzled by it, got out of the difficulty by treating 'octonis Idibus' as a hypallage for 'octonos asses Idibus,' 'ὑπαλλαγή, hoc est singulis Idibus referebant octonos asses aeris pro mercede scholastica.' This is very possibly the origin of the reading. Some one who held this view indicated it more briefly by writing 'octonos . . . aeris' as a gloss over 'octonis . . . aera.' The assonance of 'octonos Idibus aeris' is disagreeable, and one which Horace avoids even in his roughest hexameters.

77. **artes**, branches of knowledge, which Ovid (Pont. 2. 9. 47) calls 'ingenuas artes,' grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, etc.

79. **in magno ut populo**, 'as befitted a great city.' At Venusia he might have gone as others carrying his own books, etc. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 148 'magno in populo,' 'in some great city.'

**si qui vidisset . . . crederet.** Cp. Sat. 1. 3. 5–7. The impft. subj. does not deny the hypothesis, but is due to the past time and the general statements: 'any one who saw would (was sure to) believe.' The tense of 'vidisset' is because in present time it would be 'viderit': believing is subsequent to seeing. Cp. also (with Bentl.) Sat. 2. 3. 93.

**avita**, of two generations.

81. **custos** = παιδαγωγός: see on Sat. 1. 4. 118, and cp. A. P. 161. 239, Juv. S. 7. 218; usually a confidential slave to watch over a boy, take him to school, keep him from harm, etc. Horace's father will depute the office to none.

83. **primus**, the first in point of time—virtue must begin there.

84. His father's presence protected him not only from temptation but from scandal: **turpi** belongs to both substantives.

85. **sibi vitio verteret si**, a phrase of Latin prose, Cic. Fam. 7. 6. 1, 'reckon it as a fault of his if.' For the case of 'vitio' see Madv. § 249.

86. **praeco**: Dict. Ant. s. v. It was a specially despised calling. Juv. S. 7. 5 'nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent Praecones fieri,' with Mayor's note. Cp. Epod. 4. 12, Sat. 2. 2. 47, Epp. 1. 7. 56, A. P. 419.

**coactor**, 'collector.' The term was used in several connections. In this case the Suetonian life of Horace fixes its meaning by adding 'exactionum,' i.e. the dues farmed by 'publicani.' See Cic. pro Rab. Post. 11. 30, from which we learn that a 'coactor' was allowed one per cent. on his collection.

87. **at hoc.** I have followed all the editors (including Orelli, Ritter, Dillr., Munro, and Holder) in altering the 'ad' of the MSS. and Acr. to 'at,' and it is an improvement; but 'ad hoc' ('ad haec' Cruq. gives, following 'one Bland.') seems possible: see on Epod. 9. 16 and Epp. 1. 19. 45. In our reading 'hoc' is ablative, as in v. 41 of the Satire.

89. **paeniteat**, potential: see on Sat. 1. 5. 44.

Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepat istis
Et vox et ratio: nam si natura iuberet
A certis annis aevum remeare peractum
Atque alios legere ad fastum quoscunque parentes
Optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
Fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
Iudicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
Nollem onus haud unquam solitus portare molestum.
Nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res,
Atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
Et comes alter uti ne solus rusve peregreve
Exirem; plures calones atque caballi
Pascendi, ducenda petorrita. Nunc mihi curto

90. **dolo suo**, said (by Heind.) to be a juristic use. = 'culpa sua'; but perhaps with some play 'that it is not of malice prepense.'

93. **ratio**, 'sententia' Porph., opposed to 'vox,' as it often is to 'oratio,' 'what I think as well as what I say.'

94. **a certis annis**, 'after a fixed period.' 'If life repeated itself in cycles.' Cruquius' note is 'post mille annos ait Plato in Phaedro.'

95. I.e. 'alios legere ad fastum [parentes], quoscunque parentes optaret sibi quisque.' It has been also punctuated so that 'optaret sibi quisque' should begin the apodosis, 'each would (or 'might') choose for himself,' 'quoscunque' going with 'alios legere,' 'others, whoever they might be,' but this is less simple.

**ad fastum**, 'to the full of their pride,' as 'ad voluntatem,' 'ad arbitrium,' etc.

96. **honestos fascibus**. For the ablative cp. above v. 36 'ignota matre inhonestus.' There is a varia lectio with some little MS. authority, 'honustos' = 'onustos,' strongly supported by Lambinus. But it would not be so suitable. Ennobled ancestry would be a burden (v. 99) to Horace; he is not concerned to say that the distinction would have been a burden to them.

97. **sellis**, sc. 'curulibus': cp. Epp. 1. 6. 53 'cui libet hic fasces dabit, eripietque curule . . . ebur.'

101. **salutandi**. The early morning levees in great people's homes were a standing vexation in Roman life, Virg. G. 2. 462, Juv. S. 3. 126 foll., 5. 19 foll., 76 foll. 'Salutare' was used both of those who paid and those who received the call. See Cic. ad Fam. 9. 20 'mane salutamus domi . . . multos . . . qui me perofficiose observant.' As Horace is here giving a whimsical list of the inconveniences which would beset him if he were a great man, he is probably using it in this latter sense.

102. **rusve peregreve**. So with most editors I have given; but the reading is not quite certain. The mass of MSS. have 'rusve peregre aut,' and Porph. interpreted it 'ordo est rusve aut peregre.' The sound is harsh, but the conjunction 've' . . . 'aut' is possible: see Prop. 2. 1. 23. It is suggested that the hypermetric line (for which cp. Sat. 1. 4. 96) caused the substitution in early copies of 'aut' for 've.'

103. **calones**, Epp. 1. 14. 42; used by Horace apparently for the lower servants in his town establishment.

104. **ducenda**, a train of them. Contrast Umbricius' household (Juv. S. 3. 10) which 'reda componitur una.'

**petorrita**, 'four-wheel chariots': Epp. 2. 1. 192.

**curto**, 'cauda curta' Comm. Cruq. No illustration has been found (unless 'curtus equus,' in Prop. 4. 1. 20, means a horse whose tail has been cut off; see

Ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,
Mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos:
Obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
Cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur
Te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
Hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
Milibus atque aliis vivo. Quacunque libido est,
Incedo solus; percontor quanti olus ac far;
Fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererro
Saepe Forum; adsisto divinis; inde domum me
Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum;
Cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
Vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex.
Deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus mihi quod cras
Surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se

Dict. Ant. s. v. Palilia) nor better explanation offered.

106. **mantica.** 'Mantica pera est, sed hoc ex Luciliano illo sumptum est' (Frag. 3. 31); 'Mantica cantheri costas gravitate premebat' (Porph.)

107. **Tilli**: see above on v. 24.

111. **milibus atque aliis**, probably neuter, 'in thousands of other ways.' The more usual expression would be 'mille aliis,' the singular being ordinarily an adjective, the plural always a substantive. It is to be noticed, however, that this is not a case of 'milibus' used with a substantive in agreement. It is rather a peculiarity in the use of 'aliis,' an adjective instead of a genitive case, 'thousands besides' rather than 'thousands of others'—ἄλλαι χιλιάδες instead of ἄλλων. The genitive whether it be neut. or masc. is understood.

113. **fallacem Circum**, 'because it was the haunt of astrologers and fortune-tellers,' the 'divini' of the next verse. Cp. 'de Circo astrologos,' Enn. apud Cic. Divin. 1. 50, 'Si mediocris erit (if the superstitious woman is of middling rank) spatium lustrabit utrinque Metarum (i.e. on each side of the "spina" in the Circus) et sortes ducet frontemque manumque Praebebit vati' Juv. S. 6. 582.

**vespertinum**: Epod. 16. 51. n. In sense both adjectives are meant to qualify both substantives.

115. **ciceris**, a kind of pulse: Sat. 2. 3. 182, A. P. 249.

**lagani**, described by the Scholiasts as a thin cake of fine flour served with pepper sauce. It would resemble the modern Italian maccaroni.

116. **pueris tribus**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 12. For the dative cp. Epp. 1. 19. 3 'carmina Quae scribuntur aquae potoribus,' and Madvig, § 250 a.

**lapis albus**, a slab of white marble serving as a sideboard. Cp. the furniture of Codrus, Juv. 3. 203 'urceoli sex Ornamentum abaci.'

117. **pocula . . . cyatho**: for the connection of these see Od. 3. 19. 12.

**echinus**, some vessel of the shape of the sea urchin. The purpose was in doubt in the time of the Scholiasts, 'vas aeneum in quo calices lavantur,' Acr., 'vas salis in modum echini marini' Com. Cruq. With the second explanation, cp. 'concha salis' Sat. 1. 3. 14.

118. **cum patera guttus**, a flat saucer and a narrow-necked flask ('a guttis guttum appellarunt' Varro). These seem to have been used for libations.

**Campana**, of Campanian ware: Sat. 2. 3. 144 'Campana trulla.'

120. **obeundus Marsya**, 'to visit Marsyas,' i.e. to go to the Forum on law-business. 'Marsya statua erat pro Rostris ad quam solebant homines illi convenire qui inter se lites atque negotia

Voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
Ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor, aut ego lecto
Aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet unguor olivo,
Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
Admonuit fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.

componebant . . . a statua nomen locus acceperat' Acr. Cp. Mart. 2. 64. 7 'fora litibus omnia fervent: Ipse potest fieri Marsya causidicus,' i.e. the statue itself may find a voice and join in the pleading. Either the face of pain on this statue (cp. Juv. S. 9. 1 'Scire velim quare toties mihi, Naevole tristis Occurris, ceu Marsya victus') or the uplifted hand ('Marsyas in foro positus . . . qui erecta manu,' etc. Servius on Virg. Aen. 4. 58), is represented satirically by Horace as indicating displeasure at the sight of the younger Novius, a money-lender, according to the Scholiasts. For the form Marsya see on Sat. 1. 5. 100.

122. With this description of Horace's day compare the account which Cicero gives of himself when he professes to have given up active politics, ad Fam. 9. 20 'Haec est igitur nunc vita nostra, mane salutamus domi multos . . . ubi salutatio defluxit literis me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiant . . . Inde corpori omne tempus datur.'

**ad quartam**: see on Sat. 1. 5. 23.

**iaceo**, sc. 'in lectulo lucubratorio': see on Sat. 1. 4. 133. Horace would not approve of sleep beyond the first hour; see Epp. 1. 17. 6, 1. 18. 34. On the other hand he speaks of reading and composing in the early morning, Epp. 1. 2. 35, 2. 1. 112.

**post hanc vagor.** He started sometimes earlier, for in Sat. 1. 9. 35 he has been afoot for some time at the end of the third hour.

**aut ego lecto** (pass. part., not frequentative verb as Porph. took it) to be connected with what follows—'I stroll, *or* when I have read or written for the amusement of my quiet hours, I anoint myself,' i.e. prepare for exercise. 'Lecto, etc.' repeats, with explanation, the previous 'ad quartam' 'post hanc': 'ego' is due to the fact that he is calling special attention to the freedom and variety of his day. Bentley connects 'aut ego—iuvet' with 'vagor,' 'I stroll after *either* reading or writing etc.' The list of occupations is then 'iaceo,' 'vagor,' 'unguor,' but is there time before the sun is hot for both the stroll and the game of ball?

124. **fraudatis**, the lamps were stinted or robbed. The using of bad oil is a form of petty parsimony familiar in Latin poets, Sat. 2. 2. 59, 2. 3. 125, 2. 4. 50; Juv. S. 5. 87 foll., where notice 'olebit lanternam.'

126. **lusum trigonem**, 'the game of three,' a game of ball. The word 'trigon' is found elsewhere only in Martial; there as a subst. denoting either the game (4. 19. 5 'tepidum trigona,' 7. 72. 9 'trigone nudo,' i.e. which men stripped to play; cp. Horace's 'unguor') or the ball (ib. 12. 83. 3 'captabit tepidum dextra laevaque trigorem'). Horace speaks in Sat. 2. 6. 49 of playing (ball) in the Campus, on which the Comm. Cruq. annotates, 'solebant Romani in Campo Martio ludere pila trigonali.' Bentley himself suggested altering 'lusum' into 'nudum,' to make it correspond with Mart. 7. 72. 9. Munro, thinking 'trigon' was the ball itself, would either take 'lusum' as a participle = 'elusum,' 'cheated,' 'left in the lurch,' or alter it to 'pulsum.' On the reading see Introduction, vol. i. p. xv. All existing MSS. except g (a Gotha MS. of the 15th century) have 'rabiosi tempora signi,' and this was the text interpreted by all the Scholiasts. V (which is followed by g) had the text as I have given it in accordance with most editors since Bentley. Keller and Holder, who consistently undervalue the authority of V, have restored 'rabiosi tempora signi.' The origin of the divergence cannot be guessed: Ritter imagines an alteration by the poet's own hand. 'Rabiosi tempora signi' has been taken both of the heat of noon,—'signi' = 'solis,'—and of the dog days, 'aestivi tempora sicca canis' Tibull. 1. 4. 6; cp. Od. 1. 17. 17 'caniculae vitabis aestus.' Neither are satisfactory. The first makes the two lines tautological. The

Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
Ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Haec est
Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;
His me consolor victurum suavius ac si
Quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

second is open to Heindorf's complaint that Horace is not giving an account of his day in July and August only: Munro adds that Horace would not be in Rome in the dog days: and in any case 'rabiosum signum' for the sun is a strange and un-Horatian phrase.

127. **interpellet durare**, 'save me from lasting the day out,' i.e. till the 'cena.' The prose construction would be 'quin,' 'quominus,' or 'ne,' with the subj.

129. **misera gravique**, 'the pains and burdens of ambition.'

131. **quaestor.** He names the lowest office which would have rendered a family 'nobilis;' 'than if I had as much claim as so many of my neighbours, aye, than if I had twice as much, to be an aristocrat.'

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# SATIRE VII.

## RUPILIUS REX.

A Personal anecdote from Horace's experience in the short period that he was attached to Brutus' fortunes. Brutus, who was 'Praetor urbanus' in the year 44, had been promised by Caesar the province of Macedonia, and after a struggle with C. Antonius, who had been actually nominated to it by the Senate, took possession of it at the beginning of B.C. 43. Cassius had in a similar way taken possession of the province of Syria. In the course of this year C. Trebonius, another of the conspirators, who, having been consul in 45, had received the proconsular province of Asia, was treacherously murdered by Dolabella. This brought both Brutus and Cassius into Asia.

The scene of the story is laid at Clazomenae on the bay of Smyrna, where Brutus is represented as holding a 'conventus' as though he were 'proconsul.'

The story all leads up to the play on the name of 'Rex,' with which it concludes, and which was of a kind which gave especial pleasure to Romans; but it is told with some humour, and the different types of the two litigants are well marked, the half-Greek trader and money-lender, courtly, fluent, witty, and the country-bred Roman of Praeneste, with his thick skin and heavy-handed sarcasms.

There is no certain indication of the date, but everything points to an early one. The joke on Brutus's act (v. 34), is one most naturally made before his tragical end, and is at any rate one which Horace would have avoided when he had come to Rome and had realized that the world was passing to 'Caesar's avenger.' See Introd. to Satires, p. 5.

The Scholiasts have a story that the Satire was written by way of revenge on

Rupilius Rex, who had been one of those who, in jealousy of Horace's rank as tribune, taunted him with his parentage (Sat. 1. 6. 40).

PROSCRIPTI Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
Hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas,
Durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,
Confidens tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.
Ad Regem redeo. Postquam nihil inter utrumque

1. **Proscripti Regis.** The play on his name begins with the first line in this juxtaposition, 'that outlawed King,' as though he were another Tarquin.

**pus atque venenum,** metaphorically of 'foul and venomous' utterance. Lucilius had possibly used the word in the same sense, fr. 15. 13. Nothing is known of Rupilius Rex but what Horace tells us. The Scholiasts identify him unwarrantably with P. Rupilius 'magister publicanorum' in Bithynia, mentioned in Cic. ad Fam. 13. 9. 2. A misunderstanding of 'Proscripti' (which means probably proscribed by the Triumvirs) leads them to describe him as 'a civibus Praenestinis in exilium missus.'

2. **hybrida,** 'mongrel,' or 'half-bred': 'patre Asiatico matre Romana' Schol. for literal use cp. Plin. N. H. 1. 79 'in nullo genere aeque (atque in suibus) facilis mixtura cum fero, qualiter natos antiqui hybridas vocabant': for metaph. cp. Suet. Aug. 19 'Asinii Epicadi ex gente Parthina hybridae,' Mart. 8. 22. 2.

3. **lippis et tonsoribus** = hearers and purveyors of gossip. Cp. Plautus, Amphit. 4. 1. 5, of places where loungers would be looked for, 'in medicinis, in tonstrinis . . . sum defessus quaesitando.' The point of the line is, 'all the world knows the story—perhaps I may tell it again.'

6. **odio,** in a passive sense as in Ter. Hec. 1. 2. 48 'tundendo atque odio,' of offensive language and manner.

7. **confidens,** a word which by Cicero's time (Tusc. 3. 7. 14) had acquired a bad meaning, 'bold,' 'audacious.' In Plautus it is used in a good sense.

**tumidus,** 'blustering.' Cp. A. P. 94 'Iratus . . . tumido delitigat ore.' Many MSS. add 'que,' but it was wanting in V.

8. **Sisennas, Barros,** 'such men as Sisenna and Barrus,' names unknown to us in this connection—standing instances (possibly in Lucilius) of bitter tongues.

**equis albis,** apparently the same proverbial expression as in Plaut. Asin. 2. 2. 13 'Nam si huic occasioni tempus sese subterduxerit, Nunquam edepol quadrigis albis indipiscet postea.' Two explanations are given by the Schol. (1) 'albis, sc. velocioribus,' according to Homer's *λευκότεροι χιόνος θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι*, of the horses of Rhesus, Il. 10. 437, imitated by Virgil, Aen. 12. 84; (2) 'quasi quadrigis triumphalibus,' 'triumphantly,' white horses being used in the triumphal procession. The first is the most likely, as suiting best the use in Plautus.

9. **ad Regem.** Not an exact expression, for he does not 'come back to Rex' in the sense of describing him as he has described Persius. The meaning seems rather to be that he passes from the general description of Persius to the special story of his relation to Rex.

**postquam,** 'when they cannot settle their differences between them': the apodosis is lost in the long parenthesis that follows, for when in v. 18 we resume the direct statement, we begin again as though there was no temporal protasis still pendant.

Convenit, (hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti
Quo fortes quibus adversum bellum incidit ; inter
Hectora Priamiden animosum atque inter Achillem
Ira fuit capitalis ut ultima divideret mors,
Non aliam ob causam nisi quod virtus in utroque
Summa fuit : duo si discordia vexet inertes,
Aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
Cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior ultro
Muneribus missis) Bruto praetore tenente
Ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non

10, 11. The construction is not certain. (1) Acr. interpreted 'iure' by 'exemplo, pacto, modo, potestate.' If this could be, the sentence would run 'for all [i.e. all combatants] are awkward to deal with [ἀργάλεοι, χαλεποί εἰσι] by that right [i. e. in virtue of that quality] by which brave men are so who meet in single combat.' Heindorf thought to amend this, but hardly does so, by taking the clause 'quibus adversum bellum incidit' as qualifying 'omnes.' It seems clear that 'bellum,' both here and in v. 16, has its proper sense of actual combat, and is opposed to civil quarrels. (2) The Comm. Cruq. led the way in making 'molesti' the subject, and taking 'hoc iure sunt' as = 'hanc potestatem sibi vindicant,' 'all quarrelsome persons have the right which brave men have who meet in single combat,' viz. to fight their quarrels to the death. This has on the whole been the usual interpretation, being followed by Lambinus, Torrentius, Orelli, Ritter, Yonge, Schutz, and Palmer.

Neither is quite satisfactory. The use of 'iure' in (1), and the constr. 'hoc iure sunt' for 'hoc ius habent' in (2), both want support. Perhaps while accepting the first interpretation generally, we had better separate 'hoc' from 'iure' and take it as the instrum. abl. with 'molesti,' answered to by 'quo,' 'are troublesome by this [quality]': 'iure' may then either be taken in its common sense, frequent in Hor., 'rightly,' εἰκότως, or perhaps as opposed to 'bellum,' 'in law,' 'in civil suits:' cp. its use in 'iure consultus,' 'iure peritus,' and notice that when the threads are taken up in vv. 18. 24, we have 'in ius acres procurrunt.' For the neuter 'hoc ... quo' compare Sat. 2. 1. 50 'quo quisque valet,' etc. 'Hoc' here = 'virtute' (v. 15). Their courage is their weapon which makes them 'molesti' to their opponents.

11. **inter ... inter**, an illogical but a Latin use. Epp. 1. 2. 11 'Nestor componere lites Peliden festinat et inter Atriden.' Cic. de Am. 25. 95 'quod intersit inter popularem civem et inter constantem.' He takes two instances of single combat from the Iliad, that of Hector and Achilles in Il. 22, which ends in Hector's death, and that of Glaucus and Diomede in Il. 6, which ends in the exchange of armour (χρύσεα χαλκείων) in which Glaucus has the worst of it. Horace, either from his own view (cp. Epp. 1. 2), or following later tradition, emphasizes the half-comic aspect of this exchange as though it implied surrender on Glaucus' side.

13. **ira capitalis.** Cp. 'capitale odium' Cic. de Am. 1. 2.

**ultima,** i. e. nothing short of 'death.'

15. **vexet.** Two 'cowards' (for 'inertes' cp. Od. 3. 5. 36, 4. 9. 29) do not welcome a quarrel.

17. **pigrior.** Cp. 'impiger,' the epithet of Achilles A. P. 121.

18. **missis,** 'proffered.' This would be inexact if it were applied directly to Glaucus, for in Homer the proposal of exchange came from Diomede.

**praetore tenente.** See Introd. 'Praetor' is used loosely of a person who, having been 'praetor,' is governing a province : see Long's note on Cic. pro Q. Ligario, 1.

19. **par** gives the connection with what precedes. They were not 'dispares,' like Diomede and Glaucus.

Compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. In ius
Acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam ; ridetur ab omni
Conventu ; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem :
Solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubres
Appellat comites, excepto Rege ; canem illum
Invisum agricolis sidus venisse. Ruebat
Flumen ut hibernum fertur quo rara securis.
Tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti
Expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
Vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator
Cessisset magna compellans voce cucullum.
At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
Persius exclamat: 'Per magnos, Brute, deos te

**uti**, consecutive to 'par' = 'ita par,' 'a pair so well matched that,' etc.

20. **compositum**, sc. 'par.' Some MSS. have 'compositus' or 'compositi,' both apparently corrections. We may understand 'sit' or better 'pugnet'; for 'compositum' see on Sat. 1. 1. 103. 'Bithus et Bacchius gladiatorum nomina celebrata apud Suetonium Tranquillum sub Augusto' Acr.

**in ius**. As 'vocare in ius' Sat. 1. 9. 77, 2. 5. 29, 'rapere' 2. 3. 72.

22. **ridetur**, best taken impersonally, 'a laugh is raised.'

23. **conventu**: 'the court.' 'Conventus' was the technical term for the courts held by a proconsul or propraetor in the chief towns of a province.

**cohortem**. Epp. 1. 3. 6, 1. 8. 14; the staff or personal surrounding of the commander or provincial governor: 'cohors praetoria' Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 14. They were also called individually 'comites' Epp. 1. 8. 2.

27. **fertur quo rara**, i. e. in some steep ravine.

28. **salso multoque fluenti**, 'in answer to his copious stream of wit.' With 'multo fluenti' cp. Virg. Georg. 3. 28. It is a Greek usage, *τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι* Dem. de Cor. p. 272. 'Multo,' which is the reading of the best MSS., was restored to the text by Bentley, in the place of 'multum.'

29. **expressa arbusto**, 'forced, extorted, from the vineyard.' Rupilius is like one of his native Italian vinedressers, hard to sting by taunts, but when he is stung, the master of a supply of retorts which few can stand up against.

30. **vindemiator**: for the scansion, see Od. 3. 4. 41, 3. 6. 6; Sat. 2. 8. 1 'ut Nasidieni.'

31. **cessisset**, 'was likely to have yielded.' The time of the leading clause is really historic, if it were present it would be 'cesserit.'

**magna**, etc., however loud the voice in which he had called 'cuckoo, cuckoo.' 'Calling cuckoo' is explained by Pliny, N. H. 18. 66, 'taunting men engaged in dressing their vines by imitating the note of a bird of passage called the cuckoo: for it is held a disgrace that when that bird returns it should find a pruning-hook still at work in the vine.' Cp. the picture in Auson. Mosella, 165 'inde viator Riparum subiecta terens, hinc navita labens, Probra canunt seris cultoribus.'

32. Note the contrast implied in the emphatic **Graecus, Italo**. The characteristics of the Italian's retorts are kept up in **perfusus**, 'drenched,' 'soused,' and **aceto**, recalling the figure of the 'vindemiator,' the kind of humour coarse and plentiful with which the Romans were familiar in the 'fabulae Atellanae.'

Oro qui reges consueris tollere, cur non 34
Hunc Regem iugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.'

34. **qui consueris**, 'since you are,' etc.

35. **operum**. For the gen. see on Od. 3. 13. 13 'fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,' Epp. 1. 9. 13 'Scribe tui gregis hunc.'

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# SATIRE VIII.

## CANIDIA.

The first, probably, of Horace's attacks on Canidia. See Epod. 5, and especially the introductions to Epod. 17 and Od. 1. 16, and compare Epod. 3. 8; Sat. 2. 1. 48, 2. 8. 95.

The Scholiasts (on Epod. 3. 8 and on v. 24 of this Satire) say that under the name of Canidia was satirized one Gratidia 'unguentaria Neapolitana.' With this exception we have no external assistance in reading the riddle of the poems themselves. We are to imagine a woman whose fascination Horace has felt though he resents it, and which he attributes with more or less of irony to magic. The ludicrous catastrophe of the Satire as well as the mock heroic air which flavours the narrative seem to forbid us to take it quite seriously; cp. in this respect Od. 1. 16 introd.

The scene of the Satire is the Campus Esquilinus, the plateau from which the several arms of the Esquiline hill are thrust out. It was without the 'agger' of Servius Tullius and had been used 'as an extensive burial place for the lowest class of people, and a place of execution for criminals.' Cp., besides this Satire, Epod. 5. 99. Sat. 2. 6. 33, Burn's Rome and the Campagna, p. 225. Maecenas had recently become possessor of it and had laid it out in pleasure gardens. He eventually built a residence there (Od. 3. 29. 10, Epod. 9. 3). The Satire thus becomes the vehicle of a compliment to one who is already Horace's patron. The speaker throughout is Priapus, a rough wooden image of the garden god (Virg. G. 4. 110) which has been erected in the new garden. The transformation of the ground is barely complete. There are still 'magna sepulchra,' and bones to be found by scratching the ground. It is still haunted apparently by witches. With the witchcraft of this Sat. cp., besides Epod. 5 and 17, Theoc. Idyll 2, Virg. Ecl. 8, Tibull. Eleg. 1. 2, Ov. Met. 7. 179 foll.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,

1. **ficulnus**, more usually 'ficulneus,' the adj. of 'ficula,' dim. of 'ficus.' The wood of the fig was proverbially valueless, whence the use of *σύκινος* in the sense of worthless, *σύκινοι ἄνδρες* Theoc. 10. 45.

2. **ne**: for the position of the particle see on Od. 1. 30. 6. Note the accumulated irony, the valueless material, the alternative destiny—a stool or a god—the power that decides between them, viz. the carpenter's fancy—the single source of

Maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego furum aviumque
Maxima formido; nam fures dextra coërcet
Obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus;
Ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa vetatque novis considere in hortis.
Huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca.
Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti:
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat: Heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes

divinity—'and so a god I am.' It may be compared with the more serious irony of Isaiah 44. 10 foll. 'He burneth part thereof in the fire, with the part thereof he eateth flesh . . . and the residue thereof he maketh a god.'

4. **fures dextra**: his hand should be uplifted and hold, as the Schol. says, a club or a sickle, as in Virg. G. 4. 110 'custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi.'

6. **arundo** has been taken, as by Orelli, of a wisp of reeds that would rattle in the wind and so frighten birds; but the meaning seems to be fixed by Prop. 4. 2. 33 (a poem which has several links with this Satire) where Vertumnus describing, like Priapus, the various adornments of his own image, says 'arundine sumpta Fautor plumoso sum deus aucupio;' 'arundo' being used in a well recognized sense of a limed twig.

8. **cellis**. Cic. Phil. 2. 27. 67 'servorum in cellis.' Every word adds to the sense of ignominy, 'angustis, eiecta:' mean as are their quarters they are no sooner dead than their 'cadavera' are tossed out from them; such burial as they receive they owe only to a fellow slave's compassion; it is the cheapest bier.

11. 'It is the fate to which the worthless and the brokendown come.' The line is quoted as a specimen of Horace's personal satire in Sat. 2. 1. 22, but the names are evidently fictitious and literary. 'Nomentanus,' as we have seen on Sat. 1. 1. 103, is the conventional spendthrift of Satire, a name inherited from Lucilius. Pantolabus is a name coined for the character as the Schol. sees 'quia a multis pecuniam accipiebat inde Pantolabus dictus.'

12. **in fronte, in agrum**, 'frontage,' 'depth.' The dimensions are meant literally, but the **cippus** and its inscription is probably imaginary and ironical, being borrowed from the provisions of a private burying-ground and equivalent to saying 'it was the private burying-ground of the very lowest, which no one would rob them of.' They are all technical terms and occur in monumental inscriptions. The last words were intended to reserve the ground for the specified purpose; it was not to pass, like the rest of the property, to the heirs of the original proprietor. They are more fully explained in an inscr. preserved by Lambinus, 'ita ne unquam de nomine familiae nostrae exeat hoc monumentum, hoc monumentum heredes non sequitur.'

13. **dabat**, i. e. 'recorded the gift.'

**ne sequeretur**, the tense because he is quoting what *was* the (supposed) inscription.

14. **salubribus**, pred. = 'salubribus factis.'

15. **aggere**, prob. the 'agger' of Servius Tullius, from which men would look over the Campus Esquilinus, and which would therefore be now a pleasanter lounge than it had been. Juvenal S. 8. 43 calls it 'ventosus,' the place whither the Romans resorted to catch the wind as well as the sun.

**quo**, prep. 'in' is not repeated.

Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum ;
Cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suëtae
Hunc vexare locum curae sunt atque labori,
Quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis
Humanos animos : has nullo perdere possum
Nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
Protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam, pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
Cum Sagana maiore ululantem : pallor utrasque
Fecerat horrendas adspectu. Scalpere terram
Unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam

17. **cum.** The emphasis on 'mihi' gives it almost the force of 'cum tamen,' 'while yet to me.' To the world at large the Esquiline is now wholesome and pleasant, but its old use has left a legacy which to me is worse than all my other troubles. The witches still haunt it.

**ferae,** 'lupi et Esquilinae alites' Epod. 5. 99.

**suëtae,** not merely 'that are wont,' but 'that have been wont, and so in spite of its altered state still haunts the place,' just as the witches themselves who come here still though it is no longer a graveyard. The scansion of 'süetae' as a trisyll. is Lucretian (1. 60, etc.). Cp. Horace's resolution 'silüae' Od. 1. 23. 4, Epod. 13. 2, 'milüus' Epod. 16. 32, Epp. 1. 16. 51.

19. **carminibus,** sc. 'magicis.' Epod. 5. 71, 17. 4 ; Virg. Ecl. 8. 69, 70.

**venenis.** Epod. 5. 62 and 87 ; 17. 35.

21. **vaga luna** ; Virg. Aen. 1. 742 'errantem lunam.' The epithet is in point because if she stood still there would be no need to wait for her. The witches look for moonlight. Cf. Theoc. 2. 10 ἀλλὰ Σελάνα φαῖνε καλόν, Epod. 5. 45 'Nox et Diana quae silentium regis Arcana cum fiunt sacra,' Virg. Aen. 4. 513.

**decorum os** : cp. Virg. G. 4. 232 'Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum,' Aen. 8. 589 'Lucifer . . . Extulit os sacrum caelo.'

22. **ossa legant.** Epod. 5. 23, 17. 47.

23. **vidi egomet.** 'Habent hi versus aliquid tragicae descriptionis ut illi Vergilii (Aen. 3. 623) Vidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro,' Comm. Cruq.

**nigra,** as the lamb sacrificed in v. 27 is 'pulla.'

**succinctam** answers to 'expedita' in Epod. 5. 25, 'girt up for work.' Cp. its use Virg. Aen. 6. 555, 12. 401.

24. **pedibus nudis.** So Medea in Ov. Met. 7. 183 'Nuda pedem, nudos humeris infusa capillos.'

25. **maiore.** Our doubts as to the meaning are as old as the Scholiast. Porph. quoting by name Helenius Acron says that Sagana was a freedwoman of Pompeius (al. Pomponius), a senator who was proscribed by the triumvirs. No such note is found in the Acronian scholia as we have them. He adds that the term 'maiore' implies either that she had a younger sister, or that there was another Sagana at the same time 'minorem hac vel aetate vel natalibus vel censu.' Acr., in a note which is in some confusion, gives the same variety of meanings to 'maiore,' but adds 'aut maiore quam fuit ipsa Canidia.' If we interpret without assistance this seems the more likely. There still remains the doubt whether it means 'the elder' or 'the greater,' i.e. 'the more powerful witch;' or does 'altum caliendrum,' v. 48, suggest the physical sense, 'taller ?'

**utrasque.** For the irregularity of the plural see Madv. § 495, obs. 2, Virg. Aen. 5. 233.

27. **unguibus** : see Epod. 5. 47 n.

**pullam** : see on v. 23, Ov. Met. 7. 244. Aeneas (Virg. Aen. 6. 249) sacrifices

Coeperunt ; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
Manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea : maior
Lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem ;
Cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus ut quae
Iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
Altera Tisiphonen ; serpentes atque videres
Infernas errare canes, Lunamque rubentem
Ne foret his testis post magna latere sepulcra.
Mentior at si quid merdis caput inquiner albis
Corvorum, atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Iulius et fragilis Pediatia furque Voranus.
Singula quid memorem? quo pacto alterna loquentes
Umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum,

a black-fleeced lamb to Night, 'the mother of the Eumenides, and her mighty sister,' Earth.

28. **confusus**, 'poured together, into the trench.' He describes the process of *νεκυομαντεία* Hom. Od. 11. 23 foll. Spirits of the dead are invoked to tell Canidia the destiny of her lover.

30. The two figures indicate respectively Canidia and her lover. In all poetical descriptions of magic rites it is necessary to the effect of mystery to leave much to the imagination. Effigies of the person to be affected appear in Virg. Ecl. 8. 75, Aen. 4. 508, a waxen image in Ov. Her. 6. 91 '[Medea] Devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea (sc. Iasonis) fingit, Et miserum tenues in iecur urget acus.' The meaning of the wax is obvious, and is explained in Theoc. 2. 28 *ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω | ὣς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις*, and by Virg. l. c. The special meaning of the wool as representing Canidia is not so clear. According to Festus (Paulus) s.v. 'Laneae' it was the custom at the Compitalia to distribute little figures or dolls of wool, and the reason given is that the Lares were supposed to be 'animae hominum reductae in numerum deorum.' This may be connected.

**maior quae.** 'One of wool, the larger of the two, that it might, etc.'

32. **servilibus modis** : 'gravissimis verberibus,' Acr. Cp. Liv. 32. 38 'in servilem modum lacerati atque extorti.' Others, as Dill[r]. punctuate so as to connect 'stabat servilibus modis,' but Orelli rightly objects to the rhythm and the awkward double qualification of 'stabat,' 'suppliciter servilibus modis.'

**ut quae**, sc. 'stant'; for the ellipsis see Sat. 1. 1. 23, 1. 3. 9. Some good MSS. have 'utque' which Munro gives.

34. **atque** couples 'serpentes' and 'canes.' For the hellhounds that accompany Hecate cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 257 'visaeque canes ululare per umbram Adventante dea,' where Con. quotes Ap. Rhod. 3. 1216 *ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε* (Hecate) *Ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο.*

35. **rubentem**, blushing to see such sights, not as in Od. 2. 11. 10.

39. **fragilis** = 'mollis,' 'effeminate.' Pediatia, acc. to the Schol., the contemptuous designation of one Pediatius, and a knight of ruined fortune and character.

**fur Voranus.** The Schol. call him 'libertus Q. Lutatii Catuli,' and tell a story of his robbing a money-changer's table, and hiding the coins in his shoe, giving occasion, when he was discovered, to the witticism of a bystander, 'belle' inquit 'si te non ἐκχαλκεύει, hoc est verberibus tanquam aes recudat, alludens ad calceos.' The story was a current one, but it is attached by the Schol. on Juv. S. 13. 111 to the 'fugitivus scurra Catulli.'

41. **resonarent.** Bentley objected to the tense as contrasted with 'abdiderint,' etc., but the action in this one is more continuous. He would read 'resonarint,'

Utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae
Abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea
Largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus
Horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum:
Nam displosa sonat quantum vesica pepedi
Diffissa nate ficus: at illae currere in urbem;
Canidiae dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum
Excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
Vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres.

a form for which he quotes Manilius, and Horace's 'os magna sonaturum' Sat. 1. 4. 44.

**triste et acutum.** Homer's *τρίζειν* Il. 23. 101, Od. 24. 5, of the 'squeaking and gibbering' of ghosts.

42. **lupi barbam.** It appears from Pliny [N. H. 28. 44 'Veneficiis rostrum lupi resistere inveteratum aiunt, ob idque villarum portis praefigunt'] that the purpose of this was to protect them against the counter charms of any other sorceress. Cp. Epod. 5. 71.

**variae,** 'spotted,' as Virg. G. 3. 264 'variae lynces.'

43. **cerea**: for the scansion cp. 'ostrea' Sat. 2. 2. 21, and Virgil's use of 'aureus' as a disyll. Aen. 1. 698, 7. 190, 10. 116.

45. **Furiarum**: see on Epod. 5. 15. 41.

46. **displosa,** 'burst with a blow.' It is pointed out that Horace is recalling Lucr. 6. 130 'Nec mirum cum plena animae vesicula parva Saepe ita dat magnum sonitum displosa repente.'

48. **caliendrum.** The Schol. explain the word as meaning either some head-dress or a wig. They quote a passage of Varro in which it occurs, otherwise it is unknown.

49. **lacertis,** abl. with 'excidere.'

**incantata vincula,** 'enchanted love-knots'; the 'terna licia' and 'Veneris vincula' of Virg. E. 8. 78.

# SATIRE IX.

## THE WRONG WAY TO MAECENAS' FRIENDSHIP.

THE sufferings of Horace under the hands of a 'bore' are the amusing part of the Satire, but they are only the dramatic setting of the true subject. In Sat. 6 he told the story of his own admission to the intimacy of Maecenas, how small a part he had himself had in it, how natural and consistent with self-respect had been every stage in it. He completes the matter by this contrasted picture of the way in which vulgar and pushing people vainly hoped to gain an entry. The person described is a man of letters (v. 7), but of a type which Horace despised, fluent, vain, and effeminate (vv. 23–25). His obtuseness and want of tact are displayed in his acts, and he is made to paint with his own lips and in perfect unconsciousness the meanness of purpose and method which Horace had in view when he said (Sat. 1. 6. 51) that Maecenas was careful 'dignos assumere, prava ambitione procul': 'He will miss no opportunity, he will take no refusal, he will bribe the servants, if Horace will help him he will go shares, and together they will oust all rivals.' He was painting by contrast the life in Maecenas' house, as well as the avenues to it (v. 48). Horace must often have had requests from such people to introduce them to the great patron of literature, and this is his answer to them. His own tact had taught him the lesson which he passes on to a younger generation in Epp. 1. 18. 76 'Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice.'

The occasion imagined for the scene is when Horace is taking his morning stroll ('ad quartam iaceo: post hanc vagor' 1. 6. 122). He is walking, as it chances, on the Sacra Via towards the Forum. When they reach (v. 18) the entrance to it, close by the Temple of Vesta their paths diverge, for his interlocutor was bound for the Forum to appear in a case, and Horace, who had announced that he was going to pay a visit on the other side of the Tiber, would leave the Sacra Via at that point, and turn round the side of the Palatine towards the river.

Horace is probably dramatizing an imaginary situation, or at least improving some slighter incident; but attempts have been made to guess the particular person intended. The only noteworthy suggestion is that Propertius is intended (see on Sat. 1. 3. 30, Epp. 2. 2. 100). The dates make this next to impossible. If the Satires were published in B.C. 36 Propertius would, according to the most probable chronology, be only 16. Propertius was admitted to Maecenas' circle probably about the year 30.

IBAM forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.

1. **via Sacra.** Epod. 4. 7.

**sicut meus est mos,** with the words that follow,—'thinking, as is my wont when walking'—not with 'ibam,' which would contradict 'forte.'

2. **meditans nugarum.** Both words are used of poetical composition (Epp. 2. 2. 71, 76, 141), and this is possibly the sense here.

**totus in illis,** 'absorbed in them.' Epp. 1. 1. 11 'omnis in hoc sum.' Some MSS. of inferior value insert 'et' before 'totus.' Bentley wished to read 'ut' after 'ibam'; but in both cases the asyndeton belongs to the negligent style of familiar narration.

Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
Arreptaque manu, 'Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'
'Suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae vis.'
Cum adsectaretur: 'Num quid vis?' occupo. At ille
'Noris nos,' inquit; 'docti sumus.' Hic ego, 'Pluris
Hoc,' inquam, 'mihi eris.' Misere discedere quaerens,
Ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
Dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
Manaret talos. 'O te, Bolane, cerebri
Felicem!' aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
Garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. Ut illi
Nil respondebam, 'Misere cupis,' inquit, 'abire;

3. **accurrit . . . arrepta**: both express the vehemence of his affected delight.

4. **quid agis?** 'how are you?' Epp. 1. 3. 15 'quid mihi Celsus agit'?

**dulcissime rerum.** For the difference of gender see Madv. § 310, obs. 1; cp. Ov. Met. 8. 49 'pulcherrime rerum': 'rerum' = 'in all the world.' The question has also been taken to be 'quid rerum agis'? but 'rerum' in this inert sense could hardly stand at the end of the verse; and the answer 'nicely' would be inappropriate.

5. **ut nunc est,** 'just now.' Orelli is right in noticing that the point of the answer is its conventionality. Horace wishes to get rid of his interlocutor. This bars any deeper meanings in 'ut nunc est,' which would have invited further questioning.

**cupio omnia quae vis,** a formula of politeness. Plaut. Pers. 5. 1. 14, Rud. 4. 4. 1.

6. **adsectaretur.** Note the force of the prep. and of the frequentative verb.

**num quid vis,** 'can I do anything more for you'? a formula of leave-taking. See Plaut. Aul. 2. 1. 53 (Wagner's note), and Donatus' note on Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 49 'abituri ne id dare facerent *numquid vis* dicebant iis quibuscum constitissent.'

**occupo,** i. e. before he could begin. Epp. 1. 7. 66 'occupat et salvere iubet prior.'

7. **noris nos**: taken by Acr. as an answer to 'numquid vis'? 'hoc volo (ut) noris nos,' and so Dill[r]. and Ritter. Orelli takes it independently, 'you surely know.' This is the best dramatically. It is the part of the speaker to assume mutual acquaintance, as it is Horace's part politely to ignore it. Note the force with this latter purpose of the fut. 'eris.' Horace has not known hitherto his literary tastes.

**hic,** inf. v. 26; Sat. 2. 2. 7, 2. 8. 16.

8. **misere,** inf. v. 14; it is common in the comic poets for 'vehementer.'

10. **puero.** Even the master of a modest household (see on Sat. 1. 3. 12, 1. 6. 116) had a slave ('pedisequus') in attendance on him when he walked out. Horace whispers in his ear as though he had some private business which good manners would compel his persecutor to respect.

11. **cerebri felicem**; happy in the power of flying into a passion and so cutting such a knot. Horace is fettered by his good breeding. Cp. 'cerebrosus' Sat. 1. 5. 21; 'cerebrum' is the seat of the passion of anger in Plautus, Poen. 3. 2. 25, Bacch. 2. 3. 17. For the gen. cp. Sat. 2. 2. 66 'cultus miser,' Ov. Met. 5. 267 'Felices studiique locique,' 'in respect of.'

**Bolanus** (from Bola, a town of the Aequi) is the name of a friend of Cicero, ad Fam. 13. 77, and of a Roman governor of Britain, Tac. Ann. 15. 3. The person at whom Horace discharges this Parthian dart is unknown.

14. **misere cupis.** This is possibly an aside, like Horace's words vv. 28 f., the man's thoughts being put for him into words. But it is more probably intended as a joke, though it is the real

Iamdudum video ; sed nil agis ; usque tenebo ;
Prosequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi.' 'Nil opus est te
Circumagi ; quendam volo visere non tibi notum ;
Trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos.'
'Nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger : usque sequar te.'
Demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus,
Cum gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille :
'Si bene me novi non Viscum pluris amicum,
Non Varium facies : nam quis me scribere plures
Aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
Mollius? Invideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto.'
Interpellandi locus hic erat : 'Est tibi mater,

truth. He is so unconscious of the distastefulness of his company that he has no fear of being taken literally.

16. **prosequar** : 'I will attend you.' The external evidence is fairly divided between this word and 'persequar :' 'I will follow to the end.' It is a common point of variation in MSS. On internal grounds we may prefer 'prosequar,' the usual word for complimentary attendance, as giving a softer tone to the preceding word. The point is the unconsciousness of the interlocutor, not his brutality. 'Persequar' would leave less room for the answer 'nil opus est te circumagi.' There is a variety also in the punctuation—some editors putting a stop at 'prosequar' or 'persequar,' and marking the following words as a question. This stopping seems to suit best the reading 'persequar.'

18. **cubat**, 'is ill in bed,' as Sat. 2. 3. 289 (cp. Epp. 2. 2. 68). There are three reasons given why he should not come too—the friend to be visited is unknown to him, he lives a long way off, and he is ill.

**Caesaris hortos**, on the Ianiculum ; the gardens which the Dictator left by his will to the Roman people : Suet. Jul. 85.

20. 'I yield sullenly.'

21. **subiit.** See on Od. 1. 3. 36 and Sat. 1. 4. 82.

**onus** is acc. as 'subire iugum,' etc.

22. **Viscum**, one, no doubt, of the two Visci whom Horace names in the next Satire, ('haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque' Sat. 1. 10. 83) among the literary men whose judgment he cared for. There is also Viscus Thurinus (again in the company of Varius) at Nasidienus' supper, Sat. 2. 8. 20. Nothing is known besides of them. The Scholiasts speak doubtfully, 'optimi poëtae,' 'alii dicunt criticos fuisse,' both conjectures from the passages in Horace. They say the father of two was Vibius Viscus, a rich knight and a friend of Augustus. Some MSS. of Porph. read in this place 'Fuscum.'

23. **Varium.** See on Od. 1. 6. 1. Note the nature of the accomplishments on the ground of which he claims to be ranked before Varius — he can write verses (not well, but) fluently (cp. the picture of Crispinus in Sat. 1. 4. 13 foll.), he can dance (cp. Sat. 2. 1. 24, and Cic. Mur. 6 'nemo saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit'), he can sing better than Hermogenes, Horace's ideal of effeminacy and bad taste ; see Sat. 1. 4. 72, and introd. to Sat. 1. 3.

25. **mollius**, from Lucr. 4. 789 'mollia membra movere,' and ib. 980 ; the alliteration is part of Lucretius' art, but it is purposely adopted here to give a mincing tone to the speaker and pour contempt on the accomplishment of which he boasts.

26. **est tibi mater ?** Orelli thinks that this is only a question of formality, its sole purpose being to interrupt the man's list of accomplishments. Of many suggestions perhaps the best is that like Davus's 'frugi quod satis est Ut vitale putes' (Sat. 2. 7. 3), it implies that too great perfection is dangerous to life, and that it is therefore ironical. The man, however, is too much wrapt up in himself to perceive the irony.

Cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'Haud mihi quisquam.
Omnes composui.' 'Felices! nunc ego resto.
Confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste Sabella
Quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:
Hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis
Nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
Garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque: loquaces
Si sapiat vitet simul atque adoleverit aetas.'
Ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei
Praeterita, et casu tunc respondere vadato

27. **quis te salvo est opus**, as we should say, 'to take care of you.'

**haud mihi quisquam**; the purpose of the answer is to put a full stop to the topic which Horace has started.

28. This and what follows to v. 34 is supposed to be said aside, as is clear from its provoking no answer.

30. **divina mota urna**: all ablatives, though the Schol. took 'mota' = 'commota,' 'excita,' as a nom. For 'mota urna' cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 432 'Quaesitor Minos urnam movet.' With 'divina urna,' Bentl. (who, for himself, wished to read 'mota divina anus urna,' making 'divina' nom.) compares Sil. Ital. 3. 344 'divinarumque sagacem Flammarum.' The reference is to divination by means of 'sortes,' or written slips dropped in a vessel and drawn or shaken out. They would consist of ambiguous sentences which the 'sortilegus' would apply as prophecies to the persons who drew them. Cicero describes it in Div. 2. 41, and speaks of it as an art already discredited. This and other forms of witchcraft would linger among the Sabine hill folk: Epod. 17. 28, with note. The whole picture here is imaginary and burlesque.

31. **hosticus**, archaic form of 'hostilis' Od. 3. 2. 6; cp. 'civicus' Od. 2. 1. 1. n., Epp. 1. 3. 23.

32. **laterum dolor**, 'pleuritis' Comm. Cruq. Orelli reminds us that Crassus, in Cic. de Orat. 3. 2, dies of 'lateris dolor.'

33. **quandocunque**, 'whenever that time comes'; the construction is elliptical, as with 'quicunque,' 'qualiscunque,' etc. Bentl. quotes Ov. Met. 6. 544 'Quandocunque mihi poenas dabis,' Trist. 3. 1. 57 'Quandocunque precor nostro placata parenti, Isdem sub dominis aspiciare domus.' For the *tmesis* see on Od. 1. 6. 3.

35. **ad Vestae**. Burn (Rome and the Campagna, p. 78) takes this to include the Regia (see on Od. 1. 2. 15, 16) which stood between the Sacra Via and the actual temple of Vesta, to which it was attached. The two had now reached the Forum, which gives Horace this chance of deliverance. His own route would diverge to the left if he were to make for the Tiber and the Ianiculum.

**quarta parte**. The third hour was over and the fourth beginning. Law business, according to Martial 4. 8. 2, began with the third, 'Exercet raucos tertia causidicos.'

36. **respondere vadato**. The plaintiff in a civil suit when, with the Praetor's leave, he had declared the nature and process of his action, had to give the defendant time to prepare his answer. He called on him therefore 'dare vades,' and was said 'vadari reum,' to bind him over to appear. If the defendant failed at the appointed time to come into court ('vadimonium sistere,' 'respondere,' or apparently as here 'respondere vadato,' he was said 'vadimonium deseruisse,' and the plaintiff moved for judgment, 'ut ex edicto bona possidere liceat.' See a case in Cic. pro Quint. 6. 'Vadato' then is dat. No other instance of the actual phrase is found, 'respondere' being usually absolute. It has been, therefore, proposed by some editors to take 'vadato' as an abl. absol. like 'auspicato,' etc. Bentley wished to read 'vadatus,' which, as he showed, is found in a passive sense.

Debebat, quod ni fecisset perdere litem.
'Si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum hic ades.' 'Inteream si
Aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura;
Et propero quo scis.' 'Dubius sum quid faciam,' inquit,
'Tene relinquam an rem.' 'Me sodes.' 'Non faciam' ille;
Et praecedere coepit. Ego, ut contendere durum est
Cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'
Hinc repetit; 'Paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae;
Nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. Haberes
Magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
Hunc hominem velles si tradere: dispeream ni
Summosses omnes.' 'Non isto vivimus illic

38. **si me amas**, 'as you love me,' a formula of earnest request, Cic. ad Att. 5. 17, etc. For the hiatus and shortening of 'me' cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 507 'te amice.' Horace has 'cocto num adest' Sat. 2. 2. 28.

**ades**, a quasi-technical term of those that give help and countenance in court. It appears from such passages as Cic. Rosc. Am. 1 ('ita fit ut adsint propterea quod officium sequuntur, taceant autem quia periculum metuunt') that such countenance did not imply actual advocacy.

39. **stare**, the meaning is doubtful. (1) Acron took it (of recent editors Ritter follows him) of the physical fatigue of standing in court. (2) Porph. (followed by Macleane) of standing still, waiting. (3) Heind., Orell., and Dill[r]. follow Torrentius in taking it for 'to appear in court.' Torrent. quotes from Ulpian for the use of 'stare,' and compares the term 'statores' for the officers of the court. Of these (2) seems to be inadmissible both as involving a questionable use of 'valeo' and as anticipating the later excuse 'et propero quo scis.'

41. **rem**: nearly synonymous with 'litem.' Cic. Mur. 12. 27 laughs at the lawyers for not having been able in all these years to settle 'utrum rem an litem dici oporteret.'

44. **hinc repetit**, 'makes this fresh beginning.'

**paucorum hominum**, 'choice in his friends.' It was a current phrase: Ter. Eun. 3. 1. 18 'sic homost: perpaucorum hominum,' and in a fragment of Cic. de Fato preserved in Macrob. Sat. 2. 12, Scipio who has received a sturgeon and is inviting more of his visitors to stop and eat of it than Pontius, who is staying in the house, approves, is remonstrated with in the words 'vide quid agas, acipenser iste paucorum hominum est.'

45. It has been doubted whether the comparative abl. after 'dexterius' should be 'eo' (sc. 'Maecenate') or 'te' (sc. 'Horatio'). The first is rather the more probable. 'Te' would probably be expressed. Also this strong statement would be inconsistent with the question just asked, 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?' The suggestion is that Maecenas is so exclusive and so wide awake that Horace will be none the worse for a seconder in his attempts to improve his acquaintance.

46. **ferre secundas**, sc. 'partes.' There is the same metaphor Epp. 1. 18. 13 'vel partes mimum tractare secundas,' of an obsequious friend. It is worked out more fully in Cic. Div. in Q. Caec. 25 'ut in actoribus Graeci fieri videmus saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat, sic faciet Alienus: tibi serviet, tibi lenocinabitur, minus aliquanto contendet quam potest.'

47. **hunc hominem**, sc. 'me,' as in Ter. and Plaut. an imitation of the Greek *τόνδ' ἄνδρα*.

**tradere**, 'to introduce.' Epp. 1. 9. 3, 1. 18. 78.

48. **summosses**, 'clear from your path' (as in the usual 'i, lictor, summove turbam'). There is a want of delicacy in the word as well as in the idea which

Quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est
Nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit,' inquam,
'Ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
Cuique unus.' 'Magnum narras, vix credibile!' 'Atqui
Sic habet.' 'Accendis, quare cupiam magis illi
Proximus esse.' 'Velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus,
Expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
Difficiles aditus primos habet.' 'Haud mihi deero:
Muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
Exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram,
Occurram in triviis; deducam. Nil sine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus.' Haec dum agit, ecce
Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
Qui pulchre nosset. Consistimus. 'Unde venis?' et
'Quo tendis?' rogat et respondet. Vellere coepi,

provokes Horace's protest. 'Dispeream' is optative 'may I perish!' 'Summosses' is potential, answering to an understood condition 'si traderes,' the tense implying the rapidity of the effort, 'you would find at once that you had cleared,' etc. 'Dispeream si' or 'ni' does not by itself require a subjunctive to follow. Catull. 92. 2 'dispeream nisi amat.'

50. **inquam.** This is the reading of all the older MSS. including V. It was restored to the text by Bentley, and is rightly defended by Ritter on the ground that it emphasizes the transition to the personal statement 'nil mi officit,' 'I have no need of the help you offer, there is no scramble for favour there.' Orelli retained 'unquam,' which has comparatively little authority.

51. **uni cuique,** for the division cp. Epp. 2. 2. 188 'mortalis in unum Quodque caput,' A. P. 290. It occurs in prose as Cic. de Or. 25. 92 'ne in uno quidem quoque.' The words are so separable that it does not reach the license of Sat. 2. 3. 117, etc.

53. **sic habet,** *οὕτως ἔχει*: a shorter form of 'sic res se habet'; so 'bene habet' Cic. Mur. 6. 14.

**quare.** Madv. § 440 b, obs. 1 = 'ita ut ob eam rem.'

54. **velis tantummodo,** 'if you merely wish it'; for the conditional use see on Sat. 1. 1. 45, Madv. § 442 a, obs. 2.

**quae tua,** 'such is your,' etc. Madv. § 446.

55. **et** adds another reason of hope; the metaphor, as Orelli points out, is continued.

58. **tempora,** *καιρούς*. Virg. Aen. 4. 423 'Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.'

59. **deducam,** 'escort to his destination.' It is one of the recognized civilities to greater personages. Cic. de Sen. 18 'salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci.' Cp. Cic. Mur. 34.

**nil sine magno:** he encourages himself in his small ambition by a heroic *γνώμη*: cp. *χαλεπὰ τὰ καλά*, and Sophocles, Electra 945 *πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ.*

60. **haec agit,** 'is so occupied'; perhaps with the sense of conducting his case—pleading, as in Virg. Aen. 445 'haec inter se . . . agebant Certantes.'

61. **Fuscus Aristius:** see introd. to Od. 1. 22 and Epp. 1. 10; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 83. For the order of the names see on Od. 2. 2. 3.

62. **pulchre.** There is, as often, an ironical tinge in the adv. = 'only too well.'

**nosset,** the subj., because it is Horace's thought, not bare fact; 'who must surely know him.'

**unde venis et quo tendis?** a usual formula on meeting; Sat. 2. 4. 1 'unde et quo Catius?'

63. **rogat et respondet,** he asks me

Et prensare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,
Distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. Male salsus
Ridens dissimulare: meum iecur urere bilis.
'Certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
Aiebas mecum.' 'Memini bene, sed meliore
Tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu
Curtis Iudaeis oppedere?' 'Nulla mihi,' inquam,
'Religio est.' 'At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus
Multorum: ignosces: alias loquar.' Huncine solem
Tam nigrum surrexe mihi! Fugit improbus ac me
Sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obvius illi
Adversarius, et: 'Quo tu turpissime?' magna

and I ask him. The comment of the Schol. is 'eleganter mixtum inter se et confusum sermonem interrogandi respondendique expressit.'

64. **prensare**, 'to grasp with the hand' is a further step to 'twitching' (the 'toga') with the fingers. There is a variant 'pressare,' 'to squeeze,' which Orelli adopts. It was possibly read by the Schol., who interpret 'stringere,' 'restringere.' On the other hand all Cruquius' MSS. (i. e. it may be presumed, V) had 'prensare.'

**lentissima**, pred., the arms gave no sign of feeling.

65. **male**, 'unkindly.'

66. **dissimulare**, 'pretends not to notice.'

**iecur**, Od. 1. 13. 4.

69. **tricesima sabbata**. Much learning and ingenuity have been expended upon these words, but it is probable, as Macleane suggested, that the riddle has no answer. Some words with a mystic sound, but chosen at random, would suit the conditions of the case. If a definite solution is to be looked for, the most likely is that of the Schol., who refer the words to the new moon; 'sabbata' being used generally as the Jewish term for a sacred day, and 'tricesima' meaning 'on the 30th day' (Dill$^{r}$. quotes from Ovid, A. A. 1. 76 'Cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro,' where 'septima sacra' = 'seventh-day rites'), the 30th day of the 'full' months, the Greek *ἔνη καὶ νέα*, being the day on which the new moon was watched for; see Dict. Bibl. s. v. New Moon. Taking the words to mean the 30th Sabbath in the year, they have been variously explained, (1) of the Passover (so Torrentius), which would fall *about* 30 weeks from the beginning of the Jewish civil year, sc. from Tisri, our Sept.—Oct.; (2) by Orelli, following Roeder and an unnamed Biblical scholar, either of the Feast of Tabernacles or of the Great Day of Atonement, each being according to various calculations the 30th 'sabbath' from the first of Nisan, the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, and corresponding to our March—April. For the observance by superstitious Romans of the Jewish Sabbath see Mayor's note on Juv. S. 14. 96 'metuentem sabbata patrem.' Cp. also Sat. 2. 3. 291.

71. **unus multorum**, 'one of the many,' i. e. not exempt from their weaknesses; so Cicero Brut. 79. 274 '[M. Calidius] non fuit orator unus e multis,' 'an ordinary orator.'

72. **huncine**, etc.: Sat. 2. 4. 83, 2. 8. 67; Virg. Aen. 1. 37 'Mene incepto desistere victam'; Madv. § 399. This is Horace's exclamation at the time when he finds Aristius immovable.

73. **surrexe**. For the contraction cp. on Sat. 1. 5. 79 'erepsemus.'

**improbus**, 'ruthlessly.'

74. **sub cultro**, as a victim with the knife at its throat.

75. **adversarius**. The legal difficulties of this passage are exhaustively discussed in Long's note to Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 15. They turn upon the use of the phrase 'in ius vocare' (here 'rapere'), which seems in legal phraseology to have been restricted to the first appearance before the Praetor, before the giving of 'vades,' the remedy afterwards being the loss of the suit and

Inclamat voce; et 'Licet antestari?' Ego vero
Oppono auriculam. Rapit in ius; clamor utrinque;
Undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

forfeiture of the security. If this is the case, either Horace has used his legal phrases carelessly, or we must suppose the 'adversarius' to be a different person from the plaintiff of v. 36. This is in itself unlikely. The formulae of this passage are well illustrated from Plaut. Persa 4. 9. 8, where Saturio is about to prosecute Dordalus for the abduction of his daughter: '*Sa.* Age, ambula in ius, leno. *Do.* quid me in ius vocas? *Sa.* illi apud Praetorem dicam: sed ego in ius voco. *Do.* nonne antestaris? *Sa.* tuan' ego causa, carnifex, quoiquam mortali libero aures adteram?'

76. **licet antestari?** 'may I call you as a witness?' i. e. that I have duly summoned him; addressed to Horace. The person so addressed gave his assent by offering the tip of his ear to be touched; see Plaut. l. c., and cp. Plin. N. H. 11. 45. 103 'Est in aure ima memoriae locus quem tangentes antestamur.'

78. **Apollo**, prob. as the Schol. suggest in remembrance of Hom. Il. 20. 443 of the rescue of Hector *τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων* (which, as they also notice, had been quoted by Lucilius 6. 40), with the further thought of Apollo as the natural protector of a poet.

# SATIRE X.

## LUCILIUS AND HORACE. FAIR AND UNFAIR CRITICISM.

Horace has been assailed by the school, of whom Demetrius and Hermogenes Tigellius are the representatives, with contemptuous criticism on his Satire, and especially for his words in Sat. 1. 4 about Lucilius. He replies by repeating and justifying what he said.

Verses 1–19. 'Yes, I did say that Lucilius' verses are rough. Is it not true? I also praised him for the wit and freedom of his satire. The two things are consistent; you may praise a good mime; that does not imply that it is perfect poetry. To make people laugh is a merit, but more is wanted—brevity, play. and a proper alternation of declamation and irony. These are the characteristics of the great Greek comedians whom Hermogenes and his school have never read.'

20–30. Horace's assailants are supposed to reply that Lucilius was clever at mingling Greek phrases with Latin. 'That is an easy trick,' he answers; 'but why do you admire it in poetry more than you would in oratory'?

31–49. This offers the transition to himself. 'I too,' he says, 'had the idea of writing wholly in Greek, but I had a dream of what true patriotism would say, "It is too late to write Greek poetry." So while Bibaculus writes his turgid stuff I take my own modest line. I leave comedy to Fundanius,

tragedy to Pollio, epos to Varius, bucolics to Virgil. Satire seemed what I might try and do better than Varro Atacinus and others, though confessing my inferiority to Lucilius. I don't dispute the garland with him.'

50–71. You say I speak of the 'turbid stream that often carried much rubbish.' Well, do you find nothing to criticize in Homer? Did not Lucilius in Accius and Ennius? Why may we not think that Lucilius was too hasty? Give him all credit as more finished than you would expect, than his predecessors. Still if he lived now he would find much to correct; he would be more exacting in his criticism.

72–92. What is to be worth reading must have cost much pains, and not be written for the multitude. You may look to have your poems read in bad schools. That is not my ambition. I am like Arbuscula; if the front stalls admire, the pit and gallery may be hanged. I care for the approbation of true poets and true critics, not for that of the poetasters and drawing-room critics of the moment.

The verses enclosed in brackets are found in some of the 10th cent. MSS. (φ ψ λ l β), but they were absent from Cruquius' Bland. MSS., and were certainly unknown to the Scholiasts, who not only do not comment on them, but evidently found 'Nempe incomposito,' etc. as the opening words of the Satire, 'Respondet his a quibus culpatus fuerat quod Lucilii versus damnasset in satira "Eupolis atque Cratinus," et dicit se non poëtam improbasse sed versus,' etc. It is in favour also of the more abrupt commencement that Persius, an imitator of Horace; begins Sat. 3 with 'Nempe.'

*[Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone*
*Defensore tuo, pervincam, qui male factos*
*Emendare parat versus; hoc lenius ille,*
*Quo melior vir et est longe subtilior illo,*
*Qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis*

[1. **Catone**, apparently 'Valerius Cato,' a 'grammarian' and poet of the later Republic, who is described by Suetonius (de grammaticis illustr. 2 and 11) as having read Lucilius in the lecture-room of Philocomus. Orelli thinks that that passage gave the suggestion of this interpolation, the action attributed to Cato 'emendare parat versus,' being due to a misapplication of some earlier words of Suetonius, who speaks not of Cato, but of earlier grammarians as editing and retouching ('diligentius retractare') the writings of older poets. Valerius Cato, acc. to Suetonius, lost his property whilst still a minor in Sulla's proscriptions, and lived to an extreme old age. This would render it, though not probable, possible that he should be engaged in literary work at the date that Horace wrote.

4. **quo melior vir et est**, the reading of β; but the majority of the older MSS. read the line unmetrically without 'et,' and the variations in others 'adest,' 'hic est,' 'meliorque vir est,' 'est quo vir melior,' indicate that 'et' is only one conjecture amongst many for remedying a fault in the original copy.

**illo.** In the uncertainty of the authorship of the verses it may seem idle to guess who this 'grammaticorum equitum doctissimus' is that is contrasted with Cato. Ritter suggests that the person imagined is Horace's own teacher Orbilius, of whom Suetonius says that in early life 'in Macedonia . . . equo meruit.' If this is so we may perhaps imagine further that the severe discipline of v. 5 is suggested by that which has made Orbilius himself famous; see Epp. 2. 1. 71.

*Exoratus, ut esset opem qui ferre poëtis*
*Antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,*
*Grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. Ut redeam illuc:*]
Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est
Ut non hoc fateatur? At idem quod sale multo
Urbem defricuit charta laudatur eadem.
Nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera: nam sic
Et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poëmata mirer.
Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
Auditoris: et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus:
Est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures;
Et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
Defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
Interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
Extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.

6. **exoratus**: sub. 'est.' Other MSS. have 'exhortatus,' which would be used passively.

8. **ut redeam illuc**: suggested by Sat. 1. 1. 108 'Illuc unde abii redeo'; but it is harsher here.]

1. **nempe . . . dixi**, 'it is true I said.' We are to imagine ourselves as overhearing part of a conversation. Horace is replying to criticism on what he had said in Sat. 1. 4.

**incomposito . . . pede**: cp. 'pede certo' Sat. 1. 4. 47; 'halting rhythm.' There is possibly some sense of continuity in the metaphor 'pede currere.' What he had actually said was that Lucilius was 'durus componere versus' Sat. 1. 4. 8.

3. **sale multo . . . defricuit**. The general sense is imitated by Pers. 1. 114 'secuit Lucilius urbem.' The Schol. is probably right in taking it as a continuous metaphor. His wit was the salt which made the sore places smart. The praise which Horace claims to have given to Lucilius must be looked for in the whole passage, vv. 1–8 of Sat. 1. 4.

4. **charta**. Sat. 1. 5. 104. The sing. is used of a single poem.

5. **cetera**, every other good quality, including smooth versification.

6. **et Laberi mimos**, which contain, like Lucilius' satires, plenty of well-applied wit. Laberius is the Roman knight whom Caesar compelled to act his own mimes. The prologue which he spoke on the occasion is given, with the story, in Macrob. Saturn. 2. 7, and has great spirit; but Cicero is at one with Horace in speaking slightingly of the mimes themselves, ad Fam. 12. 18 'equidem sic iam obdurui ut ludis Caesaris nostri animo aequissimo . . . audirem Laberii et Publii poemata.'

9. **brevitate**: whereas Lucilius was 'garrulus'; 'erat quod tollere velles'; Sat. 1. 4. 11, 12.

11. **tristi**, 'serious.'

12. **defendente**, 'maintaining,' as A. P. 194 'partes officiumque defendat.' It is a variation of the common 'tueri personam,' 'tueri munus,' etc.

**vicem**, as 'fungar vice' A. P. 304, 'place,' 'part.'

**rhetoris**, one who composes declamations.

13. **parcentis viribus**, a description of irony.

15. **plerumque**, as usually in Horace, 'very often.' Sat. 2. 5. 55; Epp. 1. 18. 94, 2. 2. 84; A. P. 14, 95.

**secat**, 'decides,' 'cuts the knots.' Epp. 1. 16. 42 'multae magnaeque se-

Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est
Hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes unquam legit neque simius iste
Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
'At magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis
Miscuit.' O seri studiorum! quine putetis
Difficile et mirum Rhodio quod Pitholeonti

cantur iudice lites.' Cp. Cic. de Or. 2. 58. 236 'odiosas res saepe, quas argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissolvit.'

16. See note on Sat. 1. 4. 2.

**viris** is evidently contrasted here with the effeminate taste of the day. For the dative cp. Epp. 1. 19. 3 'scribuntur aquae potoribus,' Madv. § 250 a.

17. **stabant.** They owed their success to this. A phrase of the theatre, opp. 'cadere,' ἐκπίπτειν: Epp. 2. 1. 176 'cadat an recto stet fabula talo.'

**hoc** covers the whole description of the excellence of satirical composition, vv. 9–16.

**pulcher**, said of a fop.

18. **Hermogenes**: sc. Tigellius. See on Sat. 1. 4. 72 and introd. to Sat. 1. 3.

**simius**: probably, as the Schol. say, the Demetrius of v. 90.

19. This verse is best illustrated by Cicero's 'O poetam egregium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur'! Tusc. 3. 19. 45, where 'cantoribus,' as 'cantare' here, is of reciting in a sing-song and maudlin tone. Cp. 'plorare' v. 91. Euphorion of Chalcis was a popular elegiac poet of the Alexandrine school whom Cicero is there contrasting with the more manly standard of their own Ennius. It is as imitators of the Alexandrine poets instead of the great Greek classics, Homer, Alcaeus, Archilochus, that Horace is here vilipending Calvus and Catullus. He is not just to Catullus, but he is treating him as a representative of the school with which he was always at war. Calvus is C. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet, a contemporary and close friend of Catullus.

20. 'Surely it was a feat to mingle Greek words in his verses as he did.' An argument imagined for a defender of Lucilius, but hardly a serious one. Cp. '*αἰγίλιποι* montes' in fr. 3. 7. It was a practice of early Latin writing—not entirely dropped in Lucretius (4. 1162, etc.), criticized by Cicero, de Off. 1. 31. 111 'ut sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba inculcantes iure optimo irrideamur'—but allowed by himself freely in the freedom of his letters.

21. **seri studiorum**: a translation of the Greek *ὀψιμαθεῖς*, of dunces turned pedants. So Aulus Gellius (11. 7), probably in reminiscence of the passage, as he is speaking of the practice of introducing antiquated novel or foreign words, 'est adeo id vitium plerumque serae eruditionis, quam Graeci *ὀψιμαθίαν* appellant, ut quod numquam didiceris, diu ignoraveris, cum id scire aliquando coeperis, magni facias quo in loco cunque et quacunque in re dicere.' Horace adds point to his criticism by setting the example of translating the Greek word.

**quine.** A usage of the comic dramatists. See Ter. Ad. 2. 3. 8 'festivum caput! Qui ne omnia sibi post putavit esse prae meo commodo?' 'Qui' is the nom. plur. of the relative: the interrogative tone added by 'ne' gives a rhetorical emphasis—'what? when you think,' etc. Cp. the exclamatory 'ne' in 'utne' Sat. 2. 5. 18. It is found, as Bentley says on the passage quoted from Terence, both with the ind. and subj., that is, both with 'qui' as a simple relative and with causal or other force which affects the mood. For the first see Virg. Aen. 10. 673 'Quos ne, nefas, omnes infanda morte reliqui.' In my note on Epod. 1. 7 this place was inadvertently quoted as an instance of the redundant 'ne' with the interrogative 'qui.'

22. **Pitholeonti.** Nothing is known of him unless we accept Bentley's ingenious suggestion, that he is the same as Pitholaus (he compares the double forms of the names **Τιμόλαος, Τιμολέων—Μενέλαος, Μενέλεως**) mentioned by Suetonius (Jul. 75) as a poetical libeller of Julius Caesar.

Contigit? 'At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
Suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'
Cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum
Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?
Scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque, Latine
Cum Pedius causas exsudet Publicola atque

23. **concinnus.** In our ignorance of the etymology of this word it is impossible to say whether any metaphor is felt. Nonius Marcellus (a grammarian of uncertain date) derives it from 'cinnus,' the name of a drink, like the Homeric *κυκεών*, of meal and wine. If this was believed in Horace's time it would suit the similitude of the following verse.

**utraque**: see on Od. 3. 8. 5.

24. **nota**: see on Od. 2. 3. 8. '**Chio**,' '**Falerni**,' a Greek and an Italian wine.

25. 'Is that a principle which you confine to the criticism of poetry, or would you apply it also to oratory, and to oratory of a serious kind?'

**te ipsum**, 'I press the question home to yourself, give me your own experience.'

26. **causa Petilli** stands, generally, for a case where much is at stake and where the defence is difficult: see on Sat. 1. 4. 94.

27 foll. 'Doubtless you would forget fatherland and father and prefer, whilst Pedius Publicola and Corvinus spend their strength in pleading in pure Latin, to adulterate your mother speech with foreign words like a double-tongued Canusian.' I have followed Orelli, though with some doubt, in giving 'Latine.' It is found in some good MSS. (φ, ψ, λ, l), although the majority read 'Latini.' Cruquius himself preferred it against all his MSS. as the reading, though not of V, of the marginal annotator on V, who wrote 'cum exsudet, id est, cum sudore et omni instantia Latine recitet, Latine proferat.' The scholia of Acr. and Porph. point the same way, though their argument is not quite logical, as they both dwell on the fact that the two orators named were purists in respect of Latin words. As Orelli remarks, the corruption of 'Latine' to 'Latini' to suit 'patris' is easy to imagine—easier than the reverse alteration. If with Bentley we read 'Latini' we may either take it as an adj., as Virgil's 'genus Latinum' Aen. 1. 6, or (as he prefers) of Latinus ('pater Latinus' in Virg. Aen. 7. 61, etc.), as the eponymous ancestor of the Latin speaking race. Cp. in that case, with the whole expression, Od. 3. 5. 10, 11. Latinus' name is not so used anywhere else. With this reading the obvious mode of constructing 'intermiscere' is to suppose a subject 'eos,' sc. 'Pedium et Messallam.' Bentley, to make the sentence run more smoothly, altered 'oblitus' to 'oblitos' to agree with this subject—and he is followed by Ritter and Munro. I am not sure that it is not open to Orelli's objection that, although 'oblitus patriae,' etc. is in place as forcibly putting the crime of the person addressed, it occupies too emphatic a position if it becomes the hypothetical description not even of what these orators were, but of what the person addressed might prefer them to be.

28. **Pedius . . . Publicola atque Corvinus.** Corvinus is the M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus of Od. 3. 21. 7 (see introd. to that Ode), Sat. 1. 6. 42, A. P. 371 'diserti Messallae.' Who Pedius was is uncertain. The Scholiasts say that he and Corvinus were brothers. This may be illustrated by, or may be due to, v. 85 'te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre,' where they annotate 'sc. Publicola,' but see on that verse. That the two families were connected is known from Pliny (N. H. 35. 7) who states that Q. Pedius, the nephew of C. Julius Caesar, was married into the family of Messalla. Their grandson was a deaf-mute who, by Messalla's advice, was taught the art of painting. This is all that is known. It has been conjectured, but on no further grounds, that Q. Pedius the younger, the father of the deaf-mute, adopted his cousin's son, a brother of Messalla the orator, who therefore became 'Pedius.' Doubt hangs also over the name 'Publicola.' Estré joins it with 'Corvinus,' quoting as parallel 'optimus atque Cocceius' Sat. 1. 5. 27,

Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
Verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?
Atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
Versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera:
'In silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si
Magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas.'
Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona, dumque
Defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,

'optimus atque Fuscus' v. 82 of this Satire. The arguments, which are strong for taking 'optimus' in these cases with the following name, do not apply equally here. It is more usually taken with 'Pedius.' Those who believe that the two were brothers sometimes (as Dill[r].) take it *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with both. Very possibly the additional name is intended to recall the pure Roman descent to which they are true in their native Roman speech. The cognomen of Publicola belonged to the Valeria gens and so to Messalla. Cp. Virg. Catal. 11 (ad Messallam) 40 'Messallis Publicolis.' It may have belonged to Pedius either, according to the Scholiasts' theory, as a member by birth of the Valeria gens or, as Estré suggests, on the female side from the Valeria who married Q. Pedius.

30. **Canusini . . . bilinguis.** The Schol. tells us that both Ennius and Lucilius had given the title 'bilingues' to the 'Bruttates' or 'Bruttii,' doubtless in the same sense, as speaking Greek as well as the native Italian dialect. For Canusium see Sat. 1. 5. 91, 92.

33. **cum somnia vera.** Mosch. Id. 2. 2 foll. *νυκτὸς ὅτε τρίτατον λάχος ἵσταται ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς . . ., εὖτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων*, Ov. Her. 19. 195 'sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna, somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent.'

34. **in silvam . . . ligna.** The editors recall proverbs of similar import, *γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἰχθῦς εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον*. Cp. our 'coals to Newcastle.'

36. **turgidus Alpinus.** Acr. has a note, 'Vivalium quendam poetam Gallum tangit.' Cruquius had suggested for 'Vivalium' 'rivalem'; but Bentley ingeniously altered it to 'Vivaculum,' the form which Acron on Sat. 2. 5. 41 writes for Bibaculum. This key given, the two passages explain one another. They are both satires on M. Furius Bibaculus, a poet of the previous generation, whom Quintilian (10. 1. 96) classes with Catullus and Horace as a writer of 'iambi,' and whom Tacitus (Ann. 4. 34) puts with Catullus, as one whose writings, 'referta contumeliis Caesarum,' were still read. 'Gallum' is probably a misunderstanding of 'Alpinus,' as it would hardly be used of his birthplace in Cisalpine Gaul, Cremona. The nickname 'Alpinus,' 'poet of the Alps,' is due to his verse parodied in Sat. 2. 5. 41 'Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes,' or possibly to fuller descriptions in the same vein of Alpine scenes (as the 'Rheni caput') occurring in the poem on the Gaulish wars ('pragmatia belli Gallici') which Acron attributes to him. 'Turgidus' probably means 'bombastic,' though it is tempting to parallel it with 'pingui tentus omaso' in Sat. 2. 5. His personal habits were part of the tradition of him; cp. Pliny N. H. praef. 'qui Bibaculus erat et vocabatur.'

**iugulat . . . Memnona**, i. e. writes of Achilles slaying Memnon, the subject of the Aethiopis of Arctinus, the cyclic poet. 'Iugulat,' a rough word, of his clownish way of 'despatching' his hero.

37. **defingit luteum caput** seems a continuous metaphor—'gives his Rhine a head-piece of brown mud' Conington; 'defingere' is a rare word, perhaps one used, as is suggested, of rough, offhand, workmanship. Probably the point lies in Bibaculus having used the epithet 'luteum' of the source of the Rhine. Did he know enough of the upper courses of the Alpine rivers to apply the epithet purposely? In any case it was prosaic; but Horace probably figured the source of the Rhine or Rhone as Virgil would have figured it in the hall

Quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,
Nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
Eludente senem comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum
Facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer
Ut nemo Varius ducit; molle atque facetum
Vergilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.

of Cyrene, or as he knew his own Bandusian spring 'perlucidior vitro.'

**ludo.** See on Od. I. 32. 2.

38. **in aede sonent**; 'in aede Musarum ubi poetae carmina sua recitabant' Porph. See Juv. S. 7. 37, of the poet who recites in a room lent by his patron, 'Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta.' The temple of Apollo Palatinus, which contained figures of the Muses, was not opened till B. C. 28 (see introd. to Od. I. 31). The only known temple of the Muses before this was the temple 'Herculis Musarum,' built by M. Fabius Nobilior, the friend of Ennius, in B. C. 187, and restored by L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of Augustus, Burn, p. 311. Pliny (N. H. 34. 10) tells a story of Accius the poet having put a statue, larger than life, of himself 'in Camenarum aede,' which may be a loose designation of this one, or may refer to one not otherwise known. In the time of Livius Andronicus the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was assigned for meetings of the 'collegium poetarum' (Fest. s. v. Scribae. Val. Mas. 3. 7. 11). These may probably have been transferred later to a temple of the Muses or Camenae.

**Tarpa.** The critic who presides at these prize recitations is given by the Schol. the additional names 'Sp. Maecius,' which identify him with the 'Maecius' of A. P. 387, and so with the critic who is named in Cic. ad Fam. 7. I as having been in some way made responsible for the plays to be performed in Pompey's theatre in B. C. 55. We know nothing of him from other sources. See on A. P. l. c.

40. **arguta.** So Epp. I. 14. 42 'calo argutus,' of the slave whose wits are sharpened by town life. The names of Davus the slave, and Chremes the old man, are those of the Andria of Terence, though there is no scene which exactly corresponds with that suggested here.

41. **comis**, probably nom. = 'comiter,' 'so as to please.'

**garrire libellos**, = to write light comedies of easy talk. Fundanius is not mentioned by Quintilian, nor otherwise known to us. Horace puts the story of Nasidienus' supper, in Sat. 2. 8, into his mouth. For 'garrire' cp. Sat. 2. 6. 77.

42. **Pollio.** Od. 2. I. introd.

**regum.** Od. 4. 2. 13, the kings of legend.

43. **pede ter percusso** = 'trimetris' A.P. 252, 'the measure with three beats'; 'pede,' in the same sense as supr. v. I. It is also taken (as by Orelli and Dill[r].) literally 'to three beats of the foot,' i. e. to a metre which is so marked. For 'percusso' as a technical term see Cic. de Orat. 3. 47. 182 'sunt insignes percussiones eorum numerorum,' i. e. of the iambic and trochaic.

**forte**, 'manly.'

**acer ut nemo**, 'with a fire all his own.'

44. **ducit.** There is no continuous metaphor. Heindorf and others compare the use of 'deducere' (Sat. 2. I. 4, etc.), 'to spin'; but 'ducere epos,' 'versus,' (Ov. Trist. 5. 12. 63), 'carmen' (ib. I. 11.18, etc.), are perhaps rather analogous to the uses of 'ducere' of architecture (Od. 4. 6. 23), of moulding in brass (Epp. 2. I. 240), or marble (Virg. Aen. 6. 848). For Varius as the epic poet see Od. I. 6. 2 'Maeonii carminis alite.'

**molle atque facetum**, 'smoothness and exquisite finish.' 'Facetum' is interpreted by Quintilian, 6. 3. 20 'Facetum quoque non tantum circum ridiculum opinor consistere. Neque hinc diceret facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. *Decoris* hanc magis et *excultae cuiusdam elegantiae* appellationem puto.' Virgil had at this time made public his Eclogues. See Introd. to the Satires, p. 4.

45. **annuerunt**, Epod. 9. 17 'vertĕrunt,' Epp. I. 4. 7 'dedĕrunt.'

Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
Inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
Haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.
At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Age, quaeso,
Tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?
Non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
Cum de se loquitur non ut maiore reprensis?
Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentes

46. **hoc** repeats the 'haec' of verse 37.

**Varrone Atacino.** P. Terentius Varro, called 'Atacinus' from his birthplace on the river Atax (Aude) in Gallia Narbonensis. His Satires are not mentioned elsewhere. Quintilian's mention of him (10. 1. 87) recognises the fact that some of his poems did not merit immortality, 'in iis, per quae nomen est assecutus, interpres operis alieni,' with reference no doubt to his Argonautica, a poem frequently referred to by later poets (as Ov. Fast. 2. 439).

47. **quibusdam aliis.** Macleane justly remarks that but for this reference we should not have known that Varro had written Satires; it is not surprising that there were other writers whose names are not preserved.

48. **inventore minor.** Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 74 'Quicquid sum ego, quamvis Infra Lucili censum ingeniumque,' etc.

49. **haerentem**, as though it would be unwilling to be removed.

50. **at**, 'but, you repeat (see on verse 1), I said,' etc. Ritter unnecessarily makes it more directly dramatic by reading *ex conj.* 'dixti.' The reference is to Sat. 1. 4. 11, where see note.

52. **doctus**, 'are you not learned critic enough to pick some holes, like the Alexandrines, in Homer'? For a reference to such criticisms see A. P. 359.

53. **comis**: not ironical, but yet an epithet taken from his admirers, as in verse 85, 'for all his graciousness.'

**tragici** has the force of 'the true tragic poet.'

**mutat**, 'emendat' Porph.

**Acci.** Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 56, A.P. 258, L. Accius, born, according to Jerome, in B.C. 170. His tragedies are praised and frequently quoted by Cicero. Quintilian's judgment (10. 1. 97) is 'Tragoediae scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, et auctoritate personarum. Ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis defuisse.' Porphyrion's comment on this and the following lines is 'Facit autem haec Lucilius cum alias tum vel maxime in tertio libro . . . et nono et decimo.'

54. **gravitate**: Epp. 2. 1. 59; not the abl. of comparison as Orelli takes it, constructing 'Enni' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'versus' and 'gravitate,' 'verses of Ennius, below the dignity of Ennius'; but the abl. of respect, as Epp. 2. 1. 183 'virtute et honore minores.' Servius on Virg. Aen. 11. 601 (see Conington, i. l.) illustrating Virgil's use of the verb 'horreo,' has preserved an instance of Lucilius' criticism of Ennius, 'Est autem versus Ennianus (probably Sat. 3. fr. 6 'Sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret') vituperatus a Lucilio dicente per irrisionem eum debuisse dicere, "horret et alget."'

55. 'Whilst he speaks of himself not as though he were greater than those he criticizes.' **cum** almost = 'cum tamen.' Heindorf makes this a separate question, understanding a second 'loquitur,' 'when he speaks of himself is it not as one greater than those he criticizes'? but Madvig (Opusc. i. p. 106) rightly pointed out that, even if the double ellipsis of 'loquitur' and of the prep. before 'maiore' were admitted, the sense would be wrong. Horace is arguing that criticism of your predecessors is no proof of disrespect to them.

Quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos et euntes
Mollius, ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,
Hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
Ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus; Etrusci
Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
Ambustum propriis? Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
Quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
Quamque poëtarum seniorum turba: sed ille,
Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,

57. **rerum dura natura.** 'Rerum de quibus scripsit' Acr.; but possibly 'rerum natura' has its Lucretian or Ciceronian sense of the total order of things — 'some difficulty insuperable whatever had been his individual force and care.' 'Dura' qualifies 'natura' as constructed with 'rerum,' not with 'illius.'

58. **magis factos,** 'more finished.' Cic. de Orat. 3. 48. 184 'oratio polita ac facta quodammodo.'

59. **mollius, ac,** 'more smoothly than.' Though putting it in this indirect way, Horace repeats the charge of Sat. 1. 4. 9 foll., that Lucilius' roughness was due to his rapid composition.

**pedibus claudere.** Sat. 2. 1. 28 'pedibus verba claudere'; and on Sat. 1. 4. 40 'concludere versum.'

60. **hoc tantum** = 'hac una re'; 'this and this only'—repeating the previous infinitive. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 78. 'Contentus' is constructed both with an abl. and (in poetry) with an infin.

61. **Etrusci Cassi**: a writer otherwise unknown. The Scholiasts identified him with the 'Cassius Parmensis' of Epp. 1. 4. 3, and all the earlier editors, including even Bentley, followed them. Weichert, who treated the question elaborately (De L. Varii et Cassii Parmensis vita et carminibus—Grimae 1836), proved that this must be an error. Even if the two epithets 'Etrusci' and 'Parmensis' are not inconsistent as they seem to be, the writer called 'Cassius Parmensis,' according to all testimony, was one of the conspirators against Caesar, and was put to death in Athens by the order of Octavianus after the battle of Actium, some years after the date to which this Satire is to be referred.

64. **fuerit.** 'Let it be granted that he was.'

65. **comis**: see on v. 53.

**urbanus,** joined with 'comis' in Sat. 1. 4. 90. It seems to imply some refinement in the humour, as that implies good temper in it.

66. 'Than the creator of a new style of poetry, and one unattempted by the Greeks.' Does this mean (1) than he was, or under the circumstances of his writing could be? or (2) than some one else, such as the writers of the early Saturnian rhythm? Casaubon taking (2) altered 'rudis et' to 'Rudius' so that the line definitely described Ennius. In spite of some harshness of expression the first is the most probable. Both 'Graecis intacti carminis' and 'auctor' are phrases evidently meant to imply the praise of originality which Horace always gives to Lucilius: see v. 48 and cp. Sat. 2. 1. 63. Cp. Quintil. 10. 1. 93 'Satira quidem tota nostra est (Horace's 'Graecis intactum carmen') in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent.' With 'rudis' cp. Virg. G. 2. 211 'rudis campus,' of unworked soil. With 'limatior' cp. A. P. 291 'limae labor.'

68. **dilatus,** 'postponed,' if he had lived a century later. The reading of this word is very uncertain. A large proportion of the MSS. have the variant 'dilapsus,' which K. and H. print, thinking it to have been the reading of the archetype, but an original mistake for 'delapsus.' There is a similar diffi-

Detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
Saepe caput scaberet vivos et roderet ungues.
Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
Scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?
Non ego: nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
Contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit.
Men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
Vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius, et probet haec Octavius, optimus atque
Fuscus, et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!

culty in Od. 4. 13. 28, where the MSS. are divided between 'dilapsam,' 'delapsam,' one (l) reading 'delatam,' and in Epod. 17. 18, where 'relapsus' and 'relatus' have nearly equal authority. With 'delapsus' Holder compares Virg. Aen. 2. 377 'sensit medios delapsus in hostes,' 'if he had strayed into this century.'

69. **detereret sibi**, the same metaph. as 'limatior,' 'would use the file on himself freely.'

70. **traheretur**, 'dragged out,' 'prolonged.'

**faciendo**, as 'factos' in v. 58, 'perfecting.'

71. **caput scaberet.** The editors quote from a fragment of Varro 'scabens caput novo partu poetico.' The remainder of the line is imitated by Pers. Sat. 1. 106, speaking of composition which has caused no effort, 'nec demorsos sapit ungues.' **vivos** = 'ad vivum,' 'to the quick.'

72. **stilum vertas**, of erasing the writing on the wax tablet with the rounded end of the 'stilus.' Cicero has the same expression, '[Verres] vertit stilum in tabulis suis' Verr. 2. 2. 41.

75. **vilibus in ludis.** Horace here, as in Epp. 1. 20. 17, professes to shrink from the fate which Juvenal tells us (7. 225) had befallen his poems of becoming a schoolbook, 'Quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.'

76. **equitem**, who occupied the seats of honour. Epod. 4. 15, Epp. 1. 1. 62.

77. **contemptis aliis**: see on Od. 1. 3. 4.

**Arbuscula.** A 'mima' whose name Cicero also has preserved, ad Att. 4. 15 'quaeris mima de Arbuscula, valde placuit; ludi magnifici et grati.'

78. **men moveat**, imitated by Pers. S. 1. 88.

**cimex.** Hadrian is said (Philostratus, 588) to have tolerated the attacks of a slanderer calling them *δήγματα κόρεων*.

**Pantilius**, an unknown person. Estré thinks his name is invented for its etymology, *πᾶν τίλλειν*, in the sense of 'vellicare.'

80. **Fannius**: see on Sat. 1. 4. 21.

81. For the conjunction of persons in this line cp. Sat 1. 5. 40 with note.

82. **Valgius**, to whom Od. 2. 9. (see introd.) is addressed.

**Octavius**, very possibly the same as the Octavius whose death is the subject of Virg. Catal. 14, in which he is spoken of as a man of letters and a historian.

**optimus** with 'Fuscus.' See on Sat. 1. 5. 27.

83. **Fuscus.** Aristius Fuscus; see Od. 1. 22, introd., Epp. 1. 10, introd., Sat. 1. 9. 61.

**Viscorum uterque**: see on Sat. 1. 9. 22.

Ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
Vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
Complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
Prudens praetereo ; quibus haec, sunt qualiacunque,
Arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
Deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,
Discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.

84. **ambitione**, in the same sense Tacitus (Hist. 1. 1) speaks of 'ambitio scriptoris' as one of the corrupting influences in history,—the interested desire to please.

85. **Pollio.** Od. 2. 1 introd., supr. v. 42.

**Messalla**: see on v. 28 of this Satire on 'tuo cum fratre,' the Schol. annotate 'Publicola.' This they further interpret, as we have seen, of 'Pedius Publicola' mentioned in that place. But Messalla had a brother called by Plutarch (Vit. Anton. c. 65, 66), and the epitomizers of Livy (122), Publicola, and by Dion (47. 24) Gellius Publicola, who had been an ally of Brutus and Cassius, but conspired against them, was forgiven on account of their friendship for Messalla, and subsequently commanded a wing of Antony's squadron at Actium. Cp. introd. to Od. 2. 3.

86. **Bibule**, a certain correction of Heinsius for the reading of all MSS. 'Bibuli'. The corruption was due to 'vos' and to a misrendering of 'Servi' as plur. voc., which it could not be. K. and H., who print 'Bibuli' as the MS. reading, equally denounce it as a blunder. The person intended is supposed to have been the youngest son of the Consul Bibulus (Od. 3. 28. 8), who was still a boy when his father died, and his mother Porcia married M. Brutus. We hear of him as at Athens (and in company with Messalla, Cic. ad Att. 12. 32) in B.C. 45, and subsequently at the battle of Philippi with his step-father. This will account for his friendship with Horace. It also seems that he wrote a memoir of M. Brutus (Plutarch, Vit. M. Bruti 13 and 23).

**Servi**, possibly the son of S. Sulpicius Lemonia Rufus, the jurist and friend of Cicero, of whose gifts and literary tastes Cicero speaks in letters to his father, ad Fam. 4. 3, 4, 13. 27; cp. Phil. 9. 3, foll.

**candide**, Epod. 5. 5, Epp. 1. 4. 1; cp. Sat. 1. 5. 41, Epp. 1. 6. 68.

**Furni**, doubtless the person with respect to whom Seneca tells a story (de Benef. 2. 25) of his reconciling Augustus to his father C. Furnius (friend and correspondent of Cicero, ad Fam. 10. 25, 26), who had been a supporter of Antony. He was consul in B.C. 17. In the Euseb. Chron. occurs 'Furnii pater et filius clari oratores habentur, quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur.'

88. **prudens**, 'if I omit any names it is not that I forget them.'

89. **spe deterius**, 'less than I hope.'

90. **Demetri.** Nothing is known of him but what can be gathered from the text (cp. v. 18); for the omission of 'te' before 'Demetri' Bentley compares the omission of the first 'sive' as in Sat. 2. 8. 16; cp. Od. 1. 3. 16, 1. 6. 19.

91. **discipularum**, 'mimarum et histrionum,' Comm. Cruq. 'ingenuarum, quia hoc tempore maximum earum studium adfectandi lyricam disciplinam.' Acr. For the first we may compare the 'mimae' of Sat. 1. 2. 2, who mourned the death of the other Tigellius. For the latter Orelli compares the picture of Sempronia in Sallust, Cat. 25 'literis Graecis et Latinis dicta, psallere et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.' Ritter adds the description of women's education, Od. 3. 6. 21 foll. It may be questioned, however, whether Horace means to depict Demetrius and Tigellius as professional singing-masters; or, rather, as we might say, as drawing-room critics, whose auditors would be young ladies lounging on armchairs. Cp. (Heindorf) Martial's picture (3. 63. 5 foll.) of the 'bellus homo': 'Cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat, Qui movet in varios brachia volsa modos: Inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras

I, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

desidet, atque aliqua semper in aure sonat.'

**iubeo plorare,** *κλαίειν κελεύω*, a form of contemptuous dismissal; but perhaps also with a play on the words in reference to the whining tone of the poetry which they admire; see on v. 19.

92. This verse is no doubt rightly taken by Bentley (Praef.) as an epilogue to the first book of the Satires. See Introduction, p. 1. For the use of 'libellus' compare the extract from Augustus' letter vol. 1, p. xxviii, 'Pertulit ad me Dionysius libellum tuum.' Horace imagines himself delivering the Satire to his copying slave ('librarius') to add to the roll just completed of the other nine. It has been also taken, less probably, of the addition of the last taunt as an afterthought to this particular Satire; so Heindorf.

# LIBER SECUNDUS.

## SATIRE I.

### TREBATIUS, OR THE RIGHT AND WRONG OF SATIRE.

An apology for Satire, and (as befits the beginning of a Second Book) for Satire that has given offence. It is put in the form of a consultation with a shrewd old lawyer.

Verses 1–5. *H.* My Satires are criticised—sometimes as too fierce, sometimes as too feeble—advise me?

5, 6. *T.* Give them up.

6, 7. *H.* The best advice: but how to spend my sleepless nights?

7–12. *T.* There are prescriptions for sleeplessness; but if you must write poetry, write the praises of Caesar.

12–16. *H.* I wish I could; but it is not every one who is fitted to describe warlike enterprises.

17, 18. *T.* Then describe his civil merits, as Lucilius described Scipio's.

18–20. *H.* When the time comes; but it needs tact.

21–23. *T.* It is better than Satire. Your fictitious names only make it worse. Everyone takes the hits to themselves.

24–34. *H.* What can I do? Other people indulge their tastes. My taste is writing verses, like Lucilius. They were his perpetual resource, his confidants. His life is mirrored in them.

34–46. I follow in his train. Like my ancestors set on outpost duty at Venusia, my weapons are for defence not for offence. I would fain live in peace, but if any one assail me the town shall hear of it.

47–56. Instinct tells every living thing what is its weapon of self-defence.

57–60. The sum is; whatever and wherever I am, write I must.

60–62. *T.* I fear then you will come to trouble with some of your great friends.

62–79. *H.* Nay, Laelius and Scipio were not offended when Lucilius laid bare the vices of Metellus and Lupus. He attacked great and small impartially. Laelius and Scipio were his friends and companions in their leisure. I do not compare myself to his greatness, but no one can deny that I too have lived with great men.

79–83. *T.* Be it so; let me at least remind you of the law. It is a criminal offence to write 'mala carmina' against anyone.

[Horace brings the Satire to an end with the jest he has prepared.]

83–85. *H.* Ay, but suppose they are 'bona,' and Caesar thinks so: if the Satire be deserved and the Satirist's own hands clean?

86. *T.* Then the indictment will be quashed in laughter and you will be acquitted.

C. Trebatius Testa was a 'iurisconsultus' of repute, a friend and correspondent of Cicero, who introduced him to Julius Caesar (Cic. ad Fam. 7. 5). The letters (ad Fam. 7. 6–22) are addressed to him, and the Topica is dedicated to him (Top. 1. 1). Cicero's letters to him are familiar, and deal in raillery, as in ad Fam. 7. 10, where he rallies him for shrinking from crossing the British channel, though he was a votary of swimming, and in 22, where writing to justify a legal reference which he had made the night before, and which Trebatius had treated contemptuously, he says 'illuseras heri inter scyphos,' and says that though they had drunk deep he had been himself sober enough on his return home to turn out the passage which he sends. It is supposed that Horace has such traits in view in vv. 8, 9. Trebatius is probably dead at the time, and Horace's interest in him is a literary one through Cicero's letters.

SUNT quibus in satira videar nimis acer et ultra
Legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat, similesque meorum
Mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
Quid faciam praescribe. 'Quiescas.' Ne faciam, inquis,
Omnino versus? 'Aio.' Peream male si non

1. **Sunt quibus videar.** The balance is in favour of 'videar' against 'videor,' especially as Porph. so quotes it on Sat. 1. 1. 1. Either is possible. See on Od. 1. 1. 3.

**ultra legem . . . opus.** Comparing A. P. 135 'operis lex,' 'legem' is perhaps best taken as meaning in the first place, 'its own proper limits'—'to make Satire more trenchant and personal than it should be.' But there is probably something of the play with which the Satire ends, where 'mala' is taken by one speaker in a *literary*, by the other in a *legal*, sense.

2. **tendere,** 'to strain.' The metaphor of a bowstring may be in the background, but it is not clearly felt; still less is the metaphor kept up (as Dillr. says) in 'sine nervis,' which means 'without sinews,' 'flaccid,' as A. P. 26 'sectantem levia nervi deficiunt.' Cp. Cicero's use of 'enervatus' and 'nervosus' of style.

**altera pars,** 'the other half of the world.'

4. **deduci,** the metaphor from spinning, as in Epp. 2. 1. 225 'tenui deducta poemata filo,' Virg. Ecl. 6. 5 'deductum carmen,' etc. As Conington suggests, there are several points in the similitude, one or other of which may be prominent. It may be a compliment, as expressing the fineness of the work, or a depreciative expression, as here, of its length and thinness.

5. **praescribe.** If not actually a technical term in this sense, it is a word for authoritative advice generally, and also a word which, with its cognates 'praescriptum,' 'praescriptio' had technical associations.

**quiescas,** as in v. 6 'aio,' the sententious style of the man of wisdom.

**ne faciam**: not after 'inquis,' which is parenthetical and intended to express surprise, 'Do you say'? 'Can I hear right'? but adapted to the construction of the preceding 'quiescas,' of which it is offered as an interpretation, as that is adapted to the construction of Horace's request, the first 'praescribe' suggesting 'praescribo' and 'praescribis' in the clauses that follow. 'Ne faciam' gives a certain play by its likeness to 'quid faciam,' as though Horace said, 'I asked you what to do and you tell me what not to do.'

6. **peream si**: Sat. 1. 9. 38.

Optimum erat: verum nequeo dormire. 'Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto,
Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
Aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit aude
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
Praemia laturus.' Cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina nec fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos

7. **optimum erat**; see on Od. 1. 37. 4. It comes under the first head. 'It is, all the time, though I did not think so'; the Greek *ἄρ' ἦν*.

**nequeo dormire.** The humour consists in the matter-of-fact old lawyer taking this literally and prescribing for physical sleeplessness. Poetical composition is often spoken of as a natural rival of sleep: Epp. 2. 2. 54 'Ni dormire putem melius quam scribere versus,' Juv. S. 1. 77 'Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae'? The explanation is to be found in such expressions as Hor. Epp. 2. 1. 112 'prius orto Sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco,' Juv. S. 1. 51 'Venusina digna lucerna,' 7. 27 'vigilata proelia,' Aus. Epigr. 34. 7 (of ineffective efforts at composition) 'Utilius dormire fuit quam perdere somnum Atque oleum.'

**uncti**: see Od. 3. 12. 7 n. It is doubtful whether the oil is a preliminary of the bathing itself, or implies the exercise which precedes it.

**ter transnanto.** Note the affectation of the imperative form common in laws. *Three* is the mystical number suitable to magical and to medical prescriptions, Epp. 1. 1. 37, Virg. Ecl. 8. 73. It is to be noticed also that both swimming and deep drinking are subjects of humorous allusion in Cicero's extant letters to Trebatius (see Introduction to this Satire), so that Horace is giving Trebatius' advice a personal colour.

9. **irriguum**: cp. 'uvidus,' Od. 2. 19. 18; 4. 5. 39. It is the opposite of 'siccus' Sat. 2. 2. 14. 'Irriguum corpus' seems a step further, but it goes with such expressions as that commented on upon Od. 2. 2. 14. Cp. Phaedr. Fab. 4. 14. 9 'irrigatus multo venas nectare.'

10. **rapit**: Od. 3. 2. 12, Epod. 7. 13. Bentley preferred 'capit,' a reading of slight authority, as more suitable to Trebatius.

**aude**, 'have the courage,' i.e. it is a high undertaking. For this method of giving panegyric under the form of refusing it see Od. 1. 6; 2. 12; 4. 2.

11. **invicti.** Horace gives the title to Achilles, Epod. 13. 12; to Jupiter, Od. 3. 27. 73.

**laborum praemia.** Heind., Orelli, and Dill[r]. seek to soften the apparent indelicacy by explaining 'praemia' either of the worthiness of the subject, or of the praise and popularity to be gained; but it is simpler to notice that the words are in Trebatius' mouth. He may be supposed without offence to take even a mercenary view of the poet's calling; but he is specially concerned in pointing by contrast the thanklessness of his present style of composition. Horace does not profess to look upon the suggestion as having any practical bearing on himself.

12. **pater.** Cp. Epp. 1. 6. 54; see on v. 60.

13. **neque quivis**, a favourite form; Epp. 1. 17. 36, A. P. 263.

14. **fracta cuspide**; often explained after the Schol., of a stratagem such as that of Marius, who, according to Plutarch, in the war with the Cimbri substituted a fragile wooden peg for one of the two iron pegs which fastened the head of the 'pilum' to its shaft, in order that when it struck, the weaker peg breaking and the other bending, the javelin might be doubled on the enemy's shield, and so be difficult to extract and encumber his movements. This however, as seems to be conclusively argued by Funkhaenel (see Orelli's excursus), is too farfetched, special, and technical a reference to be looked for. The alternative seems to be, with him, to suppose 'cuspide' to be a generic name

Aut labentis equo describat volnera Parthi.
'Attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.' Haud mihi deero
Cum res ipsa feret: nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
Verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
Cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus.
'Quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
Cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit!'
Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
Accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis.

for the Gaul's own special weapon, the javelin or lance, called by Virgil, Aen. 8. 662, 'gaesum,' by Caesar, B. G. 1. 26 and Livy, 7. 34, 'matara' or 'mataris.' The correspondence then is between vv. 14 and 15; the Gaul is dying, his lance broken, the Parthian when he can no longer sit his horse—both contrasted with the unbroken Roman lines bristling with their national weapon the 'pilum.'

16. **iustum et fortem.** The words recall the 'iustum ac tenacem propositi virum' of Horace's actual panegyric, Od. 3. 3. 1. Düntzer points out how Horace is in the habit of adding 'fortis' to other terms of praise; to 'bonus' Epp. 1. 9. 13 (cp. Od. 4. 4. 29), to 'sapiens' Epp. 2. 1. 50, to 'strenuus' Epp. 1. 7. 46.

**poteras.** See on v. 7 'optimum erat,' and cp. A. P. 328; 'you need not have done this, you could sing of Augustus' civil virtues.'

17. **Scipiadam**, inf. v. 72, the acc. of Scipiades or Scipiadas, a Greek form which Virgil employs (G. 2. 170, Aen. 6. 824); but Horace takes it directly from Lucilius, incert. 57 and 11. 14.

**sapiens**, a touch of irony in Trebatius, as it would hint the meaning, 'he knew what was good policy.'

18. **res ipsa**, the facts of the case, opp. to mere fancy or suggestion (as now) from outside.

**feret**, as 'natura fert,' 'occasio fert,' 'shall prompt.'

**dextro tempore**: contrast 'tempore laevo' Sat. 2. 4. 4, and cp. Epp. 1. 13. 3–5, and Epp. 2. 1. 1–4.

19. **attentam**, predicative, will not find his ear attentive and so gain admittance.

20. **male**, 'awkwardly.'

**recalcitrat.** Bentl. would read 'recalcitret' in order to complete the conditional sentence, but the special apodosis to 'si palpere' is merged in the general statement of his attitude, 'from whichever side you approach him he is on his guard, and has his heels ready.' For an analogous breach of exact correspondence cp. Od. 3. 3. 8.

21. **tristi**, 'sour,' 'illnatured.' Cp. the use of the word in Od. 1. 16. 9 and 26.

22. From Sat. 1. 8. 11, where see note. The verse here stands as a specimen of Horace's personal Satire.

24. **quid faciam?** 'What am I to do? other people follow the bent of their taste. Why may not I'? Imitated by Pers. Sat. 1. 8. With the excuse for writing satire as a taste not more unaccountable than others cp. Od. 1. 1. 1, introd.

**saltat.** He yields to his impulse to the extent of sacrificing Roman decorum, as Cicero says (Mur. 6. 13) 'nemo saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit.' What special personal play there is in the words is beyond our recovery. Porph. calls Milonius 'scurra illorum temporum'; but his note shows no source of information beyond this passage, and, in a 'scurra,' to dance on occasion would be no impropriety, Sat. 1. 5. 63. The passage in Cicero bears witness that such an action, though indecorous, was not unknown in persons of higher station, for he is answering the charge that Murena had danced.

**icto.** Cp. *οἶνός σε τρώει μελιηδής* Hom. Od. 21. 293.

25. **numerus lucernis**: the 'seeing double' of a drunken man, 'cum iam

Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
Pugnis ; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
Milia : me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris, neque, si male cesserat, usquam
Decurrens alio, neque si bene ; quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps :

vertigine tectum Ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis' Juv. S. 6. 304.

26. No identity of other conditions, not the closeness of twin brothers, carries with it identity of taste; the ref. is to Homer's Κάστορα θ' ἱππόδαμον πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα (Il. 3. 237).

27. An adaptation of Terence's 'Quot homines tot sententiae' Phorm. 2. 4. 14.

**quot capitum**, sc. 'milia.'

28. **pedibus claudere**, Sat. 1. 10. 59. Here, as there, it is a depreciatory phrase for verse making, putting the mechanical part foremost. Cp. 'concludere versum' Sat. 1. 4. 40.

29. **melioris**. The Schol. explain 'censu et natalibus,' but, as Orelli says, it is useless to ask in what respect Lucilius was 'a better man than either' of them. It is a proverbial term. He compares Lucretius' remonstrance with the man who complains of death, 3. 1025 'Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit Qui melior multis quam tu fuit, improbe, rebus.'

30. A further reason for writing Satires, suggested through Lucilius. It is a vent for feeling, a substitute for a friend's ear into which to pour one's thoughts.

**arcana . . . credebat**. Cp. the account of Sappho's poetry, Od. 4. 9. 11 'commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae.'

31. **si male cesserat** : 'if things had gone ill with him,' a common phrase, esp. in Ovid, and cp. Virg. Aen. 12. 148. The greatest number of MSS. have 'gesserat,' a natural mistake in copying an uncial MS. As Bentley shows, the absolute use of 'gesserat' without an accusative would be unparalleled.

**usquam**, with 'alio,' 'to any other quarter whatever.' It has better authority than 'unquam,' and has more force.

33. **votiva tabella**. For the practice common in antiquity, as even now in many countries, of vowing and offering a picture of some escape from danger to the power to whose good offices the escape is attributed, cp. Od. 1. 5. 13, and see Mayor on Juv. S. 12. 27. Perhaps the figure is suggested by 'decurrens,' 'flying for refuge.' In any case the 'votive picture' carries the suggestion of life outside literature as a sea, if with calms also with storms. Such a picture at once paints the sea, and proclaims that its subject has reached the shore.

34. **senis**. Probably best taken in any case, as in Epp. 2. 1. 55 (of Pacuvius and Accius), as meaning 'ancient'; 'though it belongs to a bygone time, his writings keep a fresh picture of his life.' The other interpretation, 'the old man,' as though the point were his long life, would be excluded on other grounds if the dates in the Chron. Euseb. were trusted, which place his birth in 148 B.C., and his death in 103; but Mr. Munro (in Journ. of Philol., vol. 8. p. 214) gave some reasons for thinking that the first date should be put twenty years earlier.

**sequor hunc**. The second is the emphatic word. 'It is he that I am following.'

**Lucanus an Apulus anceps** : 'anceps' is prob. the nom., 'of whom it is doubtful whether,' etc., as 'incertus' is used in Liv. 30. 35, Sall. Jug. 49. 5, where see Kritz. For the geographical point see on Od. 3. 4. 10. The autobiographical colour given to these lines is perhaps suggested by the practice just described of Lucilius in painting himself in his Satires ; but the special point of the description is that which I have indicated in the analysis of the Satire. The position of the Venusines is a

Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
Missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama Sabellis,
Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
Sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
Incuteret violenta. Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
Vagina tectus; quem cur distringere coner
Tutus ab infestis latronibus? O pater et rex
Iuppiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum,
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! At ille
Qui me commorit, (melius non tangere, clamo)

parable of the literary position of their great son: 'He is a true border man, of fighting stock, ready to do battle to any one who assails the territory he has to guard, from whatever side he comes; but (he goes on in v. 39) like them it is a defensive post he holds, not an offensive one.'

36. **missus ad hoc.** The foundation of a colony at Venusia in the third Samnite war, B.C. 291, is mentioned by Velleius 1. 14, and in a fragment of Dion. Halic.

**ad hoc ... quo ne.** The use of 'quo ne' as simply equivalent to 'ne' or 'ut ne' belongs acc. to Dräger (Hist. Syntax, 2. p. 689) to later Latin. There are, however, as he points out, instances where 'quo' has both a final sense and a definite relative sense; as Liv. 34. 6 'cautum erat quo ne plus auri et argenti facti, quo ne plus signati auri et aeris domi haberemus,' where 'quo' is the comp. abl. after 'plus,' having also the final force of the clause following 'cautum erat,' 'we had been warned of a sum *beyond which we must not*,' etc. Dräger thinks that in this place 'ad hoc' gives 'quo' this double force ('ad hoc' is followed by a final 'qui' in Sat. 2. 6. 42, 2. 8. 25), and compares Ter. Andr. 2. 1. 34 'efficite qui (=quomodo) detur tibi: ego id agam mihi qui ne detur.' Prof. G. G. Ramsay (Selections of Tib. and Propert. p. 306) points out that if 'quo' can be used, 'quo ne' is the natural negative, 'ne' being substituted for 'non' after final particles, as always after 'ut,' and as after 'dum' in Sat. 1. 1. 40 'dum ne te sit ditior alter.' Mr. Prickard suggests that 'quo ne' had a legal flavour (the earliest quotation that Bentley could find for its wider use is the Digest 21. 1. 17) as though Horace were professing (in play as towards Trebatius) to quote some deed of foundation of the colony. Compare the play in Sat. 1. 8. 13. Other ways of taking the words, all very forced, have been suggested by those who doubt the construction. Schütz takes 'quo' as = 'ut eo,' 'that in that direction,' etc. Prof. Palmer joins 'quo vacuum,' 'that, if unguarded by him,' etc. K. and H. print 'Quo? Ne,' etc., sc. 'to what purpose? lest,' etc.

**Sabellis.** Horace uses this name for the country folk of his native district, Sat. 1. 9. 29.

37. **Romano**, the sing. for the plur., as in Epod. 7. 6 and 7. It may also be taken, with Bentley, for 'agro Romano.'

38. **quod** = 'aliquod.'

39. **incuteret**, a favourite word with Horace, who extends its meaning 'quid negoti' inf. v. 81, 'pudorem' Epp. 1. 18. 77, 'desiderium' Epp. 1. 14. 22.

**sed hic stilus**: the bearing is pointed out on v. 34. The play is helped by the remembrance of the two uses of the 'stilus,' as a pen and a weapon. Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 14. 34 'si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, non solum unum actum sed totam fabulam confecisset.'

42. **tutus**, 'so long as I am safe.'

43. **ut pereat**: 'Iuppiter ut Chalybum omne genus pereat' Catull. 66. 48; 'ut' = 'utinam,' as in Virg. Aen. 10. 631.

44. **nec**, used by Horace where stricter prose usage would require 'neve'; see on Od. 3. 29. 6.

45. **melius**, sc. 'erit.' Cp. 'optimum erat,' supr. v. 7. So in a threat, Liv. 3. 48 'quiesse erit melius.'

Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,
Canidia Albuci quibus est inimica venenum,
Grande malum Turius, si quid se iudice certes.
Ut quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque
Imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum:
Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit: unde nisi intus
Monstratum? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti
Matrem; nil faciet sceleris pia dextera: mirum,
Ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos:
Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.
Ne longum faciam: seu me tranquilla senectus
Exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis,
Dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit, exul,
Quisquis erit vitae scribam color. 'O puer, ut sis

46. **flebit**, *κλαύσεται*, as 'cantabitur' recalls the use of *ὑμνεῖσθαι*, in the sense of 'to be the subject of talk.'

47. **Cervius**, an informer. The Comm. Cruq. has 'Cervius Ascanii libertus calumniator accusavit Cn. Calvinum lege de sicariis.' Lambinus read 'Servius,' in which case Horace would take the name from Cicero, ad Q. Fr. 2. 13 'vereor ne homo teter ac ferus Pola Servius ad accusationem veniat.'

48. **Canidia Albuci venenum**. The Scholiasts, by the diversity of their explanations, show us that they had no real source of information. They offer us 'Canidia Albuci' ('sub. filia ut, Verg. "Deiphobe Glauci" (Aen. 6. 36) vel uxor, ut Hectoris Andromache' (Aen. 3. 319)), or 'Albuci venenum,' which may mean either 'such as Albucius administered,' or 'such as she administered to Albucius.' Of these the last is the most probable. The identification of Canidia is not needed to readers of Sat. I and the Epodes. The introduction of a second employer of poison overloads the line, and weakens the attack on Horace's great enemy. On the other hand the hint of a special crime and of a companion to the 'Varus' of Epod. 5 is quite in keeping with his treatment of her. 'Albucius' is a name from Lucilius, inc. 9. Horace uses it again of an old man who is a tyrant to his slaves, Sat. 2. 2. 67.

49. **Turius**, 'iudex corruptissimus' Schol. Their attempts at identification are various and not of value.

50. 'That every one uses the weapon with which he is strong to frighten those whom he suspects, and that this is the bidding of nature, whose will is law, join with me in thus inferring.'

51. **sic collige**. Epp. 2. 1. 129.

52. **unde**, with **monstratum**, 'a lesson learnt from whence, if not from within'? i. e. from instinct. It has been also taken as = 'quare,' 'wherefore, unless as a lesson learnt from within'? but cp. 'unde datum sentis' Sat. 2. 2. 31. With **intus** cp. A. P. 108.

54. **mirum**, a parenthetical holding up the hands, 'marvellous.' The next line rebukes the wonder by giving the explanation, 'Yes, on the same ground that the wolf does not use his heels nor the bull his teeth.' Schutz compares the place of 'mirum' to that of 'durum' in Od. 1. 24. 19.

56. **vitiato**, 'poisoned.'

**melle**, i. e. the drink of honey and wine; see Sat. 2. 2. 15, 2. 4. 24.

57. **ne longum faciam**, Sat. 1. 3. 137; so 'ne te morer' Sat. 1. 1. 14.

58. **circumvolat**, as a dread bird of prey,—a touch of poetry.

60. **scribam**. For the order of the words see on Sat. 1. 5. 72. The unusual collocation seems to give emphasis to the misplaced word, as in the similar instance Sat. 2. 3. 211 'Aiax cum immeritos occidit, desipit, agnos.'

Vitalis metuo, et maiorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat.' Quid, cum est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui
Duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen,
Ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui

**color**: Epp. 1. 17. 23.

**puer**, as Horace himself addresses Trebatius (v. 12) as 'pater.'

**ut sis vitalis.** For the contrasted constr. 'metuo ut . . . ne' cp. Sat. 1. 4. 32. 'Vitalis' as in Sat. 2. 7. 4, 'with much life in you,' 'likely to live.' There is a reference in Trebatius' both (as Schütz notices) to the alternative named by Horace in v. 58, and also verbally to 'vitae' in v. 60. Horace has also in mind probably the words of Thetis to Achilles (Hom. Il. 18. 95) *ὠκύμορος δή μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.* The gist of the answer is that Horace cannot afford this freedom. He lives on the breath of great patrons. This gives him the opportunity of vindicating the character of his friendship. It leaves him as free as the friendship of Laelius and Africanus left Lucilius.

61. **maiorum**, in the sense of 'the great,' 'those greater than yourselves,' as in Epp. 1. 17. 2. 'Maiorum quis amicus' may be compared with 'quae virginum barbara' in Od. 2. 29. 5.

62. **frigore**, in the first place (as is seen in Persius' imitation 1. 108 'ne maiorum tibi forte Limina frigescant') of the 'coldness,' i.e. indifference, of offended friends; but there is also with 'feriat' the metaphorical sense of Wolsey's* 'a frost, a killing frost.'

63. **primus**, as 'inventor,' Sat. 1. 10. 48.

64. **detrahere pellem**, as Epp. 1. 16. 45 'Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.' As the use of the word 'pellis' (i.e. the skin of a beast) shows, there is a reference more or less conscious to a fable, such as the ass and the lion's skin, the fox and the sheep's skin; see on Sat. 1. 6. 22.

65. **cederet** = 'incederet,' an archaic usage; 'incedere per ora,' 'to march before men's eyes,' Sall. Jug. 31.

**Laelius.** C. Laelius Sapiens (cp. v. 72), the son of the friend of Africanus maior, the interlocutor in Cicero's de Amicitia.

**qui duxit.** For this mode of designating Scipio Africanus minor see on Od. 4. 8. 13–20.

67. **ingenio offensi**, sc. 'sunt?' 'did they find matter of offence in his wit'?

**Metello.** Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, a political opponent of Scipio.

68. **famosis**, 'scandalous,' as in Epp. 1. 19. 31 'famoso carmine' of Archilochus' lampoons.

**Lupo.** The name occurs in several fragments of Lucilius, esp. in a passage quoted in Cic. de Nat. D. 1. 23. 64 'Tubulus si Lucius unquam Si Lupus aut Carbo Neptuni filius, ut ait Lucilius, putasset esse deos, tam periurus aut tam impurus fuisset'? The Scholiasts explain the reference of P. Rutilius Lupus, cos. B.C. 90, but Servius on Virg. A. 10. 104 says that Lucilius in the first book of his Satires had represented the gods in council as discussing the death of Lupus, and Lucilius himself according to the Chron. Euseb. died in B.C. 103. Torrentius suggested that the person intended is L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus who was cos. in B.C. 157, and though subsequently convicted 'repetundarum' was Censor in a later year.

**cooperto**, 'pelted,' 'smothered.'

**atqui**, 'and yet' it was not merely one or two great offenders that fell under the lash.

* The metaphor and its application is more fully worked out in Shakespeare's Sonnet 25:
'Great prince's favourites their fair leaves spread
But as a marigold at the sun's eye
. . . . . . . . . . .
For at a frown they in their glory die.'

Primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis.
Quin ubi se a volgo et scena in secreta remorant
Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
Nugari cum illo et discincti ludere donec
Decoqueretur olus soliti. Quicquid sum ego, quamvis
Infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
Invidia, et fragili quaerens illidere dentem
Offendet solido ; nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
Dissentis. 'Equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti

69. **arripuit**, 'laid hands on,' Sat 2. 3. 224; perh. with the Ciceronian association of 'arresting,' 'in ius vocandi.'

**tributim**: cp. Cicero's 'dare spectacula tributim,' Mur. 34. 72. It balances 'primores:' he struck high and low, and he struck far and wide.

70. Orelli conjectures, not improbably, that the expressions of this verse (including the use of 'eius') may be Lucilius' own.

71. 'Yet not only were Scipio and Laelius not offended or frightened, they made a companion and playmate of Lucilius.'

**a volgo et scena**, the throng and show of public life.

72. **virtus Scipiadae**: see Od. 1. 3. 36 n., 3. 21. 12.

**sapientia**: the name of 'sapiens' was specially given to him according to Plutarch (Vit. Tib. Gracchi 8) on account of his political moderation or pliability. Cicero (de Am. 2) gives it a wider reference.

73. **discincti**, 'in easy undress,' literally and metaphorically; see on Epod. 1. 34. The Comm. Cruq. gives a picture of Lucilius pursuing Scipio and Laelius round the couches of a triclinium with a twisted napkin 'quasi feriturus;' an illustration or a fictitious expansion of the words in which Cicero describes the friends in the country 'incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos . . . et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere' de Or. 2. 6. 10, 11.

74. **olus**, of their simple fare, Sat. 2. 7. 30; Ep. 1. 5. 2, 1. 17. 3; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 74.

**soliti**, sc. 'sunt' as above, v. 67.

75. **censum**, as much below Lucilius in social rank as in wit. Lucilius was a Roman knight, of a good family; his sister was grandmother to Pompey.

76. **cum magnis**: cp. Epp. 1. 20. 25.

77. **fragili . . . solido**, neuters. There is the hint of a fable, as of the viper and the file.

78. Horace softens the self-assertion of the last lines, by this submission of his sentiments to the judgment of Trebatius.

79. **diffindere**, a very doubtful reading. Of the Scholiasts, Porph. expressly recognises the vv. ll. 'diffingere,' and 'diffidere.' Acr. gives an interpretation of both 'diffingere' and 'diffindere.' V. had 'diffindere,' the other Bland. MSS. 'diffingere.' Our existing authorities are divided between these words and 'diffidere,' 'diffundere.' If we retain 'diffindere' we must accept Acron's reference to the formula of the Praetor, apparently in adjourning a trial 'hic dies diffissus esto': cp. Liv. 9. 38 'triste omen diem diffidit.' Trebatius then would say 'there is nothing in what you say that needs further thought,' i. e. 'I assent at once'; but there is no proof that 'diffindere rem' was equally good with 'diffindere diem'; and though a legal phrase seems wanted, this is not quite the sense we expect. Bentley argues for the alternative 'diffingere' (accepted by Munro, and by Keller in his Epilegomena, though K. and H. give 'diffindere') which he interprets, as Acr. 'mutare, infirmare,' in the same sense as in Od. 1. 35. 39, 3. 29. 47, 'to alter.'

80. **ut monitus caveas**, for constr. see on Od. 4. 9. 1.

Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
Iudiciumque.' Esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis
Iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis
Opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse?
'Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.'

81. **incutiat**: see above on v. 39.

82. **si mala condiderit.** Horace seems to be referring to the actual words of the XII Tables, for Cicero, de Rep. 4. 10. 12 (preserved by Augustine, de Civ. Dei 2. 9) has 'Nostrae duodecim tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent in his quoque sanciendum putaverunt si quis occentavisset sive *carmen condidisset* quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.' Horace refers to the same law in Epp. 2. 1. 153.

84. **iudice Caesare,** an abl. absol.; see on Od. 1. 6. 2.

85. **latraverit,** for 'allatraverit,' as in Epod. 5. 58, Epp. 1. 2. 65. For the implied comparison of a satirist to a watchdog see on Epod. 6. 1.

**integer,** Od. 1. 22. 1.

86. **solventur tabulae.** The general sense is plain, but the figure employed is uncertain. There is an apparent reference to the phrase in Quintil. 5. 10. 67 'Cum risu tota res solvitur.'

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# SATIRE II.

## OFELLUS, OR PLAIN LIVING.

Verses 1–16. 'LISTEN, my friends, to a lecture on plain living'—it is not Horace speaking, but Ofellus—a plain man, but a philosopher in his way—'listen, but not in a smartly laid out dining-room nor when your bellies are full. Go and hunt, or break a rough horse, or (if you are only fit for such effeminate exercises) have a good game of ball or quoit, and then I defy you to despise plain fare.

16–22. Hunger is the best sauce. The rarest delicacies lose their flavour if appetite is wanting.

22–30. It is, I suppose, useless to protest against the preference of a peacock to a barndoor fowl. It is more costly and appeals to the eye. Even that is ridiculous, for you are not going to eat the smart feathers. But your fancies about food go farther still.

31–39. You think you know whether the pike is caught in the river or in the sea. You like your mullet large (though you must divide it to eat it) and your pike small. Your only principle is to take what is rare and avoid what is natural. That comes from not knowing what it is to be really hungry.

39–44. You say you like to gloat over the big dishfull. One is inclined to call the south wind to taint the glutton's dainties; but there is no need: boar and turbot lose all their savour when the stomach is tired; then you prefer herbs.

44–52. Princes and peasants share the taste for eggs and olives. The fact is that it is greatly a matter of fashion. The nastiest dish can be made the vogue.

53–69. There is a great distinction in my judgment between plain living and mean living, for there are faults on both sides. You need not be like Avidienus.

There is a medium between looking after things too sharply and not looking after them at all.

70–81. Now hear the advantages of plain living. First, it means good digestion, and with good digestion comes a free and active mind.

82–88. Next, it leaves a margin for improvement; for holidays or when health requires it. Luxury has used up all its resources.

89–99. In the good old days delicacies were always reserved for hospitality. Gluttony leads even now to disgrace as well as to ruinous extravagance.

99–111. Do you answer that there is no fear of ruin in your case; that you have enough to spend on your gluttony? I answer that there are better uses of money. Relieve the poor, restore temples, give to your country. But have you immunity from human chances? And if change come, who is best fitted to meet it, the man who is accustomed to plain living or the man of luxury?'

112–136. Ofellus practised what he taught. I knew him when I was a boy as a proprietor where now he pays rent and works hard. He lived plainly then, and when reverses came he applied his philosophy to his own case and taught his sons to do the same.

The lecture (verses 1–111) is pretty clearly meant to be put into the mouth of Ofellus, who is described as an old neighbour of Horace's, and as a representative of the sturdy independence and strong sense of his fellow countrymen the 'pernix Apulus' (Epod. 2. 41), 'Sabellus' (Sat. 2. 1. 36; Epp. 1. 16. 49), etc. The purpose of the lecture suits the character, but, as in those of Stertinius in Sat. 2. 3 and Davus in Sat. 2. 7, there is little or no attempt to make the style or topics in detail correspond to the speaker. It is a Satire, such as in the First Book would have been in Horace's own mouth, on the luxury and caprices of the day.

It will be noticed (see on v. 114) that Ofellus is supposed to have been dispossessed of his property at the same time as Horace himself, viz. in B.C. 41, and to have lived on as a tenant under Umbrenus (v. 133), the veteran to whom the land had been assigned. Whether he is supposed to be alive still does not appear.

It is one of the Satires in which Horace seems to have taken the topic and general idea of treatment from Lucilius, who, according to Cicero, de Fin. 2. 8. 24, put a lecture against greediness into the mouth of Laelius. One of the fragments of it quoted by Cicero is referred to in v. 46; see note there.

QUAE virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo
(Nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva,)

1. **boni**, 'good sirs.' Ofellus' address to some imagined audience of neighbours, rather than Horace's own, in which case it would be unlike his usual style. For its use in the sing. see on Sat. 2. 3. 31.

**vivere parvo**: Od. 2. 16. 13.

2. **nec meus**: a Greek form, *οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος ἀλλὰ Φαίδρου τοῦδε ὃν μέλλω λέγειν* Plat. Sympos. p. 177.

3. **abnormis sapiens**, 'a philosopher though of no school.' V. had 'abnormi,' but the mistake is easy (there is a similar mistake the other way in some MSS. in verse 1, 'bonis sit' for 'boni sit'), and the reference which Lambinus first suggested to Cic. de Am. 5. 18 'Nunquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes,' has a fuller bearing than he noticed, for not only is Cicero speaking in the same

Discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentes
Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum
Acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
Verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. Cur hoc?
Dicam si potero. Male verum examinat omnis
Corruptus iudex. Leporem sectatus equove
Lassus ab indomito, vel si Romana fatigat
Militia assuetum graecari, seu pila velox
Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
Seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aëra disco;
Cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
Sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
Ne biberis diluta. Foris est promus et atrum

sense as Horace, in asserting for the practical wisdom of Roman worthies a claim to the title, in a certain sense, of philosophy, but the use in the following sentence and in the same connection of the phrase 'pingui Minerva' makes it most probable that Horace had his actual words in mind.

**crassa Minerva**, 'homely mother wit.' Cp. A. P. 385 'invita Minerva.'

4. **nitentes**; with both subst. For the extravagant outlay on tables see Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 137. Contrast ad Sat. 1. 3. 13 'sit mihi mensa tripes.'

5. **insanis.** The edd. quote Cicero's epithet for Clodius' extravagant building at Alba, 'substructionum insanae moles' Mil. 31. 85.

6. **acclinis**, in a literal sense in Virg. Aen. 10. 835 'acclinis trunco'; here metaphorical, as Livy uses 'se acclinare ad' for 'to incline towards,' 4. 48.

7. **impransi.** Sat. 2. 3. 257, Epp. 1. 15. 29; 'before breaking your fast.'

8. **male verum examinat.** For another application of this principle see A. P. 422 f.

9. **sectatus**, 'after following.'

10. **ab.** Virg. G. 1. 234 'torrida semper ab igni,' Madv. § 254 obs. 2; as we say, 'tired from,' as well as 'tired with'; but there is perhaps the sense of 'coming from,' 'fresh from.'

**Romana militia**: the soldierly exercises of a Roman—i. e. not military exercises proper, but those named in the preceding words, hunting and horse-breaking; with this comparison of Greek and Roman exercises cp. Od. 3. 24. 54 foll., Epp. 1. 18. 49 foll. For the 'pila' and 'discus' cp. also Sat. 1. 5. 48, A. P. 380, Od. 1. 8. 10 foll.

11. **seu pila velox.** We have to understand 'te agit,' and also the imperative apodosis to answer to 'pete cedentem aëra disco,' 'play at ball.'

12. **studio**, sc. 'the spirit of emulation,' the interest of the game.

**fallente.** As Sat. 2. 7. 114 'somno fallere curam.'

13. **agit**, 'draws,' 'attracts,' as Cic. Arch. 7. 16 'haec studia adolescentiam agunt.'

**pete**, 'fling the quoit into the yielding air.'

14. **cum labor extuderit** takes up again the main protasis which was broken off by the alternatives offered, 'vel si,' etc. 'After a day's hunting or riding (or, if you prefer ball or quoits, play ball or quoits), in any case when hard work has given you a healthy appetite, etc.'

**extuderit**, 'eiecerit,' 'excusserit,' Acr.

15. **sperne.** 'Despise if you can.'

**nisi Hymettia.** Do not drink your 'mulsum' (see on Sat. 2. 1. 56, 2. 4. 24) unless the honey is from Hymettus Od. 2. 6. 14) and the wine of Falernum.

16. Necessity has the same effect as exercise. If you cannot get relishes, bread and salt will make a dinner.

**promus**, defined by Plaut. Pseud. 2. 2. 14 'procurator peni.' The difficulties supposed are alternatives: the storeroom is locked, so that you cannot get what is in it: or the weather is bad, and so the market is empty of fish—so that

Defendens pisces hiemat mare: cum sale panis
Latrantem stomachum bene leniet. Unde putas aut
Qui partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas
Summa sed in te ipso est. Tu pulmentaria quaere
Sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
Nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.
Vix tamen eripiam posito pavone velis quin
Hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
Corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
Rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda;
Tamquam ad rem attineat quidquam. Num vesceris ista
Quam laudas pluma? Cocto num adest honor idem?
Carne tamen quamvis distat nil, hac magis illam

the use of 'et' may perhaps be added to the instances given in Od. 3. 11. 49 of the substitution of a conjunctive for an alternative conjunction.

**atrum.** Od. 3. 27. 18 'ater Hadriae sinus.'

18. **latrantem**: *ὑλακτοῦντα*, see Lid. and Scott, s. v. So 'iratum ventrem' Sat. 2. 8. 5.

**unde . . . partum**, 'a power gained whence think you, or how?' 'Partum' stands in apposition to cogn. accus. which would describe the action of the verb 'leniet.'

19. **caro nidore**, 'the smell of costly cookery.'

20. **pulmentaria**, 'relishes.' Acr. tells a story that Socrates was asked when walking what he was doing, and answered 'se pulmentaria quaerere,' which Porph. gives in Greek *ὄψον συνάγω*. Cicero has 'pulpamentum fames' Tusc. 5. 32. 90, and 'cibi condimentum esse famem' de Fin. 2. 28. 90, a passage which, from the following reference to Gallonius, (see below verse 47) Horace possibly had in mind. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 48 'pulmenta laboribus empta.'

21. **pinguem vitiis**, v. 77 'corpus onustum Hesternis vitiis.'

**album.** Od. 2. 2. 15, of a dropsical patient. So 'pallidus' inf. v. 76; and cp. Persius' imitation 3. 98 'Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre.'

**ostrea**: a dissyllable; see on Sat. 1. 8. 43.

22. **scarus**, Epod. 2. 50, a fish of the eastern Mediterranean, rare and costly at Rome. Ennius speaks of it with affected rapture 'cerebrum Iovis paene supremi' Heduphagetica 8. It is not identified.

**lagois.** The comparison of the passage just cited from Epod. 2 would indicate that this is a bird. The Scholiasts explain the name 'avis leporino colore.' It is suggested that it is the same as an Alpine bird called by Pliny (N. H. 10. 68) 'lagopus,' and said to be so called from having down, like hare's fur, about its feet.

23. **eripiam**, sc. 'tibi.' The Schol. will explain by 'extorqueam,' 'impetrabo.'

**posito**, 'served,' 'sent on table.' Sat. 2. 4. 14, 2. 6. 64, 2. 8. 91; A. P. 422.

**pavone.** The peacock is said by Varro (R. R. 3. 6. 6) to have been first served at table in Rome by Hortensius, at his inaugural feast as augur. See Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 143.

24. **tergere**, as our phrase 'to tickle': either implies that rather more effort than usual is employed to rouse the sensibility of the palate.

25. **vanis rerum.** Od. 4. 12. 19 'amara curarum,' Sat. 2. 8. 83 'ficta rerum,' A. P. 49 'abdita rerum.'

28. **num.** For the hiatus cp. Lucr. 3. 1082 'Sed dum abest quod avemus.'

**honor.** Epod. 17. 18 n. For the thought of this verse Horace was possibly indebted to Lucilius; see fr. 27. 12 'cocus non curat caudam insignem esse illam (?) si pinguis siet.'

29, 30. The reading is doubtful. Some of the best MSS. have 'patet' for 'petere'; and so Bentl., Orelli, Munro,

Imparibus formis deceptum te petere! Esto:
Unde datum sentis lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
Captus hiet, pontesne inter iactatus an amnis
Ostia sub Tusci? Laudas, insane, trilibrem
Mullum in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
Ducit te species video: quo pertinet ergo

edit. There is no direct testimony to the reading of V; g, which follows it on other difficult questions, has 'petere.' The testimony of the Scholiasts is not clear. Porph. favours 'petere,' 'Carne tamen hanc magis illa petere te deceptum imparibus formis quamvis nihil distet esto.' On the other hand the note which goes by the name of Acr. recognizes 'patet,' 'Sensus est: quamvis hac carne nihil distet magis illa te patet imparibus formis deceptum,' 'magis, delectaris,' 'illa (al. illam) non distat, inquit, sed ideo petis quia maior est.' It will be seen that this contains inconsistent interpretations—the first sentence, taking 'hac carne' with 'distat'; the second supplying 'delectaris' as Orelli supplies 'vesceris'; both however exclude 'petere' in that they provide 'magis' with a verb without it; the third sentence seems to give a link between the interpretations of Acr. and of Porph., and possibly to have been, through Porph.'s scholion, the origin of the reading 'petere.' On the other hand 'patet' in Acr. may be due to an interpretation of the infinitive. If we read 'petere' it seems to be necessary to accept also either 'hanc' or 'illam,' of which the first has the authority of Porph., the latter of several good MSS.; and it is better to construct 'te petere' as an exclamation Madv. § 399, not as Porph. took it as following 'esto.' Reading 'patet,' the simplest constr. is Bentley's 'yet in point of flesh there is nothing to choose, in this flesh over that, it is evident that you are beguiled by the difference of outside.' Orelli following Acr. puts a stop at 'illa,' and supposes a very harsh ellipsis, 'yet though there is no difference in the flesh [you eat (vesceris)] this in preference to that.' In either case 'hac' is the peacock's flesh. With the reading 'petere' 'hac' is that of the common fowl—not as the last mentioned, but as the one which the poet is recommending; cp. the inversion of the usual order in verses 36, 37 'illis . . . his.'

30. **esto**, 'be it so.' You may be foolish; but you have something to say for yourself. If there is no difference to the taste there is to the eye; but what is the new sense which enables you to distinguish the waters from which a particular fish came.

31. **unde datum.** Sat. 2. 1. 52 'unde monstratum.' It differs from Sat. 1. 4. 79 'unde petitum' in that the accus. is here cogn., there object. 'Whence comes the faculty by which you perceive'?

32. **hiet** pictures the fish lying with its large mouth open.

**pontes inter.** This is the traditional description of the feeding ground of the 'lupus.' Lucilius, fr. inc. 50 'pontes Tiberinus duo inter captus catillo,' Macrob. Sat. 2. 13. So Plin. N. H. 9. 54. What 'inter duo pontes' meant in Lucilius' time is not known. Wordsworth (Early Latin, p. 631) explains it as meaning 'off the island.'

**iactatus**, i. e. by the current, not an ornamental edition. Columel. 8. 16 'docta palata fastidire docuit fluvialem lupum nisi quem Tiberis adverso torrente defatigasset.'

33. **Tusci.** Od. 3. 7. 28 'Tusco alveo,' Virg. G. 1. 499 'Tuscum Tiberim.'

**trilibrem.** Plin. N. H. 9. 30 '[mulli] binas libras ponderis raro admodum exsuperant.' Seneca (Epist. 95) tells a story of one of four pounds; Juvenal (S. 4. 15) of one of six.

34. **singula pulmenta**, 'separate portions'—in helping the guests. The argument is the same as in Sat. 1. 1. 45 foll. Store is set by the size of the fish; yet large or small it has to be carved into small pieces before it is eaten.

35. **video**, like 'esto' in 30, grants the explanation, 'your eye is pleased,' in order to press the inconsistency—'why then does it dislike in the pike what it dislikes in the mullet? The Epicurean would possibly have found a good answer.

**quo pertinet.** Sat. 2. 3. 11 'quorsum

Proceros odisse lupos? Quia scilicet illis
Maiorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
Ieiunus raro stomachus volgaria temnit.
'Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
Vellem,' ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. At vos,
Praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia,—quamquam
Putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
Aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
Atque acidas mavolt inulas. Necdum omnis abacta
Pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis
Nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. Haud ita pridem

pertinuit,' 'what is the tendency?' and so, what is the principle, the purpose?

36. **scilicet**, 'I will tell you,' because you like in each case what is unnatural.

**illis**, sc. 'lupis.'

37. **his**, sc. 'mullis'; see also on vv. 29, 30; 'hic' is used of the nearest to the speaker's mind even when it was the first mentioned: cp. Epp. 1. 17. 19. The 'mullus' is here the main subject, as we see by his returning to it in v. 39, without again mentioning it. The 'lupi' have only been introduced as an illustration of the inconsistency of the reason for liking the mullet large.

38. The edd. generally (adv. Holder) are no doubt right in joining 'raro ieiunus,' 'which seldom feels real hunger'; cp. vv. 14, 15. Acr. mentions and prefers an ingenious variant 'rari,' constructed after 'ieiunus,' 'hungry for rarity.'

39. An alternative explanation put into the mouth of the epicure himself. No, it is not fastidiousness, it is pure greediness. 'I should like, if it were only possible, not a three pound mullet, but one that should try the capacity of the host's dishes.'

**porrectum**. Sat. 2. 8. 43.

**magno magnum**. Perhaps, as Prof. Palmer suggests, there is a mock heroic echo of Homer's *μέγας μεγαλωστί*; but cp. inf. v. 95, where there is a similar mocking repetition, 'grandes . . . grande,' in satirizing the fancy for size. It is an anticipation of Juvenal's Satire on the 'spatium admirabile rhombi,' and the dish made to order to match it.

40. **Harpyiis**. Virg. Aen. 3. 210 foll., a natural type of an appetite insatiable and disgusting.

**at**. A good instance of the use in an appeal, spoken of on Epod. 5. 1.

41. **praesentes**, 'potentes' Schol. Virg. Aen. 9. 404 'Tu dea tu praesens nostro succurre labori.' They are addressed as divine powers.

**coquite**, ironically, 'spoil them.'

**quamquam**: 'corripit se, quasi frustra austros vocaverit, cum luxuriosis necesse sit suas putere delicias,' Acr.

42. **quando**. Taken by Orelli and others as causal; but this throws too much emphasis on the clause introduced by 'cum.' Both conjunctions are temporal, 'quando' giving the occasion; 'dainties, however fresh, lose their savour when the plenty only worries a wearied stomach': 'cum' adding a circumstance which characterises the same moment, 'a time when it looks rather for stimulants.'

43. **rapula**, with the epithet 'acria' Sat. 2. 8. 8, some kind of radishes.

44. **inulas**, 'amaras' Sat. 2. 8. 51; cp. Lucr. 2. 430, probably elecampane, Inula Helenium of Linnaeus. The root is edible, and has an acid taste. The Schol. however explain **acidas** by the fact that they were dressed with vinegar.

**necdum omnis**, etc. Another illustration of the capriciousness of luxury.

45. **pauperies**, the fare of humble life.

**regum**, the rich and great Od. 1. 4. 14, 2. 14. 4ii.

46. **nigris**. The epithet recalls them to the eye—so it has the force of 'the olive that you know, the same plain uncomely olive that the poor eat.'

**haud ita pridem**; in Lucilius' days —for the reference is to some verses of

Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
Infamis. Quid? tunc rhombos minus aequora alebant?
Tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido
Donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. Ergo
Si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos,
Parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.
Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
Iudice; nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud
Si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus,
Cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret,

his which are preserved in Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24

'O Publi, o gurges Galloni: es homo miser, inquit;
Cenasti in vita nunquam bene, cum omnia in ista
Consumis squilla atque acipensere cum decumano.'

See above on v. 20. The point is that the standard of luxurious living varies from age to age. This is noticeably confirmed by Pliny, N. H. 9. 27, who says that the 'acipenser' had ceased in his time to be valued.

47. **erat.** For lengthening of syllable see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

49. **tuto . . . nido**, descr. ablative, Madv. § 272, 'the stork found its nestlings safe.'

50. **auctor . . . praetorius.** The Scholiasts give various names in explanation—Plotius Plancus, Asellius, Sempronius. In one of several contradictory notes Porph. says that the person meant is one Rufus, who had set the fashion of eating young storks, and who, being defeated for the praetorship, was made the object of the following epigram, 'Ciconiarum Rufus iste conditor. Hic est duobus elegantior Plancis: Suffragiorum puncta non tulit septem. Ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem.' 'Praetorius,' if the person meant was an unsuccessful candidate for the praetorship, must be ironical; but the guesses are evidently of little value.

51. **edixerit**, 'with a praetor's authority.' Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 10.

**mergos**, 'divers,' birds of hard and unsavoury flesh.

**assos** ('ardeo'), roasted or broiled, i.e. cooked in the way that suits only the tenderer and more delicate meats.

52. **pravi docilis.** The gen. as in Od. 4. 6. 43 'docilis modorum.' Schutz points out that 'docilis' answers to 'docuit' in v. 50, as 'edixerit' answers to 'praetorius.'

**Romana iuventus.** Orelli notices the irony of using here this heroic title, frequent in Ennius, as in Ann. 538 'optima cum pulcris animis Romana iuventus.'

53. It is not meant in satirizing luxury to recommend meanness.

**distabit.** The best supported reading is 'distabat'; but, in spite of Bentley's sanction, few editors have given it. Keller considers 'distabit' a necessary emendation; 'distabat' could hardly mean 'differed in Ofellus' judgment,' which is an English not a Latin idiom, and the following tense 'vitaveris' excludes the impft. The future leaves open the question whether Ofellus is supposed to be speaking throughout or not. If so (as I have assumed) 'Ofello iudice' = 'me iudice.'

55. **alio**, 'in another direction'; as in Sat. 2. 1. 32.

**pravum**, proleptic, so as to go crooked.

**Avidienus.** The following words seem to show that a real person is intended. If so, the name is probably fictitious, possibly carrying in it a clue to contemporaries. For the supposed derivation of the name from 'avidus' see introd. to the Satires, p. 14.

56. **Canis.** Cf. 'canis immundus' Epp. 1. 2. 26; in reference to the dog as a foul feeder. Possibly the person intended had one of his real names from 'Canis,' as Canidius, Caninius, Canius, Canina.

**ex vero**, no meaningless jest.

**ductum.** The reading of V., against the more common 'dictum.' Cf. Sat. 2. 1. 66. So Bentl. and Munro.

Quinquennes oleas est et silvestria corna,
Ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et
Cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit
Ille repotia natales aliosve dierum
Festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri
Caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.
Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum
Utrum imitabitur? Hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
Mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus, atque
In neutram partem cultus miser. Hic neque servis,
Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit
Saevus erit; nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam
Convivis praebebit aquam; vitium hoc quoque magnum.
Accipe nunc victus tenuis quae quantaque secum

58. **mutatum**. Sat. 2. 8. 50; 'turned to vinegar.'

**defundere**. Od. 4. 5. 34.

59. **cuius odorem olei**, i. e. 'oleum cuius odorem.' See on Epod. 2. 37.

**licebit**. Epod. 15. 19.

60. **repotia**, 'second drinkings'; the name, according to one of the Scholiast's notes, of the day after the wedding, when there was feasting at the bridegroom's house; according to another of them, of the seventh day, when the bride revisited her parents.

**alios dierum**. Cp. 'vanis rerum' supr. v. 25.

61. **albatus**, with a new or freshly cleaned toga—in holiday dress. Cicero in Vatin. 13. 31 'cum ipse epuli dominus albatus esset.' So of the proper dress for visiting a temple, Pers. S. 2. 40.

62. **veteris non parcus aceti**. A receipt for a miser's salad—the oil bad, and even then very carefully measured, the vinegar good (the old is the sourest) and in plenty. As Schutz suggests, it is a parable of the host's character: and the dressing secures that very little of the salad will be eaten. Others take the words as referring back to v. 58, 'aceti' being substituted *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for 'vini'; but this does not give as much point.

64. 'Proverbium est ubi duae res molestae sunt' Acr. The proverb is adapted to the two characters offered, the 'gula Harpyiis digna,' and the 'canis' of v. 56.

65. **mundus erit**. The subj. is 'sapiens.'

**qua** must be explained with the Scholiasts and Bentley as = 'quatenus,' i. e. 'eatenus ut,' to such an extent as not to offend by signs of meanness.' 'Qua' was the reading of all the Bland MSS. 'Qui' has inferior authority. It would have the same sense. 'Qui offendit' or 'offendet' (which makes the words a definition of 'mundus') chiefly occupied the text before Bentley, but has little authority. The thought is familiar in Horace. Cp. Od. 2. 10. 6–8, 2. 16. 13–16.

66. **in neutram partem**, 'in neither direction.'

**cultus**, 'style of living'; cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 591 'miseranda cultu.' For gen. in 'cultus miser' see on Sat. 1. 9. 11.

67. **dum munia didit**, i. e. not merely when they have actually offended. 'Didere' is a Lucretian word. Albucius may be the same person who is named in Sat. 2. 1. 48, q. v.; but there is nothing to help us. It is a name in Lucilius.

68. **simplex**, of simplicity carried to a fault. He lets his slaves neglect the decencies of hospitality.

**unctam**, 'greasy,' Sat. 2. 4. 78.

69. **praebebit aquam**: Sat. 1. 4. 88.

70. **tenuis**. For the contrast of 'tenuis' and 'sordidus' latent in all this passage cp. Od. 2. 16. 13–16.

Afferat. Imprimis valeas bene: nam variae res
Ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae
Quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis
Miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
Dulcia se in bilem vertent stomachoque tumultum
Lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis
Cena desurgat dubia? Quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una,
Atque affigit humo divinae particulam aurae.
Alter ubi dicto citius curata sopori
Membra dedit vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
Sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
Seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique

71. **valeas**, potential. See on Sat. 1. 4. 70, and cp. 'credas' in the next line.

**variae res**, 'variety.'

73. **quae simplex sederit**, which because it was simple sat well. 'Sederit' the opposite of 'tumultum feret.'

74. **miscueris**. For the long īs cp. Od. 3. 23. 3 'placarīs,' 4. 7. 20 'dederīs,' ib. 21 'occiderīs,' Sat. 2. 5. 101 'audierīs,' Epp. 1. 6. 40 'fuerīs.' In the first four cases, as here, the use is potential and hypothetical; in the last it is prohibitive, 'ne fueris.' In all other cases in Horace where the quantity appears it is short, even where (Sat. 1. 4. 41 'ne dixeris') it is the prohibitive use.

75, 76. **bilem . . . pituita**. Horace is using medical language of the day, for with Celsus (4. 12) 'bilis' and 'pituita' characterize two disorders which befall the stomach, and Pliny (N. H. 20. 7. 26) speaks of 'lentitia pituitae,' which lettuce was said to loosen; but it is not quite our language, and he uses it as a layman and as a poet, so that we must be content with the general purport. The figure of 'tumultum' is an old one. Cp. Hippocrates, *ἡ ποικιλὴ τροφή νοσώδης, ταραχώδης γάρ*, and in another place in the same sense, *τὰ ἀνόμοια στασιάζει*. 'Pituita' is probably to be scanned as a trisyllable, since Catullus 23. 17 has the first 'i' long, 'mucusque et mala pituita nasi.' See Mayor on the scansion of 'fortuitus' in Juv. S. 13. 225.

77. **cena dubia**. A phrase to which Terence had given currency, Phorm. 2. 1. 28. (342) '*Ph.* cena dubia apponitur. *Ge.* Quid istuc verbi est? *Ph.* ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum.'

79. **affigit humo**. Cp. *προσηλοῖ* Plat. Phaed. p. 83 D. There is a v. l. 'affligit,' but here of small authority. See on Sat. 1. 1. 81.

**divinae particulam aurae**. Cp. Virgil's 'partem divinae mentis' G. 4. 220 and 'aurai simplicis ignem' Aen. 6. 747. 'Particula' is a favourite word with Horace. 'Corpus onustum' is a phrase of Lucretius 3. 113; but in his terms for the spiritual part of man Horace is echoing rather his other master, Cicero, and Plato and the Pythagoreans whom he quotes. See especially de Senect. 21. 78 'audiebam Pythagoram . . . nunquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente delibatos animos habeamus,' Tusc. 1. 26. 63 'Ergo animus ut ego dico divinus est, ut Euripides audet dicere deus; et quidem si deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem animus est.' Pythagoras, according to Diog. Laert. 8. 28, called the soul *ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ αἰθέρος . . . ἀθάνατον ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι.*

80. **alter**, the man of plain living.

**dicto citius**, with **curata**, the hyperbole is less felt because 'dicto citius' was a current phrase. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 142, Liv. 23. 47.

82. **melius**, 'better fare.'

**quondam**, 'on occasions.' Cp. Od. 2. 10. 18, Epp. 1. 18. 78.

84. **tenuatum**, i. q. 'attenuatum.' Tac. Ann. 15. 63 'parvo victu tenuatum.'

**ubique**. Bentley would read 'ubive'

Accedent anni et tractari mollius aetas
Imbecilla volet; tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
Quam puer et validus praesumis mollitiem, seu
Dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?
Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
Illis nullus erat sed credo hac mente, quod hospes
Tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam
Integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!
Das aliquid famae quae carmine gratior aurem
Occupat humanam: grandes rhombi patinaeque
Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde
Iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum,
Et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
As, laquei pretium. 'Iure,' inquit, 'Trausius istis
Iurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna
Divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus.' Ergo

against the MSS., as suiting better 'sive,' 'seu'; but perhaps the change is not quite without point. 'On a chance holiday or after an illness if so it be, and when growing years ask for more generous treatment.' It is not against this in a poet that in v. 88 he prefers another point of view and couples ill-health and old age under 'sive' and 'seu.'

88. Note the 'chiasmus' with which 'dura valetudo' answers to 'validus,' 'senectus' to 'puer.'

89. Greediness is inconsistent with true hospitality.

90. **hac mente**: Sat. 1. 1. 30. Cp. with the passage Juv. S. 1. 140 'quanta est gula quae sibi totos Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum.'

92. **integrum**, opp. 'vitiatum.'

93. **prima**, cp. Sat. 1. 3. 99 'primis terris,' 'the young world.'

95. **occupat**. The reading is not certain. V had 'occupet,' and so have many MSS. The subj. is given in K. and H. Keller now supports 'occupat,' which also has the weight of Bentley and Munro. Either would stand, 'quae occupet' would be 'seeing that it falls on human ears,' etc.; 'quae occupat' is perhaps simpler and therefore more likely, 'fame which falls,' etc. 'Das' is 'you give, I suppose.' Some editors (as Schütz) put a question.

**grandes**, with 'patinae' as well as 'rhombi': contrast 'modica patella,' Epp. 1. 5. 2. The repetition of 'grandes . . . grande' is emphatic and gives the idea of proportion; 'the bigger the dishes and the fish, the bigger the disgrace as well as the expense.'

96. For **damno** see on Od. 3. 5. 27, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 21, 2. 1. 107.

97. **patruum**: the 'uncle' embodied to a Roman the critical or censorious disposition of a man's own family. Cp. Od. 3. 12. 3, Sat. 2. 3. 88, Pers. S. 1. 11 'Pertristis quidam patruus censor magister,' Cic. Cael. 11.

99. **as, laquei pretium.** Perhaps from Plaut. Pseudol. 1. 1. 86 '*Ps.* Sed quid de drachma facere vis? *C.* Restim volo mihi emere. *Ps.* Quamobrem? *C.* Qui me faciam pensilem.' The jest became proverbial; so Lucian, Timon. 20 *οὐδὲ ὄβολον ὥστε πρίασθαι βρόχον ἐσχηκότας.*

**inquit.** For this use of an imaginary interlocutor with no nom. cp. Sat. 1. 4. 79. A few MSS. altered it to 'inquis.'

**Trausius.** An unknown name, standing for one who is at once poor and extravagant. It was a Roman name, as inscriptions show.

Quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
Cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite? Quare
Templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae
Non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?
Uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res.
O magnus posthac inimicis risus! Uterne
Ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? Hic qui
Pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
An qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri
In pace ut sapiens aptarit idonea bello?
Quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
Integris opibus novi non latius usum
Quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello
Cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,
'Non ego,' narrantem, 'temere edi luce profesta
Quicquam praeter olus fumosae cum pede pernae.

103. **indignus**, 'undeserving,' that is, of poverty. Heind. quotes Cic. Tusc. 4. 20. 46 'ad calamitates hominum indignorum ablevandas.'

104. **templa ruunt.** Cp. Od. 2. 15. 19, 3. 6. 1 f.

106. 'Have you no thought of a possible reverse?' V read 'rectae,' which may possibly be right, but this use of adverbs is common. See infr. v. 120 'bene erat,' Sat. 2. 8. 19 'pulcre fuerit tibi.'

107. **risus**, as 'iocus' in Sat. 2. 5. 37, 'laughing-stock.'

**uterne.** See on Epod. 1. 7.

109. **superbum**, with both substantives and proleptically, 'so as to pamper them.'

110. **metuens futuri**: Od. 3. 19. 16, Madv. § 289 a.

112. **quo magis his credas**: the purpose not of the thing to be stated but of the stating of it; as with negative clauses, see on Od. 1. 33. 1 'ne doleas,' etc.

**puer novi usum.** Heind. points out an exactly similar construction in Cic. de Sen. 9. 30 'Ego L. Metellum memini puer.' It seems to be an attraction for 'me puero.'

113. **latius**: opp. 'angustius.' Yonge quotes Juv. S. 14. 234 'indulgent sibi latius.'

114. **videas ... narrantem.** Horace represents this as Ofellus' habitual language since his deprivation of his property. The time of his deprivation is no doubt B.C. 41; for Venusia is specially named (Appian, Bell. Civ. 4. 3) as one of the towns where lands were assigned by the triumvirs to veterans after the battle of Philippi. Horace or his father would have lost his property at the same time.

**metato**, 'measured off for division.' For the passive use cp. Od. 2. 15. 15 and see on Od. 1. 32. 5, and to the instances given there add 'venerata' in v. 124 of this Satire.

115. **mercede colonum**, i. e. as a tenant working the land himself and paying a 'pensio' or 'merces' (Columella, R. R. 3. 7) to his landlord.

**fortem**, 'a sturdy tiller' of the soil, though tilling land he paid rent for. Virg. G. 3. 288 'hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.' For the general picture of the dispossessed proprietor or rather 'possessor' cp. Virg. Ecl. 1 and 9.

116. **temere**, 'lightly,' 'without reason'; a favourite word with Horace.

**edi**, i.e. 'in old days.' His example is made more relevant to the point of the Satire by making the simplicity of his table the special ground of his indifference to the blows of fortune.

**luce profesta**, 'on working days,' Od. 4. 15. 25.

117. **pernae.** Cp. Mart. 10. 48. 17 'cenisque tribus iam perna superstes.'

Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,
Sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
Vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,
Sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,
Ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
Explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.
Saeviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus:
Quantum hinc imminuet? Quanto aut ego parcius aut vos,
O pueri, nituistis ut huc novus incola venit?
Nam propriae telluris herum natura neque illum
Nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille;
Illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,
Postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.

119. **operum vacuo**, explained by 'per imbrem,' on a day of enforced idleness. 'Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber' Virg. G. 1. 259, though Virgil points out that the said husbandman need not be altogether idle at such times. For the gen. cp. 'operum solutis' Od. 3. 17. 16.

120. **bene erat**, 'we made merry'; cp. Sat. 2. 8. 4 'fuerit melius,' id. 19 'pulcre fuerit,' and above v. 82 'ad melius transcurrere.' For these 'dapes inemptae' added to the supper on occasions cp. Epod. 2. 48 foll. and the poem of Martial (10. 48) above referred to.

121. **pensilis**, 'hung,' i.e. 'to dry as raisins'; cp. Sat. 2. 4. 72.

**secundas mensas**, 'the second course.' 'Alteris mensis' Od. 4. 5. 31, 'mensis secundis' Virg. G. 2. 101.

122. **duplice**, 'bifida.' Schol. 'split,' probably to dry.

123. **culpa magistra.** Porph. explains these words by 'libere, sine archiposia,' without, that is, a 'magister' or 'arbiter bibendi.' His explanation suggests, though it does not say, that 'culpa' had some known technical sense. Various attempts have been made to guess at one; as that it refers to some game of forfeits where the (pleasant) penalty was to drink a cup of wine. The form 'culpa magistra' is then dictated by the figure of the 'magister bibendi,' 'to drink when [not a formal president of the feast but] a breach of rules (sc. a forfeit) bade us.' That some sense of the informality and freedom of the drinking is at the bottom of the expression is likely from Horace's description of his own table (Sat. 2. 6. 68), where each guest drinks as he likes, 'solutus legibus insanis.' Bentley, dissatisfied with all suggestions, would alter 'culpa' to 'cupa,' i.e. 'copa,' 'a tavern mistress,' and many other emendations have been suggested. Perhaps they all lose the force of 'ludus erat,' which seems hardly to describe simple drinking.

124. **venerata**, addressed with the prayer 'so might she rise.' 'Venerata' pass. as in Virg. Aen. 3. 460, see on 'metato' supr. v. 114.

**ita**, so, as the prayer or libation was duly offered—a formula of prayer, as 'sic' in Od. 1. 3. 1.

**surgeret**, the prayer 'surgas' quoted in orat. obl.

125. **explicuit**, Od. 3. 29. 14 'sollicitam explicuere frontem.'

127. **hinc**, 'from our present condition.'

128. **nituistis**, of being in good case, as 'nitidus' Epp. 1. 4. 15.

**ut**, 'from the time when,' Od. 4. 4. 42, Epod. 7. 19, Sat. 1. 6. 27.

129. **propriae**, pred. 'as true property'; cp. the use of the word in v. 134 and Od. 2. 2. 22, Sat. 2. 6. 5.

131. **vafri iuris**, of the law with its subtleties. Cp. 'ius anceps' Sat. 2. 5. 34.

Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
Dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
Nunc mihi nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

134. **cedet in usum.** With this whole passage on the limited sense of property cp. Epp. 2. 2. 158 foll. The germ of all is in Lucretius 'Vitaque mancipio nulli datur omnibus usu' 3. 971. Cp. also Epp. 1. 12. 4 n.

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# SATIRE III.

## DAMASIPPUS, OR A MAD WORLD.

THE Satire is based on the Stoic paradox that every one but the wise man is mad (*ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται*, see Cicero's 4th Paradox), which Horace treats after his wont, laughing with others at it, but using it as a weapon with which, without departing from his habitual irony, he can strike at practical follies.

The bulk of the Satire is put into the mouth of Stertinius, a lecturer of the day (like Crispinus of Book I), whom in Epp. 1. 12. 20 Horace, makes, but in a bantering tone, the representative of Stoic philosophy. He is otherwise unknown to us. The Scholiasts say his works filled 220 volumes.

Damasippus (like Trebatius in Sat. 2. 1) is a character in Cicero's Epistles, in which he appears as a clever go-between in the purchase of estates and works of art (Cic. ad Att. 12. 29 and 33, ad Fam. 7. 23; cp. vv. 20–26 of this Satire). Horace represents him (whether with any historical foundation or not, we cannot say) as having been ruined and on the point of suicide. Stertinius meets him on the Pons Fabricius and saves him from this folly by preaching to him the Stoic doctrine that all men save the true philosopher are mad alike—he need not be ashamed; let his misfortunes be as ridiculous and his conduct as foolish as possible, he has all the world as companions in his folly. This is set out at length in a discourse which, as is usual with Horace, loses after a time its vital connection with the scene. The dramatic tone is resumed at v. 296, and Horace ends the Satire by good-humouredly turning the laugh against himself.

This Satire should be compared throughout with Sat. 2. 7, which deals in a similar way with another Paradox.

Verses 1–16. Damasippus rallies Horace for his fastidiousness and laziness in composition.

16–18. 'Excellent advice,' says Horace, 'my philosopher. How do you know me so well?'

18-26. 'Since I lost my own business, I have made up for it by minding that of everybody else. I was known as the great connoisseur, and dealer in everything, from antiquities to houses and gardens.'

26, 27. *H.* 'I know, and I wondered how you got rid of that madness.'

27–30. *D.* 'As others do—the madness only changed its place.'

31. Horace makes a light answer, and Damasippus goes on more seriously to lay down the truth that has explained life to him, and so reconciled him to it.

31–76. 'I was going to drown myself for shame; but Stertinius saved me from that folly, and bade me become a philosopher, by explaining to me that I was no worse than others—only one more madman in a mad world. Everybody is mad but the true philosopher. It is only a choice of follies. Some are afraid where no fear is—others are not afraid where they should be. Damasippus is mad on buying old statues—Is not the money-lender mad who supplies him with means to do it?'

77–81. All passions are equally signs of madness—ambition—avarice—extravagance—superstition.

82–157. *Avarice* first. Staberius bade his heirs engrave on his tomb the amount of the fortune he had left. That seemed to him the one solid title to fame. That is a madness which matches Aristippus, who flung away his money in the desert. Money is of value, but only to use. Avarice is not thought madness, merely because it is so common. Why do you hoard? For fear you come to poverty? Your petty economies do not affect the result. On the other hand if you can live on so little, why commit such crimes in order to get more? See the picture of the wealthy miser Opimius, dying of starvation for fear of the cost of a rice pudding.

158–222. Is the man who spends his life on *ambition* less mad? Servius Oppidius of Canusium, when he was afraid of signs of avarice in one son and extravagance in another, not only forbade them either to increase or diminish their patrimony, but specially forbade either to accept a public office, as sure to lead to waste of money on the vain attempt to ape the wealthy. Poor Ajax was mad when he slaughtered the sheep—was not Agamemnon, when for fame and power he slew his daughter?

225–280. The extravagant spending on *luxury*. Look at the types of the spendthrift: Nomentanus, the moment he has inherited a fortune, summoning all the ministers of his pleasure and (in effect) dividing it between them—'You deserve it more than I': the son of Aesopus melting a valuable pearl to drink: the sons of Arrius breakfasting on nightingales. If a grown-up man took to childish sports all would put him down as mad. Are not the follies of love as childish? the changes of mood—the silly omens—the baby-talk—and it ends in murder and suicide.

281–295. *Superstition*—the old man who used to ask the gods to give him immunity from death—'*one* was such an easy favour'; the mother who vows that if her boy is saved from a fever he shall do something which is sure to give him another.

296–299. 'You see Stertinius armed me well—and anyone who calls me a madman now will get as good as he gave.'

300–326. *H.* 'You are a perfect Stoic—so tell me what is my madness—I do not see it.'

*D.* 'Madmen never do.'

*H.* 'Be it so, but tell me.'

*D.* 'You are given to building, aping your betters, like the frog that would be as large as an ox. You write poetry—you have a bad temper—you live beyond your means—you are always fancying yourself in love.'

*H.* 'Enough!—we are both madmen; but the greater should have some mercy on the smaller.'

'SIC raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
Membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
Iratus tibi quod vini somnique benignus
Nil dignum sermone canas. Quid fiet? At ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti. Sobrius ergo
Dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe. Nil est:
Culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
Iratis natus paries dis atque poëtis.
Atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis
Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.

1. **Sic.** The reading is doubtful; the balance a little in favour of 'si.' On the other hand only some of the MSS. which give 'si' give 'scribes,' which seems necessary if it is to be a regular conditional sentence, 'si scribes . . . quid fiet?' But 'si' and 'sic' are so frequently interchanged (cp. Od. 1. 16. 8 and Epp. 2. 2. 175, where 'sic' is certain, yet 'si' is found in the best MSS.) that weight must be given to the sense, and this is surely for 'sic.' The conditional sentence would be ill-balanced, and on the other side the direct assault in the opening words has more spirit. With 'sic'='tam' cp. Sat. 1. 5. 69 'gracili sic tamque pusillo.' For the lengthened vowel in **scribis** see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

2. **membranam**: the parchment is here evidently for making a 'fair copy.' Horace does not ask for the parchment, because he is for ever rubbing out again what he writes on his 'tabulae' (Epp. 2. 2. 110), 'saepe stilum vertens' (Sat. 1. 10. 72), in the metaphor he uses here ('retexens'), treating it like Penelope's web. 'Membrana' is used in the same sense in A. P. 389. He is perhaps, under cover of Damasippus' charges, suggesting the true reason of the scantiness of production of which his friends so often complained, viz. his fastidiousness of taste.

4. **dignum sermone**, λόγου ἄξιον, but with the more definite meaning of 'deserving to be talked of,' 'Romana venire in ora' Epp. 1. 3. 9.

**at**, so Bentley after V, and most editors follow him, though K. and H. give 'Ab.' 'At,' as usual, introduces an imagined answer, 'You reply that, so far from being the man of pleasure I describe, you have taken refuge in your country-home from the revelry of the Saturnalia in Rome. Well then you have no excuse for not composing—begin. Nothing comes, only excuses.'

5. With **fugisti Saturnalibus**, cp. Juv. S. 7. 96 'vinum toto nescire Decembri,' of the industrious poet.

6. **dic**, of poetical composition, as usual in the Odes; see Od. 1. 32. 3 n., 3. 25. 7.

**dignum promissis**: A. P. 138.

7. **calami.** Cp. the expansion of this ~~use~~ Pers. S. 3. 10–20.

8. The unhappy wall suffers at the hands of the poet in the throes of composition: cp. Pers. S. 1. 106 of poetry that has cost no effort, 'nec pluteum caedit.' For 'natus' see on Od. 1. 27. 1.

**iratis dis**: Sat. 1. 5. 98. 'Poetis' comes as a comic παρὰ προσδοκίαν.

9. **minantis**: Epp. 1. 8. 3 'multa et praeclara minantem'; like the Greek ἀπειλεῖν, 'of loud or boastful promising.'

10. **si cepisset**: not quite the same as the 'temporal' use of 'si' (see on Epp. 1. 7. 10), for here he speaks of a

Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,
Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?
Invidiam placare paras virtute relicta?
Contemnere miser; vitanda est improba Siren
Desidia, aut quicquid vita meliore parasti
Ponendum aequo animo.' Di te, Damasippe, deaeque
Verum ob consilium donent tonsore. Sed unde
Tam bene me nosti? 'Postquam omnis res mea Ianum
Ad medium fracta est aliena negotia curo,
Excussus propriis. Olim nam quaerere amabam
Quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,

condition. 'Cepisset' in the orat. recta would have been 'ceperit.'

**vacuum**: Od. 1. 32. 1.

**tepido**, because it is winter.

11. **pertinuit**: Sat. 2. 2. 35.

**Menandro**: ablative; 'to squeeze Plato by putting Menander on the top of him.' The literature which Horace is imagined as taking with him is what would give material and spirit for writing Satire. Plato, probably the philosopher (cp. A. P. 310 'Socraticae chartae'), as a treasury of character and moral ideas—it has however been taken also for Plato the comic poet; Menander, as the representative of Greek comedy; and the lampoons of Archilochus, the earliest type of poetical attack and caricature. It should be remembered also that the composition of the Epodes, in which Archilochus was directly the model, apparently was going on at the same time as that of the Second Book of Satires.

12. **tantos**, 'so bulky,' Schol., probably rather as Heind., Orell., etc. 'such great men.' It helps the human metaphor of 'comites educere.'

13, 14. 'Is your reason the odium which your Satire brought on you, and which you would appease by ceasing to champion virtue? You will only be despised.'

14. **Siren**: Hom. Od. 12. 39 f., treated as an allegory of seductive pleasure, as in Epp. 1. 2. 23.

15. **quicquid parasti**, i.e. the consideration which you enjoy.

16. **ponendum** = 'deponendum,' Epp. 1. 10. 31.

17. **verum**: 'true' advice is that which corresponds to the facts of the case.

**tonsore**. The long beard was affected by philosophers (Sat. 1. 3. 133, infr. v. 35). Horace treats it as an inconvenience which Damasippus would fain get rid of. The 'tonsor' would trim it.

18. **Ianum medium**. The expression occurs twice in Cicero (de Off. 2. 25. 90, Phil. 6. 5. 15) and in both cases of the place where monetary business was transacted. Horace (Epp. 1. 1. 54) has 'Ianus summus ab imo.' The exact meaning is not certain. The Scholiasts' notes are a combination of inconsistent explanations. Bentley, followed by Dyer (Dict. Geog. s. v. Rome) takes 'Ianus' to have been the name of a street, possibly a covered way or arcade, near the Forum. 'Summus ab imo' meaning 'from end to end,' and 'medius Ianus' the middle of this arcade. Burn (Rome and Campagna, p. 105) thinks the reference is to arches (perhaps similar to the 'Ianus Quadrifrons' still standing in the Velabrum) on one side of the Forum, used for the transaction of business. Livy (46. 27) speaks of Fulvius Flaccus, as censor, undertaking amongst other works 'forum porticibus tabernisque claudendum et Ianos tres faciendos.' The passage is mutilated, and it is uncertain in what town these works were executed, but if, as seems probable, it was a provincial town, it is still of importance, as the public works of provincial towns were usually imitations of Rome. Cicero (de N. D. 2. 27. 67) explains 'Iani' as = 'transitiones perviae,' and Livy (2. 49) gives the name to the arch of a city gate.

21. A hyperbolical description of 'old curiosities,' the ποδανιπτήρ used by Sisyphus. The reference (as has been

Quid sculptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset;
Callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
Hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
Cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale
Imposuere mihi cognomen compita.' Novi,
Et miror morbi purgatum te illius. 'Atqui
Emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet in cor

pointed out) is probably a literary one to the λεοντοβάμων σκάφη χαλκήλατος, mentioned in a fragment of the Sisyphus of Aeschylus. We notice also that Sisyphus was the mythical founder of Corinth, the home of brass work; cp. Sat. 1. 3. 90 'Evandri manibus tritum,' and see note there.

**vafer**: κέρδιστος . . . ἀνδρῶν Hom. Il. 6. 153.

22. 'The artistic merit of marble sculptures and bronzes.'

**durius**, the opposite of Virgil's 'excudent . . . mollius aera' Aen. 6. 847; cp. A.P. 33 'molles imitabitur aere capillos.'

23. **ponebam**, 'fixed.'

**callidus**, 'as a connoisseur.'

24. **mercarier**: this archaic form of the infin. occurs in Od. 4. 11. 8; Sat. 1. 2. 35, 78, 104, 2. 8. 67; Epp. 2. 1. 94, 2. 2. 148, 151.

**unus**, 'as no one else,' Epp. 1. 9. 1.

25. **Mercuriale cognomen.** Cruquius speaks of one MS. as reading 'Mercurialem,' Torrentius of one or two as reading 'Mercurialis,' Lambinus of several as reading 'Mercuriali,' which latter reading has been adopted by many editors, including Prof. Palmer. They seem however to be all interpretative emendations. 'Mercuriale cognomen' has been variously understood. The Comm. Cruq. (followed by Lambinus and of recent editors, Heindorf, Orelli, Ritter, Schutz) took it as meaning 'the nick-name of "Mercurius."' Acr., interpreting it more generally, by 'a nick-name related to Mercurius' (the god of gain), understood some name such as 'cerdo' (κέρδος). Porph. seems to take it as practically identical in sense with the other readings, 'a nick-name from Mercurius;' meaning the 'nick-name Mercurialis:' 'Mercurialis' would not be immediately connected with the 'collegium' called 'Mercuriales' at Rome, but would mean 'a favourite of Mercury,' just as Horace calls poets from another function of Mercury's 'viri Mercuriales' Od. 2. 17. 29. This is followed by Ascensius among older editors, by Dill^r. and Macleane among recent ones.

26. **compita** ('peto'), broad spaces where several streets met. They are possibly named only as places where men meet and talk, as in Sat. 2. 6. 50 'a Rostris manat per compita rumor,'—but the Scholiast explains it probably of the auctions which took place commonly in such places. Cicero (de Leg. Agr. 1. 3. 7) speaks of an auction held 'in atriis auctionariis' instead of 'in triviis aut compitis' as a hole-and-corner proceeding. Damasippus was known to the frequenters of auctions as the most skilful of purchasers.

27. **morbi purgatum**, a Greek gen. cp. 'sceleris purus'; Od. 1. 22. 1; Livy uses it 37. 28. 1.

**atqui** introduces Damasippus' answer as Sat. 1. 9. 52 and frequently.

28. **mire** answers 'miror'; 'it is a marvel—but it is as happens in physical maladies also.' Doubts have been entertained what the new malady is, but the differences are not as deep as some editors represent. The Scholiasts explain it of the Stoic philosophy, and so Ritter, saying that Damasippus would accommodate his language to Horace, 'what *you* would call a new malady.' It is pointed out as against this that Stoicism has not yet been named. But, though not his philosophy, it is his philosophising, his readiness to lecture others, to meddle in other people's business (v. 19). Damasippus will not allow even of himself the uncorrected phrase 'morbi purgatum.' For him, as for all but the true philosopher, it was only a question of one mental malady or another. When Horace (v. 31) by his light answer seems to be missing his drift he presses the lesson home, 'I fear you mistake me' ('de te fabula narratur')—'*you* are mad also—and well nigh all the world.'

**cor**, 'the stomach,' as καρδία: see below, v. 161.

Traiecto lateris miseri capitisve dolore,
Ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget.'
Dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet. 'O bone, ne te
Frustrere, insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
Si quid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira
Descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
Solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam
Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
Nam male re gesta cum vellem mittere operto
Me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et, Cave faxis

29. **traiecto**: acc. to Porph. a technical word (Gr. μεθίστασθαι, μετάστασις) for the shifting of disease from one organ to another.

**miseri**, 'aching.' Orelli quotes Plaut. Poen. 5. 2. 43 'miseram buccam.' Cp. Sat. 1. 9. 32 'laterum dolor,' where the Scholiasts annotate 'pleuritis.'

30. **ut cum**, to be taken together, ὡς ὅτε.

**lethargicus cum fit pugil**, etc., where he passes suddenly from the 'lethargus,' which Celsus defines as 'marcor et paene expugnabilis dormiendi necessitas,' to 'phrenesis,' in which 'difficilior somnus, prompta ad omnem audaciam mens est' Cels. 3. 20. For a picture of a 'lethargicus' see below, v. 142 f.

**hic**, δεικτικῶς, 'yonder'; cp. v. 23 'huic.'

31. **esto**, 'let it be'; **ut libet** echoes the 'ut solet,' 'ut cum.' Horace feigns to take Damasippus literally, and to expect to be assaulted himself.

**o bone**, ὦ 'γαθέ, Sat. 2. 6. 51: the voc. alone 16. 95, Epp. 2. 2. 37, in earnest or affectedly earnest appeals. See also in plur. Sat. 2. 2. 1.

**ne frustrere**: as is usual in Horace, not an imperative, but a final clause, 'that you may not deceive yourself (let me tell you) you also are mad.' See on Od. 1. 33. 1.

32. **et tu**, 'you also.'

**prope omnes**, as the Greek σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, an habitual softening of a sweeping statement; see on Sat. 1. 3. 96. With this discourse should be read Cicero's rendering of the Stoic paradox, ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται Parad. 4.

33. **Stertinius**: see Introd.

**crepat**: see on Od. 1. 18. 5. Add Epp. 1. 7. 84, Plaut. Mil. G. 3. 1. 56, of the man who would talk law at a dinner-table, and Lucr. 2. 1168 of the man who always harps on the good old times; 'if there is any truth in what is always on Stertinius' tongue.'

**unde**, from whose lips; see on Sat. 1. 6. 12.

35. **sapientem pascere barbam**, 'to grow the beard of wisdom'; for the beard as belonging to philosophers see on Sat. 1. 3. 133.

**pascere**, as Virg. Aen. 7. 391 'sacrum tibi pascere crinem.'

36. **Fabricio ponte**: the bridge (Ponte di quattro Capi) which still exists between the island and the old Campus Martius. It was built (Dion Cass. 37. 45) B.C. 62. An inscription on it says that it was built by 'L. Fabricius, curator viarum.'

37. **male re gesta**: for the phrase and its correlative 'bene rem gerere' see infr. v. 74. With this picture cp. Liv. 4. 12 'multi ex plebe, spe amissa, . . . capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.'

**operto capite**, as in the passage of Livy just cited. It was the familiar attitude of meeting death. Socrates covers his head in Plato's Phaedo, Caesar in Suetonius, Jul., 82, Decius in Liv. 8. 9.

38. **dexter**, 'on the right,' and so with good omen, as a good genius. Virg. Aen. 8. 302, to Hercules: 'Dexter adi.'

**cave**. The last syllable is shortened in the conversational style, as infr. v. 177, Epp. 1. 13. 19. It is long in Epod. 6. 11, so 'vidĕ' in Pers. Sat. 1. 108. The constr. 'cave faxis,' without a negative particle, is found in Cicero as 'cave putes,' 'mind you do not think,' ad Fam. 10. 12. 1.

Te quicquam indignum ; pudor, inquit, te malus angit,
Insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.
Primum nam inquiram quid sit furere : hoc si erit in te
Solo, nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.
Quem mala stultitia et quemcunque inscitia veri
Caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
Autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges
Excepto sapiente tenet. Nunc accipe, quare
Desipiant omnes aeque ac tu, qui tibi nomen
Insano posuere. Velut silvis, ubi passim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit,
Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit : unus utrique
Error, sed variis illudit partibus ; hoc te
Crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille,
Qui te deridet, caudam trahat. Est genus unum

39. **pudor malus.** The expression recurs in Epp. I. 16. 24: 'malus,' as infr. vv. 43 and 78, is of the consequences, 'mischievous.'

**angit,** 'tortures'; the pain must be extreme to have such a result.

40. **insanos inter,** 'in a world of madmen.'

41. **primum inquiram.** The Stoic begins, in character, with a definition.

42. **nil verbi** : the gen. of an adj. is more usual ; but cp. Plaut. Bacch. 4. 8. 18 'nihil lucri.'

**pereas quin,** 'to prevent your dying.'

43. **et quemcunque,** as Ritter points out, is a stronger statement than that of the first clause, 'et' having, as often, the force of 'and indeed,' so that it is not necessary to supply 'cunque' with the first 'quem.'

44. **caecum.** The essence of madness is the not seeing where you are going.

**Chrysippi,** infr. v. 287, Sat. I. 3. 127, Epp. I. 2. 4.

**porticus,** στοὰ ποικίλη, in which Zeno and his successors taught, and from which the sect was named.

**grex** : not as it is in Epp. I. 4. 16 'Epicuri de grege,' with a special colour on it from the context, but in the general sense in which it is used in Epp. I. 9. 13, 'the Portico and all its company.'

45. **autumat,** 'affirmat,' Acr. It is a frequent word in Plautus, occurring once in Terence, Horace, Catullus.

**formula . . . tenet.** Ritter seems right in explaining this as a legal phrase ; 'this definition attaches.' He quotes from Cic. de Off. 3. 14. 60, where 'formula' and 'definitio' are used convertibly of the legal definition of an offence.

**populos . . . reges** : of number and rank ; whole peoples, and from the peasant to the prince, there is only one exception.

48. **passim palantes.** These words put shortly what is in the following words more fully described in its process : 'as in a forest ; when men lose their way they miss the path, one on one side, another on the other.'

51. **variis partibus,** 'on different sides.'

**hoc modo** : usually taken as = 'sic,' answering to 'velut'; 'ut' then introducing a consequential clause. It is perhaps better to let the 'sic' which should answer to 'velut' be understood, and take 'hoc modo . . . ut' together in the sense of 'ita ut,' as limiting the scope of 'crede te insanum,' 'to this extent,' 'in such a cause,' only, that.'

53. **caudam trahat.** According to the Scholiast a proverbial expression for being a fool without knowing it : 'solent pueri nescientibus caudam suspendere' ; the tail he explains to be a sheep's tail. The man who laughs at you for having a tail tied to you, has one himself.

Stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignes,
Ut rupes fluviosque in campo obstare queratur;
Alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignes
Per medios fluviosque ruentis. Clamet amica
Mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis pater, uxor:
'Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima, serva!'
Non magis audierit quam Fufius ebrius olim,
Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
'Mater, te appello!' clamantibus. Huic ego volgus
Errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.

53–62. 'It is foolish to fear where there is nothing to fear, as you did when you would have killed yourself to avoid the ridicule of men as foolish as yourself; but it is equally foolish to ignore real obstacles and dangers.'

54. **nihilum**, as an adv. with 'metuenda.' So below v. 210.

**timentis.** It is difficult to say whether this agrees with 'stultitiae,' a personal subj. being supplied for 'queratur,' or whether the masc. gen. should be understood with it.

56. **varum**, a coloured equivalent to 'dissimile,' and taking the same construction (dative); by the word 'varum' Horace implies that both are deformities. It is like two legs, equally crooked, though they are bent in different directions.

**ignes.** For the metaphorical use of 'ignes,' 'rupes,' etc. cp. Sat. 1. 1. 39, Epp. 1. 1. 46. He is speaking of the headlong pursuit of the objects of desire.

57. **clamet.** For the omission of any conditional or concessive particle see on Sat. 1. 1. 45, Epp. 1. 1. 28.

**amica mater**, 'melius est sic accipi, ut sit ex Graeco tractum, φίλη μήτηρ, quam per se, *amica*, per se deinde, *mater*, quia mentionem uxoris facit in sequentibus' Porph. Each of the first two relations has an epithet indicating its special claim on him—'honesta' = 'deserving respect'; 'cum cognatis' serves the same purpose with the last two, 'with all his kith and kin.' For Horace's way of varying a list by the use of 'cum' see below v. 229, and cp. Sat. 1. 10. 85, Epp. 1. 6. 17, 2. 1. 5, A. P. 145.

60. The allusion is to an incident which occurred in the acting of the Ilione of Pacuvius, a play to which Cicero refers more than once, and from which he quotes the same words (Tusc. Disp. 1. 44. 106, Acad. 2. 27. 88, pro Sest. 59. 126). Ilione, the daughter of Priam and the wife of Polymnestor, had in this version of the story substituted her brother Polydorus (see Virg. Aen. 3. 49 foll.) for her son Deiphilus. Deiphilus has been killed under this error by his father, and his shade rises and calls on his mother Ilione, 'Mater, te appello, quae curam somno suspensam levas, Neque te mei miseret, surge et repete natum.' Fufius, who is acting the part of Ilione, seems to have gone really to sleep, and not to have been waked by the appeals of Catienus who acted Deiphilus.

61. **cum . . . edormit**, as 'cum praecipitat' inf. v. 277, and as the common use of 'dum' with the pres. of a past action.

**Ilionam edormit** = acts to the full, over-acts, the part of the sleeping Ilione.

**mille ducentis**: perhaps as the double of 'sescenti' (as that is of 'trecenti,' cp. Od. 2. 14. 5) for an indefinitely large number. 'Sleeps, though not one Catienus but twelve hundred shout at him!' The picture is of the audience entering into the joke and taking up Catienus' appeal in the vain endeavour to waken Fufius.

62. **huic errori.** 'Errori' takes us back to 'error.' '*This* mode of going astray' is the second alternative of vv. 53–62, viz. the pursuit of ends and indulgence of passions without heed of the difficulties and dangers.

63. **similem**, sc. 'errorem,' the cogn. accus. after 'insanire,' as in Epp. 1. 1. 101.

Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
Integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? Esto!
Accipe quod nunquam reddas mihi, si tibi dicam,
Tune insanus eris si acceperis? an magis excors
Reiecta praeda quam praesens Mercurius fert?
'Scribe decem a Nerio; non est satis: adde Cicutae
Nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas:

64, 65. **insanit . . . creditor.** These are the two judgments of the supposed opponent which Stertinius, after ironically allowing them (**esto!**), proceeds to show to be inconsistent with one another.

**integer mentis**, as 'integer vitae' Od. 1. 22. 1.

66–76. Stertinius propounds a dilemma: he personates the 'creditor Damasippi,' and imagines two alternative forms under which he may offer his loan to his insolvent borrower. He may say at once 'Take it and don't repay it.' In that case surely Damasippus is not mad if he assents. Or he may demand bonds and securities, which are as useless as the attempts to bind Proteus. In that case he is at least the madder of the two.

66. **accipe quod nunquam reddas** = 'accipe hoc ea conditione ut non reddas.'

67. **excors**: Epp. 1. 2. 25, 'senseless.'

68. **Mercurius**: see on v. 25. The Greeks called a windfall or lucky venture ἑρμαῖον.

69–71. The general sense, as explained on v. 66, is clear; but even the Scholiasts were in doubt as to the technical terms and the significance of the names.

69. **scribe decem a Nerio.** Either 'Enter (on the debtor side of your account) ten (sestertia?) from Nerius,' or 'Sign ten bonds ('tabulas' understood from the next clause) of Nerius's.' Düntzer quotes Cic. Att. 16. 7 'Antonii edictum legi a Bruto,' as meaning 'after Brutus,' i.e. in his style. If this were so it would suit, but query whether it does not mean 'received from Brutus.' In either case Nerius must not be taken to be a real party to the transaction, but to be the stern money-lender, (or as Profs. Palmer and Maguire suggest, banker, through whom the money was to be advanced), which the 'creditor Damasippi' is supposed to use in order to make his debtor understand the terms on which he stands; 'Understand that you are borrowing as from (or through) Nerius.' Persius (2. 14) takes the name of Nerius from this place, and the Scholiast explains that he was 'fenerator notissimus.' As between the two explanations of the ellipsis with 'decem,' both offered by the Scholiast, it is difficult to choose. A satisfactory parallel for the ellipsis of 'sestertia' is quoted by Bentley (on Epp. 2. 1. 105) from the Digest 12. c. 40 'L. Titius *scripsi* me accepisse *a* P. Maevio *quindecim* mutua,'—the formula of a note of hand. On the other hand, it is difficult to separate 'decem' entirely from 'centum' and 'mille,' as that explanation compels us to do. 'Decem tabulas' is not literal any more than 'centum tabulas.' It is an attempt to give to degrees of intensity a numerical expression: 'Sign ten times over, a hundred times over, binding agreements.'

**non est satis.** If 'scribe decem a Nerio' is, as seems probable, in the mouth of the supposed 'creditor,' the words that follow are Stertinius' comment, urging him on to more precautions, but telling him beforehand that they are all idle. 'Cicuta' (see inf. v. 175) has the air of a nick-name (see below on v. 75), 'fenerator qui propter asperitatem et amaritudinem cognominatus est' Schol.

70. **nodosi**, 'with his knots.' The association seems twofold: (1) with the use of 'nodus' of tangled and intricate points of law ('iuris nodos' Juv. S. 8. 50); (2) with the use of legal subtleties for purposes of constraint and oppression. Cp. Lucretius' frequent use of 'nodus,' 'nodi religionum,' etc. Notice that this word seems to suggest the metaphor of 'catenas,' and the full figure of Proteus and the attempts to bind him.

Effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
Cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,
Fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum et cum volet arbor.'
Si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,
Putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli,
Dictantis quod tu nunquam rescribere possis.
Audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
Ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
Quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
Aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me,
Dum doceo insanire omnes, vos ordine adite.

71. **Proteus**, the sea-god, as described in Hom. Odyss. 4. 485 and Virg. Georg. 4. 387 foll. He would only give oracles when he was bound, but when men tried to bind him he eluded them by changing into a thousand shapes.

72. **malis ridentem alienis.** There can hardly but be some relation to Homer's γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισιν Odyss. 22. 345, though how close an one it is difficult to say. Eustathius in loc. tells us that the words had passed into a proverb, and proverbs, especially in another language, are constantly misused. It is possible that Horace, reminded of the Odyssey by the image of Proteus, recalls the words and purposely gives them a quasi-comic adaptation. It is possible again that they occur to him as a blank form of expression without their context, as 'cui bono' occurred to Byron, and he puts his own meaning to them (see his use of a Greek proverb in v. 276). What the actual meaning put on them is, is not certain. It may be his disguises, 'laughing from behind strange masks,' or it may be with a play on 'aes alienum,' of the debtor's complete indebtedness, 'laughing as though even his cheeks were borrowed (and so need not be spared).'

74. **bene**, sc. 'gerere.'

75. **putidius**, as we speak of 'addled brains.'

**Perelli**: this and not 'Perilli' is the spelling of the MSS. 'Perellius' is identified by the Acr. with the 'Cicuta' of v. 69. It may be so. In any case the name is here given to the 'creditor' of whom we are speaking, so that it is 'a Perellius,' i. e. 'a moneylender.'

76. **dictantis . . . rescribere**: the correlatives from two sides of *scribe* in v. 69. The money-lender *prescribes* the formula of the bond, the borrower *writes* and signs it, and should by and by cancel it, write it off, by repayment of the money borrowed.

**tu.** Stertinius is again addressing Damasippus.

77 foll. Here Stertinius' discourse takes a larger sweep, as he fancies himself addressing an audience. It is in appearance brought within the framework of the Satire in v. 296, but we are hardly intended actually to picture Stertinius as delivering it to Damasippus on the bridge. See what I have said of Ofellus's sermon in introd. to Sat. 2. 2.

77. **togam componere.** The Schol. explain it of the respect due to a teacher. They also notice the **ὕστερον πρότερον**. It is like Virgil's 'moriamur et in media arma ruamus' Aen. 2. 353, etc., the order not of chronology of fact but of prominence in thought.

78. **ambitione mala**: Sat. 2. 6. 18; cp. the epithets 'misera gravique' Sat. 1. 6. 129.

**pallet**, as 'morbo calet,' the language of medicine.

81. Some question has been raised as to the punctuation. Heindorf puts the stop at 'vos,' Prof. Palmer at 'ordine,' in order to indicate that 'omnes' is not 'all men' but 'you all,' the classes of 'stulti' who have been already named; but even if we stop at 'omnes,' as on rhythmical grounds it seems well to do, we naturally understand 'vos' as a subj. to 'insanire.'

**ordine adite**, as to an oracle rather than a lecturer. For a somewhat simila mixture of figures cp. Od. 3. 1. 1 foll.

Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris ;
Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
Heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulcro :
Ni sic fecissent gladiatorum dare centum
Damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
Frumenti quantum metit Africa. 'Sive ego prave
Seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi.' Credo
Hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. 'Quid ergo
Sensit cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo
Heredes voluit?' Quoad vixit credidit ingens

82. **ellebori**, 'hellebore' (Helleborus orientalis, Linnaeus) was held a specific for mental maladies, Plin. N. H. 25. 5.

**pars maxima**: as to those whose madness is the maddest.

83. **nescio an**, 'I am pretty sure.'

**Anticyram omnem**, 'the whole store of Anticyra'; see below v. 166 and A. P. 300 'tribus Anticyris caput insanabile.' The Anticyra where Strabo tells us the best hellebore grew, and there was a 'cure' for madness, was in Phocis on the 'Crissaeus sinus'; see A. P. l. c.

84. **summam**, sc. 'hereditatis.' Staberius is quoted as an extreme instance of the value attached to money; he cared for the posthumous reputation of having had it.

85. **centum paria**: a hundred pairs of gladiators would be an unusually large number.

86. **damnati**: a proper legal use for an obligation imposed by the terms of a will; the phrase used would be 'damnas esto dare . . .'

**epulum**, 'a funeral feast.'

**arbitrio Arri**, 'such as Arrius would order': the reference is to a famous funeral feast which Q. Arrius (Cic. in Vatin. 12 foll.) had given in honour of his father. Cicero speaks of 'many thousands' having been entertained at it.

87. **frumenti**, a third obligation, viz. a 'frumentatio' or general distribution of corn. The hyperbolical description of the amount is like Od. 1. 1. 10 'quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.' Bentley, offended at the asyndeton, proposed to read in v. 81 'Arri et.' Heindorf proposes 'Frumenti et.'

88. **ne sis patruus mihi**, 'do not come the uncle over me'; see on Sat. 2. 2. 97. These words are suggested as Staberius' answer to any one of his heirs who criticised his conditions. Stertinius goes on to throw his shield over Staberius; he was acting with foresight and consistency.

**ne sis.** This is one of the exceptions allowed by Madv. (Opusc. 2. p. 105) to the rule that in prohibitions addressed to a definite person writers of the classical age used the perf. subj. not the pres. subj. Mr. Postgate in the Journal of Philology (vol. 18, p. 326) suggests that 'ne sis patruus,' though apparently addressed to a definite person, is the application in a particular instance of a proverbial saying like Cicero's 'actum ne agas' ad Att. 9. 18. 3, of which Madv. l. c. gives that explanation. But see on Sat. 2. 5. 17.

89. **hoc . . . vidisse.** Orelli, Düntzer, and others throw the emphasis on **prudentem**; 'I imagine in making this provision Staberius showed a farseeing mind.' Without raising the question whether 'vidisse' could be so used by Horace, this seems forbidden by the relative places of 'hoc' and 'prudentem.' The emphasis must surely be on the first of the two. It may be still doubted what 'hoc' refers to. Heindorf takes it of the attitude of the heirs which has been assumed in Staberius' words. Perhaps it may be better taken of the explanation to follow in vv. 94 f. 'This I imagine is what Staberius looked forward to.' An interlocutor is supposed to interrupt with 'Quid ergo sensit,' etc. 'What do you mean he perceived?' 'sensit,' being an echo of 'vidisse': for 'ergo' in an impatient question, cutting short or implying doubt of what has just been said, cp. v. 156.

91. **quoad**, a monosyllable, as always in Lucretius: so 'prout' Sat. 2. 6. 67.

Pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut si
Forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset
Ipse videretur sibi nequior: omnis enim res,
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
Divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit ille
Clarus erit, fortis, iustus. Sapiensne? Etiam; et rex,
Et quicquid volet. Hoc veluti virtute paratum
Speravit magnae laudi fore. Quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? qui servos proicere aurum

92. **ut**, 'so that.'

93. **perisset . . . videretur.** The tenses are proper: 'videretur,' because it is in strict sequence to 'credidit,' etc., 'so that he seemed to himself a worse man' being equivalent to 'so that it seemed to him that he would be a worse man'—'futurus' might have been added to 'nequior': 'perisset,' because it stands for 'perierit' thrown into past time in the orat. obl. 'Periret,' which divides the MSS., would not be wrong; but the plpft. is more exact, as the being (or being thought) a worse man is the sentence which is imagined as following the crime of dying a poorer one: cp. (with Bentl.) the relation of 'vidisset' to 'crederet' in Sat. I. 6. 79. Prof. Palmer's criticism, that 'periret' is right because if the man had been already dead he would have known nothing of the matter, ties Horace to a logical point of view which would have been strange to him. It is like Aristotle's famous criticism on Solon's saying that no one should be counted happy till he was dead (Eth. N. I. 11). Horace would have erred with Solon and Sophocles, not have been right with Aristotle.

94. **nequior** = 'abiectior': 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis' Sat. I. I. 62 (Orelli): but perhaps a moral sense is felt, as it is the conclusion which he drew from his faulty premiss that poverty was a moral vice.

**omnis enim res**, etc. Stertinius ironically adopts Staberius' premiss.

95. **pulchris**, a transl. of *καλός*: cp. Epp. I. 2. 30 'pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies,' and Virgil's 'pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis,' of types of honour.

96. **parent**, 'are the subjects of'; wealth is the sovereign. Cp. Epp. I. I. 53 'quaerenda pecunia primum est: Virtus post nummos.' He inverts the true Stoic doctrine 'virtuti omnia parent' Sall. Cat. 2. 7.

**construxerit**, 'raised a pile.' Cp. Sat. I. I. 44 'quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?' Some good MSS. have 'contraxerit.'

97. **sapiensne?** Stertinius asks and answers the question himself, as also in vv. 89, 90, and below in vv. 99–102, vv. 158 foll. Heindorf points out that it is an imitation of the Stoic style, quoting Cic. Paradox I 'Cato, perfectus mea sententia Stoicus . . . minutis interrogatiunculis quasi punctis quod proposuit efficit.' Stertinius (as Prof. Palmer points out) is ironically inverting (see on v. 96) his own true view. Contrast Sat. I. 3. 124, where the 'sapiens' is said to be 'dives' and 'rex.'

**etiam**, 'even so'; the nearest equivalent to our 'yes,' as in Cicero: see especially Acad. 4. 32 'aut "etiam" aut "non" respondere.'

98. **hoc**, sc. wealth. Here we have Staberius' true motive. To have possessed wealth was a proof of virtue, and, if the fact was remembered, a security for fame.

99. **quid simile**, sc. 'fecit,' not as Orelli = 'quam dissimile!' The thought though thrown into the rhetorical form of questions is 'the point of view of Staberius and Aristippus is the same. Neither is more or less mad than the other. Neither understood the true use of wealth.'

100. **Aristippus**: Epp. I. I. 18, I. 17. 14 foll.; the founder of the Cyrenaic school, the predecessors of the Epicureans. The story which Horace tells is to be found in Diog. Laert. 2. 77. Horace lays the scene of it in Libya,

In media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
Propter onus segnes. Uter est insanior horum?
Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
Nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli;
Si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela
Aversus mercaturis; delirus et amens
Undique dicatur merito. Qui discrepat istis
Qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
Compositis, metuensque velut contingere sacrum?
Si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum
Porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
Audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,
Ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris;
Si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni
Mille cadis—nihil est, tercentum milibus—acre
Potet acetum; age, si et stramentis incubet, unde-

i.e. in a journey to or from Cyrene. 'Graecus' = 'in the Greek story,' but perhaps it is dramatic and depreciatory, as though Cyrenaicism (and Epicureanism) were Greek, Stoicism the Roman school. Stertinius is hitting hard the founder of the school of thought most opposed to his own.

103. It is of no use to set up Staberius against Aristippus or Aristippus against Staberius. Each is open to criticism in turn. You have only substituted one question for another. Take examples from some other art; it will be seen at once that a man who accumulates implements and then does not use them is thought a madman.

104. **emat . . . emptas**, 'buy, and after buying pile them on a heap.' For the effect of the repetition Orelli quotes Virg. Aen. 6. 420 'offam Obiicit; ille . . . Corripit obiectam,' Ov. Met. 9. 74 '(Hydram) domui domitamque peregi.'

105. **nec Musae.** If he were fond of music at all he might have some conceivable use for the instruments, even if he could not play them himself.

106. **formas**, 'a shoemaker's last.'

**non sutor**, 'one who is not a cobbler.'

108. **undique**, 'on all hands,' i.e. by every one; see on Od. 1. 7. 7.

**qui**, 'how,' as Sat. 1. 1. 1.

110. **compositis**, 'after he has stored them'; 'componere opes' Virg. Aen. 8. 317.

**velut.** To complete the sentence 'contingere' must be understood before it, 'fearing to touch them as to touch what is sacred'; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 71 'tamquam parcere sacris Cogeris,' a parallel for the position of 'velut' as well as for the thought.

111. **acervum.** The picture is (as Ritter points out) of corn just thrashed out on the 'area,' which its owner watches himself till it is sold or carried home.

113. **esuriens dominus**, 'though hungry and the master of it.'

**contingere.** Repeated from v. 110 in order to point the similitude.

114. **parcus**, absol. 'as a miser.'

115. **Chii . . . Falerni**, 'of the best Greek and Italian wines'; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 24.

117. **acetum**, 'wine turned sour.'

**age, si.** So Cic. Phil. 5. 11. 27 'Age, si paruerit,' 'Nay, if he disobey,' etc.

**stramentis**, 'a straw bed.'

**unde-Octoginta.** For the division between the two verses cp. Epp. 2. 2. 93 'circum-Spectemus,' A. P. 424 'inter-Noscere,' Porph. (on Epp. 2. 2. 93) speaks of it as a licence copied from

Octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,
Blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:
Nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.
Filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
Dis inimice senex, custodis? Ne tibi desit?
Quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,
Ungere si caules oleo meliore caputque
Coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? Quare,
Si quidvis satis est, periuras, surripis, aufers
Undique? Tun sanus? Populum si caedere saxis
Incipias servosque tuos quos aere pararis,
Insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae:
Cum laqueo uxorem interimis matremque veneno
Incolumi capite es. Quid enim, neque tu hoc facis Argis,

Lucilius. The apparent exactness, 'but one short of eighty,' gives verisimilitude.

118. **stragula**, fem. adj. etymologically not differing from 'stramentum,' but by usage of luxurious rugs and coverlets.

120. **nimirum**: Epp. 1. 9. 1; 'no doubt,' 'of course,' a particle of irony: this can be the only reason, but it is a sufficient one.

121. **iactatur**, as 'calet' and 'pallet' in vv. 78, 80. Avarice is a fever in which a large part of mankind toss. For 'maxima pars' cp. A. P. 24.

122, 123. Two questions suggesting possible motives for the miser's craving, the first evidently ironical, and sufficiently answered by stating it, the second refuted by the question in 124–126.

122. Cp. Od. 2. 14. 25 foll. 'Absumet heres Caecuba dignior,' etc.

123. **dis inimice**: θεοῖς ἐχθρέ.

**ne tibi desit**, 'for fear you should yourself want.'

124. **enim**: as γάρ, so often, asking for a justification of the previous words. 'Why, how small a sum will be each day's deduction from your capital?'

125. **oleo meliore.** See on Sat. 1. 6. 124, 2. 2. 59.

127. **si quidvis satis est**, 'if you justify your thrift by saying that your wants are very small.'

**surripis, aufers**, 'illud clanculum, hoc vi' Orelli.

128. **populum**, etc. If you threw stones at passers-by, or at your own slaves (those who are nothing to you or those who are your own chattels), you would be hooted as a madman. Are you sane when you murder outright your nearest and dearest (to get their money)?

130. **clamentque.** For the position of 'que,' see on Od. 1. 30. 6, and cp. below, vv. 157 and 182.

132–141. These lines are perhaps best taken by Bentley, making 'incolumi capite es' an affirmative statement, ironically intended. 'Quid enim' (see on Sat. 1. 1. 7) imagines an objection or hesitating assent, and proceeds to confirm the statement:—'Why, you are not at Argos (in old heroic days, and in the land of tragedy) but at Rome, and you do not use a sword as poor mad Orestes did, (but some more deliberate implement of death)':—the points being that the differences given are no differences, or, if they are, are against the modern murderer, and that Orestes was allowed to have been out of his mind. The remainder ('for you surely do not believe that the Furies and the madness came after his crime,—they were its cause; his after performances, when the poets recognise his madness, were quite tame and respectable') is quite in Horace's own vein of playfully rationalizing poetical legends, but it is also possibly (as Ritter thinks) an imitation of the treatment of myths by the Stoic lecturers.

Nec ferro ut demens genitricem occidis Orestes.
An tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,
Ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam
In matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
Quin ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes
Nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis:
Non Pyladen ferro violare ausus ve sororem
Electram, tantum maledicit utrique vocando
Hanc Furiam, hunc aliud iussit quod splendida bilis.
Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
Qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,
Quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres
Iam circum loculos et claves laetus ovansque

135. **ac non**: Epp. 1. 10. 46, 2. 2. 143, where Orelli points out from ~~the~~ Hand. Turs. 1. p. 473, that it is used rather than 'nec' where there is a direct opposition between the negative and the positive definition, in cases, that is, where 'non' might stand alone, 'this, not that.'

**malis**: perh. with an ironical touch, 'those naughty Furies' (see on Sat. 1. 5. 14; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 77). So 'ferrum tepefecit,' an imitation of the Homeric realism (as Virgil, 'hasta . . . tepefacta cerebro' Aen. 9. 418). They introduce the semi-comic conclusion of the passage.

137. **male tutae**, 'unsound.' Bentley showed that 'tutus' was a recognized medical term.

139. **ausus ve**. See above v. 130 and on Od. 1. 30. 6.

141. **Furiam**. As in Eur. Or. 264 *μέθες· μί' οὖσα τῶν ἐμῶν Ἐρινύων | μέσον μ' ὀχμάζεις ὡς βάλῃς εἰς Τάρταρον.* No such abuse of Pylades is found in any extant tragedy.

**splendida bilis**. Horace seems to be playing with medical language, madness being attributed to a special condition of the bile (see A. P. 301 'O ego laevus, Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam,' and Epp. 2. 2. 137) called *μελαγχολία* (whence our 'melancholy') 'atra bilis' (Cels. 2. 1.), and this again being described as having a special glittering appearance, *μέλαινα χολὴ στιλπνοτέρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματός ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς νεκρᾶς θαλάττης ἄσφαλτος* Galen, de causis Symptomatum 2. 50. Persius imitating Horace, but also translating another Greek epithet, *ὑαλώδης*, speaks of 'vitrea bilis' 3. 8.

142. **pauper argenti positi intus**: the gen. as in 'pauperrimus bonorum' Sat. 1. 1. 79, 'dives rerum' Epp. 2. 2. 31: the words 'positi intus,' 'though there was store of it in his house,' turn it into an oxymoron = 'magnas inter opes inops' Od. 3. 16. 28. The name 'Opimius' although it is found in Lucilius, and though it is a familiar Roman name, is evidently used here in consciousness of its etymological meaning, forming an oxymoron with 'pauper,' as 'immitis Glycerae' in Od. 1. 33. 2, etc. See on the whole subject pp. 11, 14.

143. **Veientanum**, a poor wine; in Pers. S. 5. 147 'Veientanum rubellum,' and Mart. 1. 104. 9.

144. **Campana**. Sat. 1. 6. 118, of Horace's own dinner-service, 'Campana supellex.'

**trulla** (dim. of 'trua'), a small dipping-ladle usually of silver, or gold. Martial (9. 97. 1) talks of stealing a 'trulla' as we of stealing spoons.

**vappam**: Sat. 1. 5. 16; 'spoiled wine'; described by Plin. N. H. 14. 25. 20 'vitium musto quibusdam in locis iterum sponte fervere: qua calamitate deperit sapor, vappaeque accipit nomen.'

145. **lethargo**. See above on v. 30.

Curreret. Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
Excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
Effundi saccos nummorum, accedere plures
Ad numerandum; hominem sic erigit; addit et illud:
'Ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'
'Men vivo?' 'Ut vivas igitur, vigila: hoc age.' 'Quid vis?'
'Deficient inopem venae te ni cibus atque
Ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.
Tu cessas? Agedum, sume hoc ptisanarium oryzae.'
'Quanti emptae?' 'Parvo.' 'Quanti ergo?' 'Octussibus.'
'Eheu!
Quid refert morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'
Quisnam igitur sanus? Qui non stultus. Quid avarus?
Stultus et insanus. Quid, si quis non sit avarus,
Continuo sanus? Minime. 'Cur, Stoïce?' Dicam.
Non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)
Hic aeger: recte est igitur surgetque? Negabit,
Quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto.

147. **multum celer.** See on Sat. 1. 3. 57 'multum demissus.' 'Celer,' of readiness of resource.

150. **illud,** of what follows. Sat. 2. 5. 70.

151. **avidus heres.** Od. 4. 7. 19.

152. **vigila,** 'keep yourself awake.'

**hoc age,** 'give all your attention.' Epp. 1. 6. 31, 1. 18. 88. It is the Roman sacrificial formula; cp. Lucr. 1. 41 (Munro's note), 4. 969.

153. **inopem,** 'for lack of support.'

**venae.** Celsus uses the phrase 'venae conciderunt' for 'the pulse is lowered.' Seneca, probably from this passage, writes 'vino fulcire venas cadentes' Epist. 95. 22.

154. **ingens.** The doctor represents the support required as something exceptional and enormous, in order to persuade the patient to face the extravagance of a basin of rice gruel.

**fultura.** The metaphor from a house in danger of collapsing; cp. Lucret. 2. 1140 'fulcire cibus,' 4. 867 'Propterea capitur cibus ut suffulciat artus,' and Seneca as quoted in the last note.

155. **ptisanarium,** πτισανάριον, a dimin., the correl. of 'ingens.'

156. **emptae,** sc. 'oryzae,' continuing the construction. 'What did the rice cost?' The 'ptisanarium' could be made at home.

158. Stertinius is preparing to pass to those suffering 'ambitione mala' (v. 78), but he first insists again that there are different forms of 'stultitia,' but that all 'stulti' are also mad. On the arguments by short questions see on v. 97.

160. **continuo,** 'then and there.'

161. **cardiacus**: Juv. S. 5. 38; suffering from a complaint of the stomach; see above on v. 28.

**Craterum**: another name from Cicero's letters; he is the physician whom Atticus consults, Cic. ad Att. 12. 13. 1, 12. 14. 4. To Persius (from Horace) it has become the conventional name for a doctor, 3. 65.

162. **recte est,** 'is he well?' So in Cic. ad Att. 14. 16.

163. With the substitution of 'si' for 'quod,' and the indic. for the subj., this verse occurs again in Epp. 1. 6. 28.

**latus**: Sat. 1. 9. 32.

**temptentur.** Od. 1. 16. 23. The subj. has the best MS. authority, including 'Bland. omnes.' The reason is given as from Craterus' mouth.

Non est periurus neque sordidus:—immolet aequis
Hic porcum Laribus: verum ambitiosus et audax:—
Naviget Anticyram. Quid enim differt, barathrone
Dones quicquid habes an nunquam utare paratis?
Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives
Antiquo censu, gnatis divisse duobus
Fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis
Ad lectum: 'Postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
Ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
Te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem;
Extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors,
Tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.
Quare per divos oratus uterque Penates,
Tu cave ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id
Quod satis esse putat pater et natura coërcet.
Praeterea ne vos titillet gloria, iure
Iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve

165. **porcum Laribus.** As a thanksgiving for his immunity from these vices.

**audax,** 'reckless.' The argument is narrowing to the 'ambitiosus,' but it has not yet completely done so. He is viewed here and for some time to come as in a way the opposite ('dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt') of the 'avarus,' the man who, instead of hoarding his money, flings it away recklessly on the objects of ambition.

166. **naviget Anticyram,** 'let him sail for Anticyra,' i.e. to be treated with hellebore; cp. vv. 82, 83.

168. **Canusi**: see Sat. I. 5. 91, I. 10. 30. We are in Horace's own neighbourhood in Apulia. Cp. Ofellus in the last Satire.

169. **antiquo censu,** 'as incomes were reckoned in old days.'

**divisse.** For the contraction see on Sat. I. 5. 79.

171. **talos nucesque,** 'a boy's playthings.' Suetonius speaking of Augustus 'animi laxandi causa . . . modo talis . . . nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis'; 'nucibus relictis' Pers. S. I. 10. For 'tali' see on Od. I. 4. 18.

172. **ludere,** sub. 'iis,' 'to play with them,' that is, to gamble, the winner taking the loser's, as Bentley shows; he wished to read 'perdere,' but 'ludere' gives the same sense.

173. **tristem,** 'sour.'

174. **vesania discors,** 'two different kinds of madness.' The MSS. are divided between 'vesania' and 'insania.' If the latter is read this line must be added to the instances quoted on Sat. I. 4. 82, of a short vowel lengthened 'in arsi.' It may be noticed that Horace exhausts in this Satire the designations of madness, 'insanus,' 'demens,' 'amens,' 'delirus,' 'furiosus,' 'commotus,' 'cerritus,' 'desipere.'

175. **Nomentanum.** The Lucilian name for a spendthrift; see on Sat. I. I. 102, and in this Satire v. 224.

**Cicutam,** above v. 69.

176. **divos Penates**: Epp. I. 7. 94.

178. **coërcet,** 'what nature limits,' means what does not exceed the requirements of nature; the needs of luxury are artificial. Cp. Sat. I. I. 49 'intra Naturae fines viventi.'

179. **titillet.** A word of Lucretius (2. 429) and Cicero (de Fin. I. II. 39).

180. **aedilis . . . praetor.** Ritter points out that the two offices named are those which entailed the expense of 'munera,' the charge of the public 'ludi.' Stertinius is still connecting ambition with extravagance.

**fueritve**; see above on v. 130.

Vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,
Latus ut in Circo spatiere et aëneus ut stes,
Nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis;
Scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu,
Astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem.'
Ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?

181. **intestabilis et sacer**, 'outlawed and accursed.' Two distinct legal expressions put together to indicate the extreme of disgrace: the first signifying incapability of giving witness in court or bequeathing property; the second the position of a man who has violated a 'lex sacrata,' and thereby forfeited all rights of life and goods to the divine powers offended. Prof. Palmer notices that 'is . . . esto' is meant to be the formula of the oath imposed, and quotes appositely Plaut. Mil. G. 5. 21–24 '*Py.* Iuro per Iovem et Mavortem me nociturum nemini. *Pl.* Quid si non faxis? *Py.* Ut vivam semper intestabilis.'

182. **cicere . . . faba . . . lupinis**, different kinds of pulse. 'Cicer' occurs in Horace's own fare, Sat. 1. 6. 115, and as the fare of the humbler part of an audience in a Roman theatre in A. P. 249. These are supposed to be thrown to the populace to be scrambled for, as at the Floralia in Pers. S. 5. 176 'cicer ingere large Rixanti populo.' They are not mentioned as a type of the largest expenditure on such objects, but of the smaller acts of largesse, which are yet enough to ruin those who with small fortunes try to rival the great and wealthy in the race of bribery.

**tu.** Either of the sons; the contrast is not now between the two, but between either of them and Agrippa, see on v. 185.

183. **latus spatiere**: for the literal sense cp. Epod. 4. 8 'cum bis trium ulnarum toga,' with note thereon. Bentley quoted passages to show that it had acquired also a metaphorical sense of walking proudly, with an air and ostentation, as Sen. Epist. 76 of actors, 'lati (there is a v. l. 'elati') incesserunt et cothurnati,' etc.

**in Circo.** The aedile might take a turn in the circus to be recognized and complimented on his liberality.

**aëneus stes**, 'have a statue of bronze'; cp. 'levi de marmore tota . . . stabis' Virg. Ecl. 7. 31, and see on Od. 4. 1. 20 'ponet marmoream,' Epp. 2. 1. 265 'proponi cereus.' So frequently χαλκοῦν τινὰ ἱστάναι, as Demosth. Lept. 493.

184. **insane**, the keynote of the Satire; but, as with 'vesania' in v. 174, the point is the natural way in which the charge comes from the lips of Oppidius.

185. **Agrippa**: see introd. to Ode 1. 6. He was Aedile in B.C. 33, and discharged the office with great magnificence, Dion 49. 43, Plin. N. H. 36. 24. 15. This allusion gives us a date before which the Satire could not have been written.

186. 'Quia quod leo viribus hoc volpes astutia agit' Acr. No fable is found to which this is a definite reference, but Horace frequently uses in a proverbial way the raw material of fables.

187–223. Ambition as leading to other crimes. The instance taken is that of Agamemnon sacrificing Iphigenia to effect his political purpose (N.B. that this is a scene vividly drawn, though used for another purpose, in Lucretius 1). The bearing of the act is exhibited in a supposed dialogue between Agamemnon and an unknown speaker, who expresses the views of the Stoic Stertinius. The idea of this is suggested no doubt by some Greek dramatic scene, as that in the Ajax of Sophocles, in which Menelaus forbids Teucer to bury his brother Ajax (see note on v. 204). The unknown Stoic pleads the cause of Ajax by showing that though he was admittedly mad in slaughtering the cattle, Agamemnon was at least as mad in sacrificing his daughter. The dialogue ends at 207. In the remaining lines the lesson is drawn, and, though Stertinius seems still to be addressing Agamemnon, the application shows more visibly through the allegory.

187. **ne quis humasse velit**, an

'Rex sum.' Nil ultra quaero plebeius. 'Et aequam
Rem imperito; ac si cui videor non iustus, inulto
Dicere quod sentit permitto.' Maxime regum,
Di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia!
Ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?
'Consule.' Cur Aiax, heros ab Achille secundus,
Putescit toties servatis clarus Achivis,
Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,
Per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulcro?
'Mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclitum Ulixen
Et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.'
Tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam

old legal formula; see on Od. 3. 4. 51. For the quantity of the last syll. of 'velit' see on Sat. 1. 4. 82. The position of 'cur' by itself after the fact has been positively stated,—'you forbid—why?'—emphasizes the question. So again Sat. 2. 9. 104.

188. **quaero.** V had 'quaere,' and Cruquius and Bentley strongly defend it. (If accepted it would be a parallel for 'io Bacche' in Sat. 1. 3. 7.) The Schol. however distinctly recognise 'quaero,' and as against Bentley it may be argued that the vulg. gives a smoother and more dramatic course to the dialogue. Agamemnon seems at first curtly to refuse discussion. The Stoic ironically bows acquiescence. The king goes on to finish his sentence, and explains that he bases his act on reason as well as will, and that he is prepared to argue the question. The Stoic is delighted, but hardly able to believe that a king means to listen to reason.

**et** joins the clause to **rex sum,** not to the following **ac.**

191. An echo of Hom. Il. 1. 18 *ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν . . . | ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι.*

**reducere** (or 'redducere') is the reading of all the best MSS. It is found with the first syllable long four times in Lucretius. Some editors, on the advocacy of Bentley, have received 'deducere,' which Orelli interprets on the analogy of 'decedere de provincia,' i.e. 'domum redire.'

192. **consulere . . . licebit?** the formula with which the consultation of a 'iurisconsultus' was opened (Cic. pro Mur. 13. 28); as 'respondere' is for the counsel's advice. Part of the humour consists in the burlesque mingling of technicalities of Roman life with Homeric echoes. It is doubted whether both verbs are meant to belong to the Stoic, 'to put questions and presently to assume the counsel myself and advise you,' or the second to Agamemnon, 'shall we be allowed to have a regular consultation, I asking and you replying?' 'Mox' has most force in the first way. Cp. also Sat. 1. 9. 63 'rogat et respondet.'

193. **ab Achille secundus,** 'second to Achilles' as Virg. Ecl. 5. 49 'alter ab illo.' The rank of Ajax is from Hom. Il. 2. 768 *ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, | ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν.* Cp. Soph. Aj. 1339.

194. **putescit,** a coarse word, but probably due to the Homeric *πύθεται* (as Il. 4. 395, Od. 1. 162). The form 'putesco' with the first syll. long is found in the best MSS. of Lucretius, 3. 871.

195. **gaudeat ut,** of a result so evident that it seems like a purpose. The line is a transl. of Hom. Il. 1. 255 (though of a different matter) *ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες.*

197, 198. The answer of Agamemnon.

197. **mille ovium.** Horace in every other place prefers the constr. of 'mille' in the sing. as an adjective. Cicero has both constructions.

**insanus.** The word falls first from Agamemnon's own lips, and so leads to the retort which gives the whole story its relevance.

199. **pro vitula natam.** Notice how

Ante aras spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa,
Rectum animi servas? 'Quorsum?' Insanus quid enim Aiax
Fecit cum stravit ferro pecus? Abstinuit vim
Uxore et gnato; mala multa precatus Atridis,
Non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Ulixen.
'Verum ego, ut haerentes adverso litore naves
Eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.'
Nempe tuo, furiose. 'Meo, sed non furiosus.'
Qui species alias veri scelerisque tumultu

their acts are paralleled. Ajax mistook the sheep for his comrades. Agamemnon treats his daughter as a heifer.

200. **mola salsa**, the salted grains of spelt strewed on a victim before it was sacrificed. Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 133 'salsae fruges.' It is a question whether (as the poets assume) the Roman practice of using salt was also a Greek one.

201. **rectum animi** = 'rectum animum.' Heindorf quotes Ennius in Cic. de Sen. 6 'mentes rectae quae stare solebant,' opp. to 'dementes.' Cp. the use of ὀρθός, and the phrase 'stas animo' below, v. 213.

**quorsum?** The Scholiasts had this reading (unless Porph. had 'quorum'), for they are puzzled by it, and give various explanations. If it is to stand the explanation of the Comm. Cruq. seems the best 'sc. tendis? quid vis? loquitur Agamemnon'; so, at fuller length, in Sat. 2. 7. 21 'Non dices hodie quorsum haec tam putida tendunt?' No exact parallel is found for the abbreviation. Holder and Prof. Palmer accept Bothe's ingenious emendation, 'Rectum animi servas cursum'?

**insanus**, 'the madman, as you call him.'

**quid fecit cum stravit**, 'what did his crime come to when he butchered the sheep?' For the indic. perf. in this use see Dräger, Hist. Syntax. vol. 2. p. 557.

202. **abstinuit vim uxore.** Orelli quotes Ov. Met. 8. 751 'ferrum Triopeius illa Abstinuit.'

203. **uxore et gnato.** Tecmessa and Eurysaces.

204. **non ille**: cp. 'ille non,' etc. Od. 4. 6. 13 οὐκ ἐκεῖνός γε.

**Teucrum.** Ritter points out that in the Ajax of Sophocles Teucer is absent, and does not return until after his brother's death. Horace therefore is either forgetful of this, or is following throughout some other drama on the subject.

**ipsum Ulixen**, even Ulysses his mortal enemy.

205. **adverso**, 'the facing shore,' i. e. the shore that faced the enemy—the Greek shore.

206. **prudens**, i. e. quite knowing what I was about. It is an answer to the charge of madness. Cp. v. 89.

207. **nempe.** For this use of 'nempe,' where a speaker ironically completes the sentence of another, cp. Epp. 1. 16. 75 n.

208. Bentley's description of this line perhaps still holds good, 'locus lubricus, quem nullus interpretum non attigit, nullus dubium adhuc et incertum non reliquit.' For the reading, the large preponderance of MS. authority must be allowed to be in favour of **veri** as against 'veris.' V acc. to Cruquius had 'veris' and the annotation 'contrarias veritati,' but it had also (as have other good MSS. which read 'veris') the unintelligible 'celeris,' and there were signs of the *s* having been transferred from the beginning of the later word to the end of the earlier. With the reading 'veri' the simplest explanation, if it can stand, is that given by Heindorf, who makes 'veri scelerisque' gen. after 'species,' and 'alias veri scelerisque' = 'alias veri, alias sceleris' (no complete parallel for this is quoted), 'differing ideas, now of right, now of wrong, mixed up in confusion.' 'Species' are 'ideas,' but with the metaphor of sight not yet lost, 'images,' 'visions.' Cp. A. P. 25 'decipimur specie recti'; 'veri' is used for 'moral right,' as in Epp. 1. 12. 23; cp. v. 312 of this Satire. Orelli and Ritter give 'veris,' the constr. then being 'species alias veris,' 'ideas at

Permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur, atque
Stultitiane erret nihilum distabit an ira.
Aiax immeritos cum occidit desipit agnos:
Cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanes,
Stas animo, et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est, cor?
Si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
Huic vestem, ut gnatae, paret ancillas, paret aurum,
Rufam aut Posillam appellet fortique marito
Destinet uxorem; interdicto huic omne adimat ius
Praetor, et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
Quid? si quis gnatam pro muta devovet agna
Integer est animi? Ne dixeris. Ergo ubi prava
Stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,

variance with true ones,' the abl. after 'alias,' as 'alium sapiente bonoque' Epp. 1. 16. 20, etc. For 'tumultu,' whether taken by itself or (as with this last reading) with 'sceleris,' compare Od. 2. 16. 10 'miseros tumultus mentis.' In any case the general meaning is that a confusion of moral ideas, however caused, is a sign of madness. This is most pointedly expressed (if the Latin will bear the sense) by the reading which makes 'veri scelerisque' answer to one another. It is not the falsity of Agamemnon's ideas, but the confusion in them of good ends and bad means, which is stigmatized.

209. **commotus**, as below, v. 278. Pliny has 'mentes commotas' N. H. 36. 40. 21, 'upset,' 'unhinged.' Cp. the use of 'concussa' below, v. 295.

210. **nihilum**, adverbially, as above, v. 54.

211. **desipit**, 'has lost his wits.' For the position of this word see on Sat. 2. 1. 60 'Quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color.'

212. **prudens**, Agamemnon's own word, v. 206.

**ob titulos inanes.** For 'titulos' cp. Od. 4. 14. 4, honorary inscriptions on monuments, etc. For the use of Roman phrases of Agamemnon see on v. 192; but in these last lines it is more continuous, and indicates that the allegory is being lost in the application.

213. **vitio**, in its more general sense, 'flaw.'

**tumidum**: cp. Epp. 1. 1. 36 'Laudis amore tumes.'

**cor**: the seat here both of intelligence (as in Lucret. 4. 53 'hebeti cognoscere corde') and of passion. Horace recalls, though he does not use, the word 'vecordia,' of madness.

216. **Rufam aut Posillam**, as Bentley notices, common female names (so found in inscriptions), not pet names. The madman is supposed to treat a lamb as a girl, just as Agamemnon had treated a girl as a lamb.

217. **interdicto.** Horace alludes in Epp. 1. 1. 102 ('Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere A praetore dati') to the same legal process of depriving an insane person by the Praetor's 'interdictum' of the control of his property, and putting him under the guardianship ('tutela' or 'curatio') of relations.

220. **integer animi**: see above, v. 61 'integer mentis.'

**ne dixeris**, 'Do not say so.' With these words Agamemnon is finally dismissed, and the general conclusion of his story is drawn, 'Ergo,' etc. For the quantity of 'dixerĭs' see on Sat. 2. 2. 74.

**prava**: which makes a man go wrong.

220–223. Not three types or grades of madness, but three modes of describing such acts as those of Agamemnon (and, it is suggested, of all men of ambition). From each point of view the sentence of madness in the highest degree is affixed to them. The climax is attained by putting last the motive, the desire for fame, as in itself, apart from acts, the proof and result of frenzy.

Et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
Hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
Nunc age luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum:
Vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes.
Hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
Edicit piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
Unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia vici,
Cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum,
Mane domum veniant. Quid tum? Venere frequentes.

222. **vitrea,** 'with her glitter.' This is more likely than the other alternative offered by the Schol. 'vel fragilis.'

223. **circumtonuit**, has made him ἐμβρόντητος. For the worship of Bellona and the frenzy inspired by it see Mayor's note on Juv. S. 4. 123 'ut fanaticus oestro Percussus, Bellona, tuo,' which explains 'gaudens cruentis.' His votaries gashed themselves, like the priests of Baal ('quos sectis Bellona lacertis Saeva movet' Lucan. 1. 565). 'The votary of fame has caught a frenzy which, like that of Bellona, leads to cruel and bloody acts.' It should be remembered that this picture of ambition is drawn by one who had lived through the proscriptions and other horrors of the civil wars. For a somewhat similar comparison of the effects of passion and of the frenzy of inspiration cp. Od. 1. 16. 5–9.

224–280. Stertinius proceeds to arraign as madmen the extravagant; the description narrowing itself presently to one special form and cause of extravagance, viz. 'meretricum amores.'

**arripe**: see on Sat. 2. 1. 69.

225. **vincet ratio**: Sat. 1. 3. 115 (with 'ut' and subj.), see note there. Cp. 'evincet' below, v. 250.

**stultos**, closely with 'insanire'; come under the class of 'stulti,' and therefore are mad.

226. **hic**: not necessarily Nomentanus, which, as we have seen (on v. 175), is a conventional name, but δεικτικῶς, a specimen of the class.

**simul** = 'simul ac,' Od. 1. 12. 27, 3. 4. 37.

227. **edicit**, issues his notices, in lordly style; an official word belonging to consuls, praetors, tribunes. Cp. Sat. 2. 2. 51, Epp. 1. 19. 10.

**piscator, auceps**, 'dealers in fish and game'; but, as it seems from v. 234, their procurers also. The requirements are all for a banquet.

228. **Tusci vici**, a street leading from the Forum Romanum into the Velabrum. It was a street of shops. In the satirical list of spots of bad repute in Rome (Plaut. Curc. 4. 1. 21) its characteristic is that 'ibi sunt homines qui ipsi se venditant.' It was afterwards called the 'vicus Turarius,' and is very probably the street 'vendentem tus et odores,' etc. of Epp. 2. 1. 269. Cp. also Epp. 1. 20. 1 n. See Burn's Rome and Campagna, p. 277.

229. **fartor**: variously explained as 'poulterer,' 'sausage seller,' or 'professional cook.' The last, which is given by the Pseudo-Acron, would suit the position of the word best. If he were concerned with the purveying of the provisions we do not see why he should come by himself after the 'scurrae.' With this interpretation there is some point in coupling the seasoner of the dishes and the seasoners of the talk.

**Velabro**, in the low ground between the Capitoline, the Palatine, and the river. Plautus l. c. describes its trades, 'In Velabro vel pistorem, vel lanium vel aruspicem, Vel qui ipsi vortant, vel qui alii subvorsentur praebeant.' The Comm. Cruq. says 'In Velabro prostabant omnia quae ad victus rationem et delicias pertinebant.'

**macellum**. Ter. Eun. 2. 2. 24 'ad macellum ubi adventamus, Concurrunt laeti mi obviam cupedinarii omnes; Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, aucupes, Quibus et re salva et perdita profueram et prosum saepe.'

230. **venere frequentes**: the antithesis is 'they came in numbers, one was the spokesman.'

Verba facit leno: 'Quicquid mihi, quicquid et horum
Cuique domi est, id crede tuum et vel nunc pete vel cras.'
Accipe quid contra iuvenis responderit aequus:
'In nive Lucana dormis ocreatus ut aprum
Cenem ego; tu pisces hiberno ex aequore verris.
Segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer:
Sume tibi decies; tibi tantumdem; tibi triplex
Unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata.'
Filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
Scilicet ut decies solidum absorberet, aceto
Diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretve cloacam?
Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,
Nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum,
Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coëmptas,

233. **aequus,** 'just and generous.' The irony is the same as in Sat. 1. 2. 4 'quippe benignus erat.'

234. **in nive dormis**: cp. Od. 1. 1. 25–28. Bentley wished to read 'Tu' for 'In.' An emphatic 'Tu' is omitted in a similar way in v. 212.

**Lucana**: 'Lucanus aper' Sat. 2. 8. 6.

235. **verris,** with a sweep-net, σαγήνη, 'everriculum,' a word used metaphorically by Cicero, who applies it to Verres plundering his province, Verr. 2. 4. 24. There is an alternative reading (given by Holder) 'vellis,' of considerable MS. authority and interpreted by the Pseudo-Acr., though he adds 'alii verris.' The Blandinian MSS. all had 'verris.' 'Vellis' must imply catching with a line. 'Hiberno ex aequore' would be hyperbolical. Orelli questions the use of 'vellere,' and no parallel is quoted.

236. **tantum,** 'all this fortune.'

237. **decies,** i.e. 'centena milia sestertiorum,' 'a million.'

239. **filius Aesopi.** The story of this mad freak is repeated by Pliny N. H. 9. 59. 35 (at the same time with the story of Cleopatra and the pearl), with the addition that, having swallowed the pearl himself, he provided one each for his guests also. Aesopus is the famous tragic actor, the friend of Cicero; see on Epp. 2. 1. 82. Pliny gives the name of the young man as 'Clodius.' Valerius Maximus (9. 1. 2) speaks of him as 'non solum perditae sed etiam furiosae luxuriae.' 'Metella' is not identified, nor is it essential to the story. It is an ingenious conjecture, accepted by many editors, that she was the Caecilia Metella who was divorced by P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther, and with whom Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, intrigued. Prof. Palmer suggests that Cicero's 'Filius Aesopi' (he notices the verbal coincidence) 'me excruciat' (ad Att. 13. 15. 3) was connected with these intrigues.

240. **solidum,** sc. 'integrum,' Acr. 'decies' (see above, v. 237) being treated as a neut. subst., 'a million entire—at one gulp'; so Martial 4. 37. 4 'tricies soldum.'

241. **bacam,** 'a pearl.' The pearl to the Roman jeweller occupied the place of the diamond in modern times.

**qui**: above on v. 108.

242. **iaceretve**: above on v. 130.

243. Nothing is known of the brothers. They would seem to be sons of the Arrius mentioned above in v. 86.

**par,** 'a well-matched pair'; see on Sat. 1. 7. 19.

244. **gemellum**: cp. Epp. 1. 10. 3. Cicero has 'geminum in scelere par' Phil. 11. 1. 2.

245. **luscinias.** Their proper pleasure is for the ear, as that of the pearl was for the eye, not for the taste. The two stories are parallel not only as cases of insane extravagance, but of extra-

Quorsum abeant? Sani ut creta, an carbone notati?
Aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,
Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,
Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
Si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare,
Nec quicquam differre utrumne in pulvere, trimus
Quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
Sollicitus plores, quaero, faciasne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon? ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille

vagance directed by the caprice which delights in contravening natural distinctions.

**impenso**: in prose 'impenso pretio,' 'at large cost.'

**prandere**: no distinction is probably intended between the 'prandium' or early meal, and 'cena' the later, as though an extravagant luncheon were worse than an extravagant dinner. Cp. Epp. 1. 17. 13, A. P. 340.

**coëmptas**: Sat. 1. 2. 9.

246. 'Into which class shall they go? Marked with chalk as sane men or with charcoal (as insane)?' See on Od. 1. 36. 10. The expression 'with chalk or charcoal' is of course proverbial; cp. Pers. Sat. 5. 108 'Illa prius creta mox haec carbone notasti?' Some doubt overhangs the reading of 'sani ut,' variants being 'sani aut,' 'sani an,' 'sani.' If it is to be displaced, it should be rather in favour of the last, the reading of two of the Blandinian MSS., than in favour of Bentley's conj. 'sanin,' i.e. 'sanine.' 'Notandi' has been adopted by some editors, but against the great weight of MSS.

247–280. He turns to the madness of foolish attachments, connected with the last as another cause of extravagance.

247. **aedificare casas**: the first of a series of childish amusements. It is probably taken up again in 'in pulvere . . . ludas opus' v. 251, and therefore means castle-building on the sand, *ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον παῖς ἄγχι θαλάσσης, | ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέῃσιν, | ἂψ αὖτις συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων* Hom. Il. 15. 363. Had Roman children boxes of bricks?

248. **ludere par impar** = *ἀρτιάζειν*, Arist. Plutus 816. It was played with 'tali' or with coins or counters which could be held in the hand (sometimes walnuts, Nux Eleg. 79), one holding, the other guessing whether the number was odd or even.

**equitare in arundine**: a recognised child's play. So Plutarch's Apophthegm. Laconica of Agesilaus (70) *μικροῖς τοῖς παιδίοις κάλαμον περιβεβηκὼς ὥσπερ ἵππον οἴκοι συνέπαιζεν.*

249. **amentia verset**, 'it must be madness turning his head': no one could doubt it.

250. **ratio evincet**, as 'vincet' above, v. 225.

**amare**, absol. Epp. 2. 1. 171.

251. **utrumne**: Sat. 2. 6. 73. So in direct question Epod. 1. 7, where see note.

252. **ludas opus**: referring back chiefly to 'aedificare casas'; 'opus' being specially used of building operations, fortifications, etc. For 'ludere' with accus. for doing things in play cp. Virg. G. 4. 565 'carmina qui lusi.'

254. **Polemon.** The story of the reform of Polemon was a commonplace. It is told, amongst other places, in Lucian, Bis Accus. 16, 17. He heard Xenocrates lecturing as he passed his school, entered, was changed by what he heard, and eventually succeeded to his chair.

255. **fasciolas**: some kind of stockings.

**cubital**, a pillow for the elbow to rest on at banquets.

**focalia**, 'a scarf for the neck.' They are called here 'insignia morbi,' as badges of luxury and extravagance, additions to the ordinary dress which only the effeminate and luxurious would wear. Cp. Quintil. 11. 3. 144 'Palliolum, sicut fascias, quibus crura vestiuntur,

Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?
Porrigis irato puero cum poma recusat:
'Sume, catelle!' negat: si non des, optet: amator
Exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum, eat an non,
Quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
Invisis foribus? 'Nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit; revocat: redeam? Non si obsecret.' Ecce
Servus non paulo sapientior: 'O here, quae res
Nec modum habet neque consilium ratione modoque
Tractari non volt. In amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
Pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
Mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
Reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si
Insanire paret certa ratione modoque.'
Quid, cum Picenis excerpens semina pomis

et focalia . . . sola excusare potest valetudo.'

256. **coronas.** For he was returning from a revel when the incident occurred.

257. **impransi:** cp. Sat. 2. 2. 7; 'still fasting.'

258 foll. The lover is like a child in his capriciousness, wanting what is refused.

259. **catelle:** a term of endearment. Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 103 'igitur me anaticulam, columbam, vel catellum.'

260–271. Horace is recalling, almost verbally, the scene at the beginning of the Eunuchus of Terence, where Phaedria is debating with Parmeno whether he shall go back to Thais, who has summoned him after excluding him from her presence. Ter. Eun. act 1. sc. 1

'*Ph.* Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem
Quom arcessor ultro? an potius ita me comparem,
Non perpeti meretricum contumelias?
Exclusit: revocat: redeam? non, si me obsecret.
*Par.* Here, quae res in se neque consilium neque modum
Habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.
In amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae,
Suspiciones, inimicitiae, induciae,
Bellum, pax rursum: incerta haec si tu postules
Ratione certo facere, nilo plus agas,
Quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.'

Cp. the picture in Epod. 11. Persius imitates Horace in 5. 161 foll.

260. **agit.** For the lengthening of syll. see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

261. To the place whither, when he was not invited, he was meaning to return.

262. **invisis foribus:** 'ad non amicos heu! mihi postes et heu! Limina dura' Epod. 11. 31.

**nec nunc.** The equivalent of Terence's 'ne nunc quidem.' It must therefore be considered as a single instance in Horace of the use of 'nec,' for 'ne-quidem,' which became afterwards established. See Madv. on Cic. de Fin. 1. 11. 39, and excurs. iii. Bentl. defends 'ne-nunc' (in the same sense), which has less support in the MSS., and which Madv. shows to be wrong.

265. **servus:** Parmeno.

268. **tempestatis ritu.** Od. 3. 29. 33 'Cetera fluminis Ritu feruntur'; 'as a storm rises and falls again.'

270. **explicet:** 'disentangle,' 'reduce to order.'

272. **quid cum:** Sat. 2. 1. 62, like

Gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
Quid, cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
Aedificante casas qui sanior? Adde cruorem
Stultitiae atque ignem gladio scrutare. Modo, inquam,
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se
Cerritus fuit, an commotae crimine mentis
Absolves hominem et sceleris damnabis eundem
Ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus?
Libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus

'quid, si,' etc., Epp. 1. 19. 12 'quid, qui,' etc. Epp. 2. 1. 40, with argumentative questions enforcing or refuting what had been said.

**Picenis** is an 'epitheton ornans.' The best apples came from Picenum, Sat. 2. 4. 70.

273. **cameram,** 'the arched roof.' He is describing an amusement of lovers shooting apple-pips from between their thumb and finger at the ceiling, to see whether their love was returned, the omen being favourable when they hit.

For **percusti** see on Sat. 1. 5. 79 and 2. 7. 68 'evasti.'

**penes te,** 'under your own control,' i. e. 'sane.'

274. **feris**: interpreted by Persius' imitation (1. 35) 'tenero supplantat verba palato'; 'trip up your lisping words against an old man's palate.' Cp. 'balbutit' Sat. 1. 3. 48; and see on the name 'Balbinus' ib. 40. He is speaking of the mincing baby-talk of lovers. In an old man it is a proof of second childhood.

**annoso palato.** Cp. the frequent hypallage in the Odes 'adulteros crines' 1. 15. 20, etc.

273–280. Love leads not only to childishness but also sometimes to deeds of violence.

275. **cruorem,** 'blood' = 'deeds of blood.'

**adde** means, suppose them added, what will your judgment then be of my proposition?

276. **ignem gladio scrutare.** A translation of the Pythagorean proverb *πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν*. It is given, amongst other places, in Diog. Laert. 8. 18, and is explained by *δυνατῶν ὀργὴν καὶ οἰδοῦντα θυμὸν μὴ κινεῖν*. Possibly *μαχαίρᾳ* meant originally a cook's knife; and the saying was equivalent to 'do not make a hot fire hotter.' But like the other proverbs it had probably various turns given to it. Horace possibly mistranslates, at any rate gives his own application of it. Cp. his use of *γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισιν* in v. 72 of the Satire. Cp. also his reference to another Pythagorean proverb in Sat. 2. 6. 63.

**modo,** 'just now.' Heindorf put the stop at the end of the line, taking 'modo, inquam' with the preceding words, and Keller (Epilegomena) advocates this punctuation; but 'inquam' has little force in that place.

277. Nothing is known of this story of love, murder, and suicide, but what Horace tells us.

For **cum praecipitat** cp. above, v. 61 'cum edormit.' For the form of suicide cp. Od. 3. 27. 61 foll., and the story of Sappho's leap.

278. **commotae mentis**: see on v. 209.

280. **ex more,** 'as men so often do.'

**cognata vocabula,** i. e. 'scelus' and 'commota mens' are names which, though not the same, are first cousins to one another—the distinction is without a difference.

281–295. The superstitious. The instances are a freedman who hoped by prayers to escape the universal debt of mortality; and a mother, who, in her anxiety for her boy's recovery from an ague, vows that if he gets well he shall do that which is sure to bring the illness back in a worse form.

281. **circum compita**: see on v. 26. Here the 'compita' are named as places where there were altars to the 'Lares compitales.'

**siccus.** He had not drunk; the explanation of his folly did not lie there.

Lautis mane senex manibus currebat et, 'Unum—
Quid tam magnum?' addens,—'unum me surpite morti,
Dis etenim facile est!' orabat; sanus utrisque
Auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus,
Exciperet dominus cum venderet. Hoc quoque volgus
Chrysippus ponet fecunda in gente Meneni.
'Iuppiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,'
Mater ait pueri menses iam quinque cubantis,
'Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
Mane die quo tu indicis ieiunia nudus
In Tiberi stabit.' Casus medicusve levarit
Aegrum ex praecipiti, mater delira necabit
In gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet;
Quone malo mentem concussa? Timore deorum.
Haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
Arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.

282. **lautis manibus**, a ritual propriety. The edd. quote from Il. 6. 266 *χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον | ἅζομαι*.

283. **quid tam magnum?** He puts what is the essence of the impossibility, the fact that it would be the breach of a universal law, as though it were the convincing proof of its easiness—'it is such a small concession.'

**surpite**, for 'surripite'; see on Od. 4. 13. 20 'surpuerat.' So in Virg. Aen. 8. 274 'porgo' for 'porrigo,' and in common use 'surgo' for 'surrigo.'

285. **nisi litigiosus**, 'unless he wished for a law-suit.' For the practice of warranting a slave when sold, and specifying his defects, see Epp. 2. 2. 1–19. The verb 'excipere' is used there (v. 16) as here. The figure is specially applicable here as the person spoken of is a 'libertinus.' 'Were he still a slave, and being sold, his master would,' etc.

286. **volgus**, i. e. the superstitious, for there are plenty of them.

287. **Chrysippus**. The Stoic's textbook; see above on v. 44, Sat. 1. 3. 127.

**Meneni**. There is no evidence but the text. The 'gens Meneni' must mean lunatics; but why, the Scholiasts knew no more than we. It is very possibly a literary reference; see p. 13.

289. **cubantis**, 'who has been keeping his bed'; see on Sat. 1. 9. 18.

290. **quartana**: an ague whose fits return at intervals of four days.

291. **quo tu indicis ieiunia**. The reference is, as is usual when superstitious observance is in question, to the adoption of Jewish practices. The division of time by weeks, and the naming of the seven days after the sun, moon, and five planets, though not adopted civilly till the time of Theodosius, was known to the Romans at this time, and is the subject of occasional allusion. The 'dies Iovis,' therefore, is our Thursday; but the fast on the fifth day was not a Roman but a Jewish practice, one of the interpolated 'two fastings in the week' of St. Luke 18. Cp. Tibullus 1. 3. 18 'Saturni sacram me tenuisse diem,' where 'Saturni dies' is the Jewish sabbath. On the whole subject see Hare's article on the 'Days of the week' in vol. 1. of the Philological Journal 1832.

292. **levarit**: for the omission of 'si' see on Sat. 1. 1. 45; 'have lifted him from the brink.' 'In praecipiti' is used for 'in mortal peril' by Celsus the medical writer, 2. 6.

294. **fixum**, 'by planting him.'

295. **quone**. For the redundant 'ne' see on Epod. 1. 7.

**timore deorum**, *δεισιδαιμονίᾳ*.

296. **sapientum octavus**: one who deserved to be ranked next to the famous seven sages of Greece.

297. **compellarer**, 'be called names'; Sat. 1. 7. 31.

Dixerit insanum qui me totidem audiet atque
Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.'
Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris,
Qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,
Insanire putas? Ego nam videor mihi sanus.
'Quid, caput abscissum manibus cum portat Agave
Nati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur!'
Stultum me fateor, liceat concedere veris,
Atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
Aegrotare putes animi vitio? 'Accipe: primum
Aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris ab imo
Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis, et idem
Corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis
Spiritum et incessum: qui ridiculus minus illo?
An quodcunque facit Maecenas te quoque verum est
Tantum dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?

298. **totidem**, neut. plur., a word for every one of his.

299. **ignoto**, 'of which he knows so little.' The reference is to the fable of the two wallets, 'Peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas; Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit: Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem,' Phaedr. 4. 10.

300. **Stoice**: Horace addressing Damasippus, who has so amply proved his acquaintance with the principles of Stoicism, goes back to the sentence pronounced on him in v. 32 'insanis et tu,' and asks his critic to define the form of madness which he imputes to him.

**sic**: see on Od. 1. 3. 1; 'as you answer me this question.'

**pluris**: 'at better profit' than you did before your bankruptcy. Horace forgets or ignores the fact that Damasippus has given up the trade.

303, 304. The reply of Damasippus: 'Of course you do. The strongest evidence does not convince mad people that they are mad.'

**Agave**, holding in her hands the head of her son Pentheus, whom she has torn to pieces in her Bacchic frenzy, is a picture from the Bacchae of Euripides, a play which attracted Horace; see on Od. 2. 19 passim.

303. **manibus**. The more picturesque and forcible reading of V, restored to the text by Bentley as against 'demens.' Κρᾶτα δ' ἄθλιον | ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν Eur. Bacch. 1137.

305. **veris**, neut. as 'pravorum' v. 244, 'totidem' v. 298; 'let me give in to truth.'

306. **edissere**. Virg. Aen. 2. 149 'haec edissere vera roganti.'

308. **aedificas**: no doubt, on his Sabine estate.

**hoc est, longos imitaris**. 'This means, you ape full-grown people, though you are a dwarf;' a figure, but in playful allusion to the fact that he was really 'corporis exigui' Epp. 1. 20. 24. See Augustus' jests on the subject in his letters to the poet in the extracts from the Suetonian life of Horace given in the Introd to vol. 1.

309. **moduli bipedalis**. Suetonius mentions a dwarf actually 'bipedali minor' Aug. 43.

310. **corpore maiorem**, 'too big for his body': cp. 'onus corpore parvo maius' Epp. 1. 17. 40, 'maiores pennas nido' Epp. 1. 20. 21.

**Turbonis**, according to Scholiasts a gladiator of small size but great courage.

312. **verum**, 'right,' above v. 208; Epp. 1. 1. 11, 1. 7. 98, 1. 12. 23.

**te**, sc. 'facere.'

313. **tantum**, the reading of V; most other MSS. having 'tanto,' an accommodation to the 'tanto' which follows. As Bentley shows, 'tanto,'

Absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis,
Unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens
Bellua cognatos eliserit. Illa rogare
Quantane? num tantum, sufflans se, magna fuisset?
"Maior dimidio." "Num tanto?" Cum magis atque
Se magis inflaret, "Non si te ruperis," inquit,
"Par eris." Haec a te non multum abludit imago.
Adde poëmata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino;
Quae si quis sanus fecit sanus facis et tu.
Non dico horrendam rabiem.' Iam desine. 'Cultum
Maiorem censu.' Teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.
'Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores.'
O maior tandem parcas, insane, minori?

though right with the comparative, would not be suitable with the positive. 'Tantum' on the other hand is Horatian: cp. Epp. 1. 10. 3 'multum dissimiles,' inf. v. 317 'tantum magna.'

**certare**, best taken (with Bentley) after **minorem**, as Virgil's 'cantare pares' E. 7. 5, to be added to instances of the inf. after an adj. in vol. 1. App. 2. § 2.

314. The fable of the Frog and the Ox freely retold by Horace. It is to be found Phaedr. 1. 24, Babrius 28.

317. **quantane**: see above on v. 295 ('quone?') and Epod. 1. 7.

**fuisset**: the questions of the mother frog are indirect, the answers of the young frog direct.

318. **maior dimidio**, 'half as big again.' Bentley felt strongly the impropriety of the answer, and proposed, though hesitatingly, 'pernimio.' Ritter divides the words 'maior' 'Dimidio? num tanto?' To others the incapacity of the young frog to measure size will seem part of the picture.

320. **abludit**, *ἅπαξ λεγ.*

321. **oleum adde camino**: 'to throw oil on the fire' is a proverb in all languages for to make bad worse.

322. **quae si quis sanus fecit.** Poetry has always been attributed to *μανία*. Cp. A. P. 296.

323. **horrendam rabiem**: a playful exaggeration of what he attributes to himself in Epp. 1. 20. 25 'Irasci celerem tamen ut placabilis essem.'

**cultum**: Sat. 2. 2. 66; style of living.

324. **censu**, 'income,' Od. 2. 15. 13.

**teneas tuis te**, 'keep to your own business, leave me alone': perhaps a reference to Damasippus' confession v. 19 'aliena negotia curo.'

326. **maior . . . insane.** Düntzer points out the way in which 'insane' comes *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* to spoil what had seemed to be a compliment and a surrender.

# SATIRE IV.

## CATIUS, OR THE ART OF DINING.

HORACE meets Catius hurrying home to arrange his notes of a gastronomical lecture which he has just heard. When pressed to name the lecturer he makes a mystery of it, but he gives the heads of the lecture (1–10).

It comprised hints on choosing eggs (11–14), cabbage (15, 16), on dressing a fowl hastily so as to be tender (17–20), on choosing mushrooms (20, 21), on the wholesomeness of certain articles of diet (21–29), the season and locality of various shellfish (30–34), the importance of studying sauces (35–39), subtle points with respect to the condition and age of various animals, fish, and birds (40–46), the error of concentrating attention on one thing in a banquet and forgetting others equally important (47–50), the treatment of different wines (51–57), and the way to keep a drinker in taste for his wine (58–62), the composition of the 'simple' and 'double' sauce (63–69), the choice of apples and grapes for dessert (70–72), the garnishing of the table (73–75), size of dishes, tricks of slaves, importance of cleanliness in arrangements (76–87).

The Satire ends with Horace's expressions of admiration and earnest entreaty to be taken where such lore and secrets of happiness were to be learnt (88–95).

Who was Catius, and what is his relation to the gastronomic lecture of which he is the mouthpiece? It can hardly be a name which carried no associations, for the drama would lack point.

1. The Scholiasts give us a complete answer and one which meets fairly the conditions. They say (1) that Catius was an Epicurean who had written a treatise 'de Rerum Natura et de summo bono'; (2) that in this Satire Horace is playing with the Epicureans as in the last he played with the Stoics.

It is a striking confirmation of this statement that (as they do not say) a Catius is named in one of Cicero's letters (ad Fam. 15. 16). He is rallying Cassius on his Epicurean tenets, and quotes jestingly a use of the term 'spectra' by 'Catius Insuber Epicureus qui nuper est mortuus.' If this is the person meant the dramatic framework of this Satire will turn, as does that of the first and of the third Satire in this book, on a character from Cicero's Epistles.

Some such play as the Scholiasts suggest suits well enough with Horace's attitude towards rival philosophies, with his principle of placing his poems (whether Satires, Epistles, or Odes) as companion or contrasted pictures, and possibly with hints in the Satire itself*. We need not make this relation between Catius and the discourse on cookery very close. Horace's primary purpose was probably to laugh at people who made gastronomy into a science and professed to know better than their neighbours how to cook a chicken or arrange a dinner table (cp. the play of Sat. 2. 8). It occurred to him to give a further point to the Satire by its framing and placing, much as he gives a point to the idyllic

* It is difficult to know how much one reads into a poem when once a theory of its purpose is conceived, but whatever hints of play there are seem to point in this direction. Catius i v. 3 speaks of the lecture as a philosophy: that he does not name Epicurus may be dramatic. Horace in v. 95 welcomes the teaching as an art of living, not only of dining, 'vitae praecepta beatae,' and parodies the famous words of Lucretius, as though to suggest that it is a new 'De Rerum Natura' that we have been listening to. Add the reference to the attitude of the 'sapiens' in the presence of these problems (v. 44), the criticism of a previous teacher (v. 24), the affectation of such terms as 'praecepta,' 'quaesita,' 'ingenium,' 'natura,' 'ratio.'

praises of country life in Epod. 2 by putting them into the mouth of the 'fenerator Alfius.' He chooses for the purpose an Epicurean of the last generation, known to him chiefly, perhaps only, as having been laughed at by Cicero.

2. Both Acr. and the Comm. Cruq., though giving the theory just stated at the beginning of the Satire, and referring to it again on v. 88, have a note on v. 47, which, unless it is corrupt, must belong to a rival tradition as to the person of Catius and the point of the Satire. In its fullest form it runs 'Irridet eum quod de opere pistorio in suo libro scribit de se ipso: Haec primus invenit et cognovit Catius Miltiades.' Nothing else is known of such a work or person. Orelli, who leans to this explanation, imagines him to have been a freedman of Cicero's Catius.

3. A third view was suggested by Manso, and is advocated warmly by Prof. Palmer. It is that Catius is a pseudonym intended thinly to veil the name of C. Matius, the correspondent of Cicero (see especially ad Fam. 11. 27 and 28), and the friend of Julius Caesar and of Augustus. Columella tells us that he wrote a book on the art of cookery, divided into three parts, which were called severally Coquus, Cetarius, Salgamarius. Pliny speaks of his having given his name to an apple (N. H. 15. 14).

In any case the humour of the Satire probably consisted mainly in the mixture of truisms and paradoxes on the subject, and in the introduction of authority in a matter where each man should be allowed his own taste. Orelli well compares Sat. 2. 2. 51 'Si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos Parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.'

Notice also that the topics follow the usual course of a Roman supper 'ab ovo ad mala' (Sat. 1. 3. 6).

UNDE et quo Catius? 'Non est mihi tempus aventi
Ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincent
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.'
Peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laevo
Interpellarim; sed des veniam bonus oro.
Quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,
Sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque.

1. **Unde et quo**: more fully in Sat. 1. 9. 62 'unde venis et quo tendis'?

**non est tempus**, i. e. I have no time to stop and talk to you, for I am in a hurry (**aventi**), etc.

2. **ponere signa**, a doubtful phrase, possibly only = Cicero's 'consignare litteris,' 'to put into writing'; but also explained with some probability of the symbols of some 'memoria technica,' such as is described in Cic. de Orat. 2. 86–88. 351 f. This suits well with the assurance expressed in vv. 6, 7, that Catius' memory is excellent, both natural and *artificial*.

**vincent**: the reading of V adopted by Ritter and Munro. The new philosopher will drive the old masters from the field. The rival reading in point of MS. authority is 'vincunt.' Bentley's 'vincant' has less support. He quotes Epp. 1. 4. 3 'scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,' but that is not a case where definite prophecy would be in point.

3. **Anyti reum.** Socrates was accused by Meletus, Lycon, and Anytus.

4. **cum**, 'since,' 'in that.'

**laevo**: contrast Sat. 2. 1. 18 'dextro tempore'; 'tempore laevo' explains 'sic,' or we may take 'sic laevo' together, as 'sic raro' Sat. 2. 3. 1.

6. **repetes**, 'you will recover it.'

7. **hoc**, the power of remembering.

**artis**, of the art of mnemonics; see on v. 2.

'Quin id erat curae quo pacto cuncta tenerem,
Utpote res tenues tenui sermone peractas.'
Ede hominis nomen, simul et Romanus an hospes.
'Ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.
Longa quibus facies ovis erit illa memento,
Ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
Ponere; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
Caule suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris
Dulcior; irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
Ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
Doctus eris vivam mixto mersare Falerno;
Hoc teneram faciet. Pratensibus optima fungis

8. Catius is mollified by the compliment, and enters into the thought. 'Ay, that is what I was thinking of, how to keep in my mind every single word, for indeed they were nice points, and handled throughout in nice style.'

9. **utpote**: Sat. 1. 4. 24, 1. 5. 94, A. P. 206.

**tenues**, λεπτάς, opp. to what is coarse and common; see on Od. 2. 16. 38.

10. **ede**: Sat. 2. 5. 61. The word is used of oracles, of persons who speak with authority, etc.

**simul et**, a common combination in prose; 'at the same time also.' 'Romanus [ne sit] an hospes.'

11. **canam**, answers 'ede'; of oracular utterance, Sat. 1. 9. 30.

**celabitur auctor**: a part of the play, but beyond our guessing.

12. **ovis**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 7 'ab ovo usque ad mala.' The eggs come first in the lecture, as first served in the feast.

13. **suci**, 'flavour,' as explained by Plin. N. H. 10. 74. 52 'quae oblonga sint ova gratioris saporis putat Horatius Flaccus.'

**alba**: the epithet probably refers to the white as it looks when cooked—it is whiter. It is otherwise taken of the yolk and white together—'pale-coloured.' But why should that be a merit? Heind. reads 'alma,' a conj. of Bentley's.

14. **ponere**, 'to serve'; see on Sat. 2. 2. 23.

**namque**: it is implied that the yolk of an egg which would hatch a cock-bird is fuller flavoured. Columella (8. 5. 11) and Pliny (l. c.) agree with Horace that the longer eggs produce the cocks, the rounder ones hens; Aristotle (Hist. Anim. 6. 2. 2) states the fact the other way.

**callosa**: either the white is firmer, or, possibly, the skin which encloses the yolk is stronger.

15. **suburbano**: the market gardens near Rome would be more carefully irrigated, probably more richly manured. Pliny's statement (N. H. 1. 9. 41) coincides, 'humor fimusque si defuere maior saporis gratia est, si abundavere laetior fertilitas.'

16. **elutius**, 'more watery,' 'tasteless.'

**horto**, i. e. the contents of a garden.

17. **vespertinus hospes**. Cp. Epod. 16. 51 'vespertinus . . . ursus,' Sat. 2. 6. 100 'nocturni.'

**oppresserit**, 'have surprised you.'

18. **malum**, adverbially. Cp. 'canet indoctum' Epp. 2. 2. 9; 'malum responset' 'makes unkind answer,' 'disappoints.' It is not quite the same use as 'responsare' without an adv. in Sat. 2. 7. 85 and 103, Epp. 1. 1. 68.

**palato**, 'the taste,' as below, v. 46.

19. **doctus eris**. The tense corresponds to 'si oppresserit,' 'you will know what to do.'

**mixto Falerno**. Grammatically rather an absol. than a local abl., to mix Falernian and drown the fowl; the commoner element is taken for granted. Bentley read *ex mera coni.* 'musto,' and is followed by Heindorf and Palmer; 'mersare' probably, as he took it, = 'mersando occidere.'

20. **pratensibus**: as contrasted with those of the woods.

Natura est; aliis male creditur. Ille salubres
Aestates peraget qui nigris prandia moris
Finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.
Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis
Nil nisi lene decet; leni praecordia mulso
Prolueris melius. Si dura morabitur alvus,
Mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae
Et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.
Lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae;
Sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae.
Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
Ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini,
Pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.
Nec sibi cenarum quivis temere arroget artem,

21. **male creditur.** Virg. Ecl. 3. 94 'non bene ripae Creditur.'

23. **ante gravem solem,** 'before the sun is hot on them.'

24. **Aufidius.** It is suggested that this may be the M. Aufidius Lurco mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 10. 23. 20) as having made a large fortune by setting the example of fattening peacocks for sale.

**miscebat,** i. e. in making the 'mulsum' or drink of honey and wine; cp. Sat. 2. 1. 56, 2. 2. 15. With 'forti' cp. the epithets 'severi Falerni' Od. 1. 27 9, 'ardentis' Od. 2. 11. 19.

25. **venis**: see note on Od. 2. 2. 14.

26. **leni**: the emphatic word, opp. 'forti' v. 24.

27. **prolueris**: Sat. 1. 5. 16, Virg. Aen. 1. 739 'pleno se proluit auro.'

28. The statements of the lecturer are in accord with the medical doctrines of Celsus, 2. 29 'Alvum movent . . . . lapathum . . . . cochleae, ostrea, pelorides, echini, musculi, et omnes fere conchulae . . . vinum dulce vel salsum.'

**mitulus.** Schütz points out the force of 'et,' adding the genus, 'the mussel and shell-fish generally.' Cp. Sat. 2. 7. 36 'Mulvius et scurrae,' Mulvius being a 'scurra' himself.

29. **lapathi** 'herba lapathi prata amantis' Epod. 2. 57; 'sorrel.'

**Coo,** wine of Cos (Sat. 2. 8. 9, and see on Od. 4. 13. 13). Coan wine, according to Pliny, was much mixed with salt water, and the mixture called Leucocoum, N. H. 14. 10. 8.

30 **lubrica.** The epithet probably refers to their look and to the way they slip over the tongue. The juxtaposition of 'lubrica Coa' Pers. S. 5. 135, looks like a remembrance of this place, and may possibly show that he was speaking of Coan wine, and took 'lubrica' (as the Scholiast takes it here) in the general sense of this passage, as 'alvum solventia'; see Conington in loc. The fancy that the shell-fish varied with the phases of the moon is found in Lucilius, fr. inc. 21. 46 'Luna alit ostrea et implet echinos.'

31. **generosae,** of good kinds; used of wine, Epp. 1. 15. 18.

32. The 'murex' (an edible purple mussel) every one gets from Baiae; the 'peloris' (or giant mussel) 'is even better, provided it comes from the Lucrine lake.'

33. **Circeiis**: the promontory in Latium; cp. Juv. S. 4. 140 'Circeiis nata forent, an Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.'

**Miseno**: the promontory which terminates on the north of the bay of Naples.

35–37. **nec . . . nec,** 'nor,' . . . 'nor,' two qualifications to be added to the one named in vv. 31–34. Your shell-fish must come from the right places, and you must not forget that it is of the

Non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
Nec satis est cara pisces averrere mensa
Ignarum quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis
Languidus in cubitum iam se conviva reponet.
Umber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas
Curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem;
Nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.
Vinea summittit capreas non semper edules.
Fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.

utmost importance to understand how to flavour and how to dress.

35. **arroget**, potential, not hortative.

36. **exacta**, 'thoroughly studied.' See Conington on Virg. Aen. 4. 475 'tempus secum ipsa modumque Exigit.'

**tenui**, 'subtle,' 'nice,' see on v. 9.

37. **averrere.** The verb describes the indiscriminate purchase, taking whatever there was, at whatever price. Perhaps there is a sense of metaphor from the sweepnet '~~getting~~ every kind'; see on Sat. 2. 3. 235. 'Averrere' was the reading of V, and was interpreted by Porph. 'abstrahere, auferre.' Orelli gives 'avertere' with some good MSS., interpreting it 'to appropriate to himself' (as Virgil's 'avertere praedas' Aen. 10. 78, etc.).

**mensa**, the market-stall on which the fish was exposed.

38. **ignarum**, with the subj. of 'averrere,' 'while ignorant what had better be stewed and what broiled.'

**ius**, the sauce in which the stewed fish was served. The edd. quote from Varro, R. R. 3. 9 the pun 'in ius vocat pisces coquus.'

**quibus est . . . reponet**: to be added to the few cases such as Virg. Aen. 6. 614 'ne quaere doceri . . . quae forma viros fortunave mersit,' where the classical poets seem to adopt the ante-classical usage of an indic. in indirect questions. See Dräger, Hist. Syntax 2. p. 474, Madv. § 356, obs. 3.

**assis**: see on Sat. 2. 2. 51. For a fish so dressed see Sat. 2. 8. 29.

39. **in cubitum se reponet.** Ritter seems first to have urged that these words should express the return to a position of repose. Cp. 'cubito remanete presso' Od. 1. 27. 8. We are to picture the guests (see Dict. Ant. s. v. 'triclinium') as leaning forward over the table with both arms free in eating, and in the intervals resting on the left elbow. The sentence then must mean 'which when broiled the guest will eat till he is tired, and only then replace himself on his elbow:' 'quibus assis' may be taken as an abl. absol., or directly with 'languidus.' The Scholiasts' way of taking it, still maintained by Schütz, Orelli, and others, is 'for which when broiled the tired guest (cp. 'marcens potor' of v. 58) will at once place himself again on his elbow.' They imagine, that is, that he is lying back on the cushion, and that he rouses himself again for the appetizing dish. This is excellent if the picture of his attitudes is right.

40–43. 'As with fish, so with game; think of the place it comes from, and so of the food on which it has fattened—a boar from the oak forests of Umbria, not from the marshes of Laurentum: the roe that has fed in vineyards is at times less good eating.'

41. **vitantis**, after **lances.**

**inertem**, 'flavourless.'

42. **Laurens.** Cp. Virg. Aen. 10. 708 'aper, . . . quem . . . defendit . . . palus Laurentia, silva pastus arundinea.'

43. **summittit**, 'supplies.'

44. **fecundae**: the reading of V, rightly defended by Bentley against 'fecundi,' which was an alteration due to the fact that 'lepus' is usually masculine, but in this case the feminine gender is appropriate. The line has been best understood by Ritter. It is another refinement of taste parallel to that of the last line. The epithet 'fecundae' cannot be, as Orelli is content to think, otiose. It must contain the point. The Scholiasts no doubt explain it rightly 'quia dicuntur semper praegnantes esse lepores,' with reference

Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas,
Ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
Nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam;
Ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
Quali perfundat pisces securus olivo.
Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno
Nocturna si quid crassi est tenuabitur aura,
Et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna
Vina columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
Quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.

probably to the belief in their superfetation (Pliny N. H. 8. 55). It means therefore a female hare, and is meant probably to limit and give (though without explaining) the reason of the wise man's preference of the shoulders. For a gastronomical refinement turning on a similar point see Sat. 2. 8. 43: see also 2. 8. 89. To make 'fecundae' otiose and throw the stress of the precept on the choice of the *part* of the animal only, is to lose the key of the passage which lies in vv. 45, 46. It professes to contain original observations 'de natura,' about the physical conditions, of shell-fish, boars, roedeer, hares. The lecturer contents himself with suggesting, without proving, that he has in store other observations of the same kind 'de natura aut aetate' of fish and birds. Note also that there is both in v. 43 and 44 an air of mystery affected, of truth only partially revealed.

**sapiens**, 'the philosopher.' The word is in the spirit of vv. 2, 3; cp. 'ingenium' v. 47.

45. **quae natura**: not absolutely, but in reference to their fitness for table; but the language is as if he were a new Aristotle, 'palatum,' coming almost *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, at the end.

47–50. 'The philosopher must take a large view, not narrow himself to a single corner of his subject.' This is an apology for the apparently miscellaneous character of the precepts; vv. 49, 50 also give a rough summary of the passage to follow, v. 49 referring to vv. 51–62, v. 50 to vv. 63–69.

47. **crustula**, 'pastry'; see on Sat. 1. 1. 25.

48. **satis**, sc. 'est.'

**consumere**, 'to use it all,' 'use it up.'

50. **securus**, with the indirect question. So Od. 1. 26. 6, Epp. 2. 1. 176.

51. Put your Massic wine in the open air to tone it down. Do not strain it or you will spoil the flavour. Surrentine wine should be mixed with the lees of Falernian, and then cleared with a pigeon's egg.

53. **odor nervis inimicus.** Cp. Virgil's description of a potent wine 'temptatura pedes' G. 2. 94. The intoxicating effect is here attributed to the smell.

**illa**, sc. 'Massica vina.'

55. **Surrentina**, from Surrentum at the south end of the bay of Naples. Pliny names the wine as 'concalescentibus probatum propter tenuitatem' N. H. 14. 8. 1. It is to be fortified with the hardened sediment of the stronger Falernian. This is a mode of treatment described by Columella (12. 30) 'sumito faecem vini boni et panes facito et in sole arefacito . . . postea terito et pondo quadrantem amphoris singulis infricato.'

**vafer**, 'as a connoisseur.'

57. **quatenus**, 'inasmuch as.' See on Sat. 1. 1. 64.

**aliena**, 'all foreign matter;' the floating particles called 'limum' in v. 26.

Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
Potorem cochlea ; nam lactuca innatat acri
Post vinum stomacho ; perna magis ac magis hillis
Flagitat immorsus refici ; quin omnia malit
Quaecunque immundis fervent allata popinis.
Est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris
Naturam. Simplex e dulci constat olivo,
Quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit,
Non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.

58–62. 'If the fault is not in the wine but in the drinker, you must keep him up to the mark with salt and piquant dishes.' He seems to be speaking of the later courses. A salad of 'lactuca,' 'lettuce,' was the traditional end of a Roman supper. Cp. Mart. 13. 14 'Claudere quae cenas lactuca solebat avorum, Dic mihi, cur nostras inchoat illa dapes'? The lecturer takes sides against the old fashion.

58. **marcentem,** 'flagging.'

**squillis,** 'prawns.' Sat. 2. 8. 42.

59. **innatat,** i.e. remains undigested; Pliny N. H. 23. 22. 1 'dulce (vinum) stomacho innatat, austerum facilius concoquitur.'

61. **immorsus,** participle = 'vellicatus,' 'excitatus.' Cp. 'qualia lassum Pervellunt stomachum' Sat. 2. 8. 9. 'It entreats to be freshened by the sharp sting rather of dried ham, rather of sausages.' Lambinus followed a few MSS. in separating the words 'in morsus,' comparing Virgil's 'reficitque in proelia' Aen. 11. 731 ; but the only sense that can be put on them is 'to be freshened to a new appetite.' But 'in morsus' is a strange phrase—Bentley asks 'an stomachus dentes habet?'—and the end in question is not to renew the appetite for eating but for drinking. Döderlein and Dillr. of recent editors accept it. Bentl. would read 'immorsis.'

61, 62. 'To a cold salad the stomach would prefer even the coarse dishes of the cookshops, provided they were hot and savoury.'

**popinis**: illustrated by Mart. 1. 42. 9, quoted by Bentley, 'Quod fumantia qui tomacla raucus Circumfert tepidis coquus popinis.' 'Popinis' is probably there the portable ovens of street-hawkers, and it may be so here. Otherwise the abl. had better be taken as local, 'all that is served hot and hot in the cookshops.'

63–69. The use of oil and other ingredients in the sauce or pickle served with fish. See above v. 50.

63. **est operae pretium.** Perhaps there is a mock heroic reminiscence of Ennius. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 229.

**duplicis,** either in direct opposition to 'simplex,' but in that case there is some little awkwardness in the sense, as there are more ingredients than two named in the fuller sauce, or (as Bentley, Orelli and others) = of two kinds—the 'simplex,' which follows, being one of the two—the 'compound' being described, but not characterized in a single adjective.

65. This line begins the description of the compound sauce. Bentley's difficulty, that in this way the oil is used twice, as the basis and as the last ingredient added in vv. 68, 69, does not seem serious: 65 and 66 describe the materials—oil, wine, and brine: 67–69 describe the process and order; 'hoc' is the mixture of the 'merum' and 'muria,' which are to be well mingled ('confusum'), boiled with chopped herbs, sprinkled with saffron, stood to cool, and then to have the best oil added. Cp. the account of the 'ius mixtum' in Sat. 2. 8. 45–53.

**pingui,** 'rich and sugary.'

66. 'Of the kind of which a Byzantine jar has reeked.'

**putuit,** 'putesco' (see Sat. 2. 3. 194). Byzantium was the centre of the thunny fishery. The 'muria' spoken of seems to have been a preparation of the roe and other parts of the thunny, salted and kept. So 'garum' (Sat. 2. 8. 46) from the 'scomber.' They are analogous to our caviare.

Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
Pressa Venafranae quod bacca remisit olivae.
Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco;
Nam facie praestant. Venucula convenit ollis;
Rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
Hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,
Primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro
Incretum puris circumposuisse catillis.
Immane est vitium dare milia terna macello

67. **sectis herbis.** Some such herbs as are named in Sat. 2. 8. 51. It is an abl. absol. adding a circumstance to the mixture and the boiling.

68. **Corycio,** from Corycus in Cilicia.

69. **Venafranae**: see on Od. 2. 6. 15.

**remisit**: Sat. 2. 8. 53.

70. We have got now to the dessert, 'ab ovo usque ad mala' Sat. 1. 3. 6. For the apples of Picenum see Sat. 2. 3. 272, of Tibur cp. Od. 1. 7. 14.

**suco,** 'flavour,' above v. 13.

71. **Venucula.** Understand 'uva' from the next clause. It is the name of the kind of grape—not apparently local. The word is written variously—'venicula' (so in best MSS. of Pliny, who gives the same remark, N. H. 14. 4. 2), 'vennuncula,' etc.

**convenit ollis,** 'suits the preserving jars.'

72–87. The speaker claims for himself the introduction of these smoke-dried Alban grapes at dessert. This suggests some other original devices of his own, for putting within reach of all guests condiments and provocatives of appetite. This again suggests the importance of attention to the accessories of a banquet—especially cleanliness of table, dinner service, floor, hangings, etc.

73. **hanc,** after 'circumposuisse,' or rather, some simple verb meaning 'to have served.'

**faecem et allec** = 'allec, faecula Coa' Sat. 2. 8. 9 n. The invention seems to be leaving them on the table during the meal.

74. **invenior,** i. e. those who investigate it find that I was the first, etc., as though a history of the art were being written. This was the reading of V, and is generally given. Some good MSS. have 'inveni,' and others 'inventor,' both perhaps due to scholia such as Acron's 'primus inveni ut allec condito misceretur.' It is a place where the verb to 'invent' and its cognates come naturally to the fore when one is thinking of the general purport, and not noticing the possibility of confusion.

**piper album cum sale nigro.** Horace, or the lecturer, is pleased with the verbal contrast of colour; and the epithets given, being the opposite of what would be generally expected, give the idea of special refinements of taste. White pepper is described by Pliny as the seed at an earlier stage than the black, and as being less pungent (N. H. 12. 14. 7). Black salt seems to refer to the method of its preparation, ibid. 31. 40. 7.

75. **incretum,** from 'incerno,' 'sifted into them.' Notice that all the epithets are directed (1) to make the most of the invention:—it may be a small matter, but there are great refinements in it: (2) to lead to the following remarks on the importance of attending to minute details.

**puris** (like 'album' and 'nigro'), an epithet for the eye (see on Od. 2. 7. 21), leads specially to what is to be said on scrupulous cleanliness. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 13 n.

**catillis,** the dim. of 'catinus'; see Sat. 1. 3. 92. It seems to stand here for little salt-cellars.

76. **immane vitium.** A playful exaggeration.

**macello,** where the fish itself was bought, Sat. 2. 3. 229, and in this Satire v. 37 'cara mensa.'

Angustoque vagos pisces urgere catino.
Magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
Tractavit calicem manibus dum furta ligurrit;
Sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit.
Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
Consistit sumptus? Neglectis flagitium ingens.
Ten lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
Et Tyrias dare circum inluta toralia vestes,
Oblitum quanto curam sumptumque minorem
Haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis
Quae nisi divitibus nequeant contingere mensis?'
Docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus,
Ducere me auditum, perges quocunque, memento.
Nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta,
Non tamen interpres tantundem iuveris. Adde
Voltum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus
Non magni pendis, quia contigit; at mihi cura

77. **angusto vagos.** The verbal antithesis is to express the incongruity. To come more closely, it may be doubted whether 'vagos' describes the look of the fish 'sprawling,' 'all abroad,' on the dish too small for it, or (as though he gave a slightly ludicrous reason) its previous habits, with the sea to roam in, now cooped up where it could not lie at length. Cp. the picture in Sat. 2. 8. 42 'squillas inter murena natantes In patina porrecta.'

79. **dum**: depends on 'unctis,' 'which has become greasy whilst,' etc. Cp. the slave in Sat. 1. 3. 80 'patinam qui tollere iussus Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius.'

80. **gravis**: prob. as Orelli, 'offensive.'

**veteri**: like the epithets in vv. 83, 84 'varios,' 'Tyrias,' to emphasize the inconsistency; an old and valuable mixing-bowl; but left uncleaned.

**limus**, 'dried sediment.'

81. **scopis**, from 'scopa,' 'brooms.'

**mappis.** Here apparently napkins for the waiters. In Sat. 2. 8. 63 and Epp. 1. 5. 22 they are for the guests.

**scobe.** Mayor on Juv. Sat. 14. 67 shows that the sawdust (sometimes coloured and perfumed, sometimes of precious material) was strewn on the floor and remained there during the feast.

**quantus**, 'how great is it'? i.e. 'is it a large one'?

82. **neglectis**, abl. absol., supply 'est.'

83. **ten . . . radere.** See on Sat. 1. 9. 72 'hunccine solem Tam nigrum surrexe mihi'? 2. 8. 66.

**lapides varios**, the tessellated pavement.

**palma**, a broom of palm-leaves.

84. **inluta toralia**: Epp. 1. 5. 22 'ne turpe toral ne sordida mappa Corruget nares.' 'Toralia' are of some washing material thrown over or round the permanent covers of richer stuff.

For **vestes**, of the covers of couches, see Sat. 2. 3. 118, 2. 6. 103, 106.

86. **reprehendi**, 'they are complained of'; a short way of saying 'every carelessness about them is complained of.'

88–95. Horace returns to the mystery of v. 11, 'Who can the great teacher be? The best reporter will not make up for him. I must see him and learn the secrets of a happy life.'

89. **perges quocunque**, 'whithersoever it be that you will go,' i.e. to hear some more such lectures.

91. **interpres**, 'being only a reporter.'

Non mediocris inest, fontes ut adire remotos
Atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae.

94. From Lucretius I. 927 'iuvat integros accedere fontes Atque haurire,' etc. He makes fun of the culinary lecture by speaking of it as though it were what the Epicurean philosophy was to Lucretius.

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## SATIRE V.

### TIRESIAS, OR LEGACY-HUNTING.

THIS practice is touched in passing in Epp. I. I. 77. It is described in Cicero, Paradox 5. 2 'An eorum servitus dubia est, qui cupiditate peculii nullam conditionem recusant durissimae servitutis? Hereditatis spes quid iniquitatis in serviendo non suscipit? quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat? Loquitur ad voluntatem: quidquid denunciatum sit, facit: assectatur, assidet, muneratur.' The 'orbitas' which was the temptation to it belongs to that disinclination to marriage and its responsibilities which was a marked feature of Roman life. See notes on Od. 4. 7. 19, C. S. 18–20.

The satirical description of the arts of a 'captator' (v. 57) is thrown into the form of a burlesque continuation of the dialogue between Ulysses and the shade of Tiresias in Odyss. II.

It starts with Tiresias' prophecy in v. 114 foll.

*ὀψὲ κακῶς νεῖαι ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους,*
*νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης· δήεις δ' ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ*
*ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους οἵ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσι.*

Verses 1–3. *Ulysses.*—'One more thing, Tiresias; you should tell me how to retrieve my lost fortunes. Why do you laugh?'

3–5. *Tiresias.*—'Is it not enough for a man of your renown that you shall get safe home?'

5–8. *Ulysses.*—'The good part of your prophecy is no doubt true; but so is the bad, and I am to arrive at home stripped of all I have, and find my stores plundered by the suitors. What is a man without substance, even if he be a king or a hero?'

9, 10. *Tiresias.*—'It is a simple case, and may be prescribed for simply. What you dread is "pauperies"; listen, and hear how to become "dives."

10–17. Make up to some rich old man. If a delicacy is given to you, send it on to him—the best produce of your farm; he must come before the household gods. Whatever his character and antecedents, never refuse to walk with him and give him the place of honour.'

18–22. *Ulysses.* 'The place of honour to Dama! That is to belie all I ever was.'
*Tiresias.* 'Very well, then you must be content to go without wealth.'
*Ulysses.* 'I submit; I have borne worse than this—only tell me, prophet, how to amass wealth.'

23–26. *Tiresias.* 'I have told you already. Turn legacy-hunter; don't be easily discouraged if one or another escapes you.

27–44. If a case is being heard in the forum, and one party is a rich man without children, ask nothing more—espouse his cause—address him by his praenomen—make him go home and nurse himself, and leave his case in your hands; stick to it through midsummer or midwinter. Your assiduity and energy will attract attention and open the way to other ventures.

45–50. Look also for a rich man with one sickly heir. It is really a safer game than one evidently without heirs.

51–55. If you are offered a will to read, refuse it steadily; yet in putting it from you manage to catch a side glance at the second line on the first page; see if your name is there, and alone or with others.

55–59. There are many slips. A Coranus will often outwit a Nasica.'

58. *Ulysses.* 'What can you mean? Are you jesting with me?'

59–60. *Tiresias.* 'Do not laugh at my prophecies. They are as true as all prophecy.'

61. *Ulysses.* 'Explain.'

62–69. *Tiresias.* 'It is a tale of the days of Aeneas' great descendant. Nasica will give his daughter to Coranus in the hope of a legacy which shall free him from debt. Coranus will hand him his will to read; after much refusal Nasica will take it and find himself disappointed.

70–83. My further instructions. If your patron is under the rule of some dishonest dependents, make up to them. Humour his own tastes.

84–88. Be warned by the story of the old woman of Thebes, who was determined to slip through her heirs' fingers after her death as she had not done so while alive.

89–91. There are dangers on both sides: too little zeal and too much, loquacity and silence.

91–98. Play the obsequious slave of the stage—watch your patron's needs and whims.

99–106. Do not drop your attentions when he is dead and you find yourself left with a quarter of his property. Gain credit by show of your feeling.

107–109. Make up to one of your coheirs.

109–110. But Proserpine summons me—I must away.'

HOC quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
Responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
Artibus atque modis. Quid rides? 'Iamne doloso
Non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penates
Adspicere?' O nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut

1. **praeter narrata.** As we have seen, it is supposed to be a continuation of the conversation in Odyss. 11. So the 'amissas res' in v. 2 refer to the prophecy of v. 114 quoted above.

3. **quid rides?** He sees a smile on Tiresias' face. Tiresias proceeds to explain it.

**iam,** ἤδη, 'Is this what we have come to?'

**doloso,** a trans. of Homer's epithets for Ulysses *πολύτροπος, πολύμητις.* It is probably, as Heind. takes it, the third person—'to a man of craft.' Tiresias affects surprise that a man of such resource should show such lack of self-dependence.

5. **nulli quicquam mentite**: perhaps in remembrance of the description of Tiresias in Soph. Antig. 1092 *ἐπιστάμεσθα . . . μή πώποτ' αὐτὸν ψεῦδος ἐς πόλιν λακεῖν*, Oed. R. 298 *μάντιν . . . ᾧ | τἀληθὲς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων μόνῳ.*

Nudus inopsque domum redeam, te vate, neque illic
Aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus ; atqui
Et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est.
'Quando pauperiem, missis ambagibus, horres,
Accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus
Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
Res ubi magna nitet domino sene ; dulcia poma
Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores
Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives ;
Qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
Sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
Tu comes exterior si postulet ire recuses.'

6. **te vate**, Epod. 16. 66; 'according to your prophecy'; i. e. in Odyss. 11. 113.

7. **apotheca**, 'storeroom,' and especially the room upstairs, and often connected with the chimney, where wine was stored. See on Od. 3. 8. 11, 3. 21. 7, 3. 28. 7 (it is called there 'horreum'). Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 27. 67.

8. **vilior alga**, a proverbial comparison. Virg. Ecl. 7. 42 'proiecta vilior alga': cp. Od. 3. 17. 10 'alga inutili.'

9. **missis ambagibus.** These words are best taken neither (as the Schol. followed by Orelli, but against the natural order) with 'accipe,' nor (as Heind.) with 'horres,' but with the whole sentence: 'Let us use plainness of speech.' It apologizes for the bluntness of describing what Ulysses dreads as 'pauperies,' and what he seeks as 'ditescere.' These words occupy the emphatic places. 'Pauperies' has in Horace's language almost a technical sense; see on Od. 1. 1. 18, Epp. 1. 1. 45. The word transfers the question from the heroic age to the age of the poet. 'The complaint is the very one so dreaded in our Roman society, the prescription may well be the same which it adopts.'

10. **turdus**, 'obeso Nil melius turdo' Epp. 1. 15. 41. For the om. of 'sive' before 'turdus' see on Od. 1. 3. 16, 1. 6. 19.

11. **privum** (Epp. 1. 1. 93), to be taken with **dabitur**, for 'your own peculiar eating.' It is a phrase of Lucilius.

**devolet**: a humorous adaptation to the first-named present.

12. **poma**. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 78 'sunt qui Frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras.'

13. **honores**: see on Od. 1. 17. 16 'ruris honorum,' i. e. fruit, flowers, etc.

14. **ante Larem**, i. e. the Lares Rurales, who guarded the interests of the husbandman, and to whom offerings were made of his produce. See an excellent note by Prof. G. G. Ramsay on Tibullus 1. 1. 20. 'Consuetudo fuit ut rerum primitias Laribus ponerent' Porph.

15. **sine gente**: either because he is of servile origin or because he has become 'capite deminutus.'

16. **fugitivus**, one who has never even, legitimately, obtained his freedom; cp. Sat. 1. 5. 66.

17. **exterior**, i. e. as the Schol. explains, 'on the left side,' which is that on which a walker is more defenceless. To take the left hand of a companion was called 'latus claudere' Juv. S. 3. 131, or, as here, 'tegere'; cp. Suet. Claud. 24, where it is used of an act of condescension of Claudius towards his friend Plautius. Eutropius, relating the same incident, uses the phrase 'laevus incederet.' Ovid has the correlative 'interior' in speaking of two men walking together, Fast. 5. 67.

**si postulet**: not 'ask you to take that position,' but 'ask you to walk abroad with him.' If he asked it would be assumed that he did so as the superior.

**ne recuses.** See note on Sat. 2. 3. 88. This is, if the text is sound, an instance of the pres. subj. in prohibition which does not admit, as possibly that does, of being explained away. Those who, on such grounds, are ready to alter texts may perhaps accept the reading of the St. Gall MS. (σ) 'non,' comparing v. 91 of this Satire 'non sileas'; but it seems safer to allow that Horace, who has

Utne tegam spurco Damae latus? Haud ita Troiae
Me gessi certans semper melioribus. 'Ergo
Pauper eris.' Fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo;
Et quondam maiora tuli. Tu protinus unde
Divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.
'Dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
Testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
Insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
Aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas.
Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
Vivet uter locuples sine natis, improbus, ultro
Qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto
Defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
Sperne, domi si natus erit fecundave coniux.
"Quinte," puta, aut "Publi," (gaudent praenomine molles
Auriculae) "tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
Ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te
Contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,

Plautus and Terence at his finger tips, returned, at least in this instance, to a freedom habitual with them, as he does in Sat. 2. 4. 38, in the case of the indic. in an indirect question. See also note on v. 89 of this Satire.

18. **utne tegam.** Madv. § 353, obs. It is an analogous constr. to the indignant use of the infinitive with a question, as in Sat. 2. 4. 83. Cp. also the exclamatory use of 'ne' ('qui ne') in Sat. 1. 10. 21.

**Damae**, inf. v. 101; a frequent name with Horace for a slave: Sat. 1. 6. 38, 2. 7. 54; cp. Pers. S. 5. 78. It is said to be an abbreviation of 'Demetrius.'

19. **melioribus**: prob. as Prof. Palmer suggests, a Homeric echo, *κρείσσοσιν ἶφι μάχεσθαι* Il. 21. 486, etc.

20. **tolerare iubebo**, etc. after Homer's *τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης* Odyss. 20. 18.

22. **ruam**, of making a heap, as in Virg. Aen. 11. 211 'confusa ruebant ossa focis.'

**augur**, the Roman equivalent of *μάντις*. See on Od. 1. 2. 32.

25. **praeroso hamo**, 'having bitten the bait off the hook'; having accepted your presents without being induced by them to alter his will.

27. **res certabitur.** Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 49 'si quid certes.' The cogn. accus. has become the subject of the verb in the passive.

28. **uter**, the rel. of which 'illius' is the antecedent, 'whichever of the two . . . . take his side.'

**improbus** answers to 'fama priorem,' and so is to be repeated from the following words, 'though he be disreputable, though,' etc.

**ultro**, 'wantonly,' 'with no case.'

32. **puta**, 'suppose,' 'let us say.' It is parenthetical.

**gaudent praenomine.** The slave on manumission received a 'praenomen.' To be addressed by it would be a pleasure at once as a sign of familiarity and as sinking the old name with its associations. Cp. Pers. S. 5. 78 'Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit Marcus Dama, papae! Marco spondente recusas Credere tu nummos? Marco sub iudice palles? Marcus dixit, ita est,' etc.

**molles**, 'sensitive.'

34. **ius anceps**, 'the law with its ambiguities.' Cp. 'vafri iuris' Sat. 2. 2. 131.

36. **contemptum**: 'despise you and rob you.'

Ne quid tu perdas neu sis iocus." Ire domum atque
Pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse,
Persta atque obdura, seu rubra Canicula findet
Infantes statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes.
Nonne vides, aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
Inquiet, ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?
Plures adnabunt thunni et cetaria crescent.
Si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
Praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
Caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
Adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus

**cassa nuce,** 'a nutshell.' The great preponderance of MSS., including all the Bland., read 'quassa.' I venture to retain 'cassa' with Orelli and Munro, as it seems to be purely a question of spelling, and the MSS. of Plautus (who has 'cassa nux' Ps. 1. 3. 137, 'cassa glans' Rud. 5. 2. 37) give 'cassa.' However spelt, it seems not to be connected with 'quatio' but to be the adj. which Cicero uses (Tusc. D. 5. 41. 119) as a syn. for 'inanis,' which Virgil (Aen. 2. 85, etc.) constructs with an abl. and which we know in the compound 'incassum.'

37. **iocus,** 'an object of mirth,' as 'risus' in Sat. 2. 2. 107.

38. **pelliculam curare.** So 'cutem curare' Epp. 1. 2. 29, 1. 4. 15. It is a more or less contemptuous expression for 'making oneself comfortable.' Observing the distinction, noted on Epod. 17. 22, between 'pellis' and 'cutis' as well as the diminutive, we may take the expression here as containing an additional shade of contempt ('his precious hide').

**cognitor**: in the technical sense, the fully authorized representative of one of the parties to a suit.

39. **seu . . . seu.** The ridiculous description of the heat of summer, 'splitting the poor dumb statues,' is evidently (as Heind. pointed out) a parody, very possibly from the same tasteless poet as the following description of the cold of winter.

40. **pingui tentus omaso**: Epp. 1. 15. 34 'patinas cenabat omasi'; as though the coarseness of taste in his metaphors were connected with coarseness of taste in his feeding.

41. **Furius.** See on Sat. 1. 10. 36. The Scholiasts' note on this place is 'Furius Vivaculus (Bibaculus) in pragmatia (πραγματείᾳ, 'a narrative poem') belli Gallici, Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes'; a line which Quintilian (8. 6. 17) quotes, without naming the author, as an instance of a harsh metaphor.

42. Those who see you will notice to one another your zeal for your friend, and you will catch some more rich fools to make your prey.

**prope,** with 'stantem,' 'his next neighbour.'

**cubito tangens,** 'nudging.' Pers. S. 4. 34 'est prope te ignotus cubito qui tangat.'

43. **amicis aptus,** 'at his friends' disposal.'

44. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 79 'excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant.' It is to be noticed how Horace plays round the metaphor suggested by the habitual phrases 'captare testamenta' (v. 24), 'captator' (v. 57).

45. **validus male,** as 'male sanos' Epp. 1. 19. 3. Notice the antithesis expressing the advantage on both sides, 'a sickly heir,' 'a splendid property.'

46. **sublatus aletur,** 'shall have been born and be being reared.'

47. **caelibis,** the 'locuples sine natis' of v. 28, the obj. gen. after 'obsequium.'

**nudet te,** 'expose your purpose.' Sat. 2. 8. 74.

48. **officiosus**: by the fulness of your attentions.

48, 49. **ut et . . . et.** Difficulty has been felt in the sharp distinction between

Heres et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
In vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit.
Qui testamentum tradet tibi cunque legendum,
Abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento.
Sic tamen ut limis rapias quid prima secundo
Cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,
Veloci percurre oculo. Plerumque recoctus
Scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
Captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.'
Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?
'O Laërtiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non:
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.'
Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.
'Tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto

the two clauses which the repetition of 'et' implies, for 'heres secundus' seems to mean what was legally called 'heres substitutus,' i.e. a person named to receive the inheritance in default of the first-named heir ('institutus'). Heind., noticing that a few MSS. give 'ut' without 'et,' wished to read for 'ut et' 'uti,' the second clause then only explaining the first. Very probably however Schütz is right in taking the two clauses of two distinct wills, the supposition being that the sickly boy dies before his father and the legacy-hunter fills the gap, by being made first heir in a fresh will.

49. **Orco**: for dat. see on Od. 1. 24. 18.

50. **alea.** It is a hazard, a playing for chances, as contrasted with the simpler process of making up in the first instance to a childless man, but it is a hazard that seldom disappoints.

51. **quicunque,** (as often) = 'whenever any one.'

53. **limis,** sc. 'oculis,' 'by a side glance.'

**prima cera,** which Juvenal (S. 4. 19) calls 'praecipua cera'; the will is supposed to be written on several waxed tablets.

**secundo versu,** 'the second line'; the first would contain the testator's name. It is implied that the second would contain the name of the legatee.

55. **plerumque,** 'very often.' See on Sat. 1. 10. 15.

**recoctus scriba ex quinqueviro.** A commissioner who has gone into the melting pot and come out as a clerk. Cicero uses 'quinquevir' as the title of one of the humblest of public officers, Acad. Prior. 2. 44 'neminem consulem praetorem imperatorem, nescio an ne quinquevirum quidem quenquam nisi sapientem.' A commission of five, perhaps the one intended, had charge of the night police. The purpose of the description is not apparent. Possibly, as some editors think, it means that he was a man whose antecedents made it unlikely that he should be taken in. But it may be only personal, and beyond our power (as indeed the story is) wholly to unriddle.

56. **corvum hiantem.** The raven in Aesop's fable (Phaedr. 1. 13) opened its mouth at the fox's flattery to sing and dropped the cheese. Horace is referring to this fable, but as usually is the case with his reference to fables, to a single point in it.

59. It seems clear that Horace is parodying the ambiguous utterance of an ancient oracle. 'Iocatur in ambigua responsa' Schol. The words might mean to Tiresias 'will be (if so I have said) or will not be (if so I have said),' but they would also bear and were meant to bear the safe meaning 'either will be or will not be.'

62. **iuvenis.** Od. 1. 2. 41 n.

**alto**: Od. 3. 4. 37 n. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 500 'genus alto a sanguine Teucri.'

Demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
Magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
Filia Nasicae metuentis reddere soldum.
Tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
Ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas
Accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque
Nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
Illud ad haec iubeo: mulier si forte dolosa
Libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
Accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut absens.
Adiuvat hoc quoque; sed vincit longe prius ipsum
Expugnare caput. Scribet mala carmina vecors:
Laudato. Scortator erit: cave te roget; ultro
Penelopam facilis potiori trade.' Putasne?
Perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,
Quem nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?
'Venit enim magnum donandi parca iuventus,
Nec tantum Veneris, quantum studiosa culinae.
Sic tibi Penelope frugi est, qui si semel uno
De sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum,
Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.
Me sene quod dicam factum est: anus improba Thebis

63. **demissum**: Virg. G. 3. 35 'demissaeque ab Iove gentis,' id. Aen. 1. 288.

**genus**, of a single descendant, as 'Valeri genus' Sat. 1. 6. 12. Cp. Od. 1. 3. 27, and Virg. Aen. 6. 500, just quoted.

65. **metuentis**: shrinking from as from something to be avoided if possible.

**soldum**, his debt in full, as Cicero, Rab. Post. 17. 46 'ita bona veneant ut solidum cuique solvatur.' Some edd. imagine the debt to be money borrowed of Coranus, which he hopes to be excused, in return for his daughter; others think of him as generally indebted and hoping for a legacy to put him straight. The story and personages are apparently familiar (notice e.g. the epithet 'procera,' which adds nothing to the scene as an ideal one) and needed no explanation. In his wider circle of readers Horace is content to leave much to the imagination, which will fill in the details variously. For the syncopated form 'soldum' see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

67. **multum**, as Epp. 1. 3. 15 'monitus multumque monendus.'

69. **praeter plorare**, χωρὶς τοῦ κλαίειν. It may be doubted whether 'praeter' is used here as a preposition, the infinitive being treated as an accusative in government after it, or rather as an adv. = 'praeterquam'; see Madv. § 172. III. obs. 2.

**suisque**. Even his daughter has got nothing by the sacrifice.

70. **illud**: Sat. 2. 3. 150 n.

71. **delirum**, 'doting,' as usually in Cicero, 'senex' de Or. 2. 18. 75, 'anus' de Div. 2. 68. 142, Tusc. D. 1. 21. 48.

**temperet**, 'rule.'

84. **me sene**. Prof. Palmer points out the play by which Tiresias, speaking as a shade, is made to refer back to his old age in the actual way that a living person says 'me puero,' etc. He speaks in character and lays the scene of the story at Thebes. The edd. show that Roman jurisprudence discouraged foolish and malicious instructions as to the

Ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
Unctum oleo largo nudis humeris tulit heres,
Scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo
Quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito:
Neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes.
Difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus; ultro
Non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus atque
Stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
Obsequio grassare; mone, si increbruit aura,
Cautus uti velet carum caput; extrahe turba
Oppositis humeris; aurem substringe loquaci.
Importunus amat laudari; donec Ohe! iam
Ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,

testator's sepulture; but this indicates that such instructions were not uncommon. Whether the present story is more than a caricature we cannot pronounce.

**improba**, *ἀναιδής*.

87. **scilicet**, explaining her motive in the condition.

**si**, 'to see if she could.' There was a variant in V, 'ut sic,' possible, but more likely to be a gloss than 'si.'

89. **neu desis . . . neve abundes.** It is possible to take these as final or interpretative clauses after the previous imperative, but it is simpler to take them independently. See on v. 17 of this Satire.

**abundes** is used absolutely, but an abl. or gen. of respect can be supplied in sense from 'operae,' 'be unmeasured and overflowing in your zeal.'

90. **difficilem**: A. P. 173.

**morosum**: Od. 1. 9. 18 'morosa canities,' 'moody.' Cicero couples the two adjectives, Orat. 29.

**ultro**, sc. 'quam ut garrulitatem vites.'

91. **non sileas.** The form of the advice is softened to a potential; but here as in the somewhat similar cases with the third person (Epp. 1. 18. 72, Virg. G. 3. 140, Aen. 12. 78; see Wagner's note there, and cp. Dräger, Hist. Syntax 1. p. 286), there is a special emphasis on the negative giving it a stronger force of contrast. 'Be cautious, etc., . . . but this does not mean that you will go into the other extreme and be silent.'

**Davus comicus**: 'the Davus (i.e. the slave) of the comic stage.' So 'comicus' Cic. Rosc. Am. 16. 47. Cp. 'tragicus Telephus' A. P. 95. Davus is the name of Horace's own slave in Sat. 7, who is there represented (except during the Saturnalia) as 'multum similis metuenti'; see vv. 1, 2. We do not know of any reference to a special comedy.

92. **capite obstipo**, 'bent head.' Pers. S. 3. 80 'obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram.'

**multum**, with 'similis,' as 'multum dissimiles' Epp. 1. 10. 3.

93. **grassare**, 'proceed,' 'make your approaches,' as frequently in Livy, 'iure non vi grassari' 3. 44, etc.

**increbruit**: 'has freshened.' Cic. ad Fam. 7. 20. 3 'ventus increbrescit,' Virg. A. 3. 530 'crebrescunt aurae.'

95. **substringe.** It is doubtful whether the expression is *literal*, of the actual attitude of a hearer who is rather deaf or fears to miss a word, holding the ear with his hand below it, or *metaphorical*, as Quintil. 10. 5. 4 'effusa substringere,' 'hold your ear fast,' i.e. do not allow your attention to wander; 'subiunge, patienter audi' Schol.

96. **importunus amat**: 'is eager in season and out of season.'

**Ohe.** Pers. S. 1. 23 'dicas cute perditus, Ohe!' The fuller phrase is 'Ohe iam satis est' Sat. 1. 5. 12. Orelli and others make 'ohe iam!' the exclamation; but the quotation from Persius makes for 'ohe!' 'Iam' then qualifies 'dixerit'; 'till he already shall lift his hands to heaven and cry "hold!"'

Crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
Cum te servitio longo curaque levarit,
Et certum vigilans, QUARTAE SIT PARTIS ULIXES,
Audieris, HERES: 'Ergo nunc Dama sodalis
Nusquam est? Unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?'
Sparge subinde, et, si paulum potes, illacrimare: est
Gaudia prodentem voltum celare. Sepulcrum
Permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue; funus
Egregie factum laudet vicinia. Si quis
Forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
Dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit
Emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. Sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina; vive valeque.'

98. **utrem**: the more you see the bladder swell, ply the more the bellows of flattery. Cp. a similar metaphor in Sat. 1. 4 19.

100. **certum vigilans.** With the certainty that you are not dreaming. Ovid has the opposite, 'incertum vigilans' Her. 10. 9.

**quartae partis**: the technical phrase would be 'ex quadrante.'

101. **audieris**, for the long īs see on Sat. 2. 2. 74.

**ergo**: Od. 1. 24. 5.

**Dama**: so he has called the rich man in v. 18.

102. **nusquam est.** In Greek it would be *οὐκέτ' ἐστίν*. Cicero, Tusc. D. 1. 6. 11 (of the dead) 'ubi ergo sunt, quos miseros dicis?...' 'Ego vero nusquam esse illos puto.' 'Igitur ne esse quidem.' 'Prorsus isto modo.'

**unde tam fortem**: for the ellipse cp. Sat. 2. 7. 116 'unde mihi lapidem?'

103. **sparge subinde**: Virg. Aen. 2. 98 'spargere voces in volgum'; 'let fall from time to time' such utterances as the two just given.

**illacrimare**, imper. deponent.

**est**, *ἔξεστι*: Epod. 17. 25, Epp. 1. 1. 32.

105. **permissum arbitrio**, 'if it is left to your discretion.'

108. **sit emptor**, 'should he wish to be a purchaser.'

109. **nummo te addicere**, 'that you gladly knock it down to him for a sesterce,' i. e. make it his at a nominal price. Cic. pro Rab. Post. 17. 45 'Ecquis est qui bona C. Rabirii Postumi nummo sestertio sibi addici velit?'

110. **imperiosa**, *ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια*. 'Saeva' Od. 1. 28. 20. It is Persephone who sends and withdraws the shades that visit Ulysses in Odyss. 11. vv. 47, 213, 226, 385, etc.

**vive valeque**, a Roman farewell; Epp. 1. 6. 67.

# SATIRE VI.

## COUNTRY LIFE AND TOWN LIFE.

Verses 1-5. In my Sabine farm I have got just what I longed for; and more than that, I have nothing more to ask for.

6-15. My prayers are the acceptable prayers of honesty, soberness, and contentment.

16-19. Here then is the first theme for my satiric muse, my happy mountain home, and the contrast with the vexations and dangers of the city.

20-26. Janus, god of the morning as of all beginnings, let us record a day in Rome from its beginning. First you summon me in hot haste, in any weather, to give surety for a friend.

27-31. When that dangerous business is over I have to fight my way through the streets. 'What are you about,' cries angrily one whom I have jostled, 'in such a hurry to keep an engagement again with Maecenas?'

32-39. Ay, *there* is the sweetening of town life to me, but I cannot even go to Maecenas' house in peace. As I get near it one waylays me to remind me that Roscius claims my attendance in the Forum to-morrow. Another that the scribes want me to-day. Another desires Maecenas' signature and I must get it for him. If I promise to do my best he thinks I am putting him off.

40-49. That is the way with my friendship for Maecenas. All these (nearly) eight years it has been misunderstood, the object of remark and of envy.

50-58. I am catechized about state secrets, and thought a wonderful man for not revealing what I do not know.

59-67. So a day is wasted in Rome. What wonder if I sigh for the country, for my books, my siesta, my simple supper:

67-76. amongst friends and home-bred slaves, no ceremony, no gossip, but talk on things of moment, the nature of happiness, the grounds of friendship, the end of life.

77-111. My neighbour, Cervius, has always one of his simple stories which just hits the point. For instance, if any one is rash enough to speak admiringly of the wealth of Arellius, he will tell the fable of the town mouse and the country mouse.

The Satire is of great importance in fixing the chronology of Horace's life and writings. If it can be dated itself it fixes (v. 40) the date of his admission to Maecenas' intimacy, and so gives a starting-point for dating most of the Satires of Book I. Three indications of date seem to be given in the Satire, in vv. 38 and 55, 56. For their full discussion see Introduction to the Satires, pp. 2-4.

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons

1. **Hoc**: this that follows, 'modus agri,' etc.

**erat in votis**, was a subject of my prayers. Cf. Epp. 1. 11. 5 'venit in votum.' Persius has 'erat in voto' 3. 49.

**modus agri**: Juv. S. 14. 172.

**non ita magnus**, 'not so very large,' i. e. 'of moderate size.'

2. **iugis**, with 'aquae,' as Epp. 1. 15. 16.

Et paulum silvae super his foret. Auctius atque
Di melius fecere. Bene est. Nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.
Si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem
Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
Si veneror stultus nihil horum: 'O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!
O si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi
Thesauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule!'; si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro:
Pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter

3. **paulum silvae.** Cf. Od. 3. 16. 29. Schütz reminds us of his words 'Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus' Epp. 2. 2. 77; cp. Od. 1. 1. 30.

**super his**, 'besides these.'

4. **bene est**, 'I am content.' It is used with a dat. in Od. 3. 16. 43, Epp. 1. 1. 89.

5. **Maia nate.** Mercury is the luck-bringer. We are not to think here of the special ground on which Horace claimed his patronage, somewhat later, as the god of the lyre; Od. 2. 7. 13, 2. 17. 29.

**propria**, 'my own,' in the sense that they are not to be taken away again; so Od. 2. 2. 22, Virg. Ecl. 7. 31 'Si proprium hoc fuerit.'

6. **si.** 'If, as is the case,' the apodosis being in v. 13 'hac prece te oro'; a form used in prayers; cp. Od. 3. 18. 1–5.

7. **vitio culpave**: 'culpa' includes errors in judgment. Ov. Trist. 4. 1. 24 'Et culpam in facto, non scelus, esse meo.'

8. **veneror nihil horum.** 'Veneror,' in the sense of 'to offer prayers,' is used (1) most commonly, with obj. accus. of the deity addressed, as in Virg. G. 1. 338 'in primis venerare deos.' (2) With *both* an obj. accus. *and* an 'ut-' clause, or jussive or optative subj. or a cogn. accus. of the prayer or wish, as Plaut. Aul. prol. 8 'venerans me ut id servarem sibi,' Virg. A. 3. 33 'Nymphas venerabar agrestes Rite secundarent visus'; cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 124, Caecin. apud Cic. Fam. 6. 7. 2 'Multa deos venerati sint contra suam salutem.' Cp. Hor. C. S. 49 n. (3) As here, with a cogn. accus. *only*. The sense of 'to pray,' 'to express a wish,' seems to have been (cp. the instances from Plautus in Forc.) historically prior to that of 'to reverence,' as it is etymologically the original one, if the root is the same as that of 'Venus' ('desire').

**stultus**, with 'veneror,' so that it falls under the negative of 'nihil,' 'I offer no such foolish prayer.'

9. **denormat**, spoils its regularity.

10. **illi qui mercenarius**, an instance of the attraction of which Horace is fond; cp. Sat. 2. 2. 59 'Cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre,' and see on Epod. 2. 37 'to the hired labourer who,' etc. Horace seems to be referring to some well-known story. We are reminded of the parable of the treasure hid in a field of St. Matt. 13. 44. With the wish cp. Persius' imitation, 2. 10 'O si Sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria, dextro Hercule'! which passage (see Conington's note) also illustrates the reference to Hercules as the giver of treasure-trove. For this see the full note of Ramsay's on Plautus' Mostellaria, 4. 3. 45. Mommsen (Rom. Hist. B. I. ch. 12) thinks there was a confusion of the Greek Heracles with the Sabellian Herculus or Hercules, the god of the homestead and so of property generally.

13. **quod adest**: Od. 3. 29. 32. It is questioned, but it is difficult to decide, whether 'gratum' is the acc. masc. or the nom. neut. 'Iuvat' is used absolutely in v. 32.

14. **pingue**, with a play on its sense of 'stupid;' Sat. 1. 3. 38, Epp. 2. 1. 267.

Ingenium, utque soles custos mihi maximus adsis.
Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
Quid prius illustrem satiris musaque pedestri?
Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu, Iane, libentius audis,
Unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
Instituunt, sic dis placitum, tu carminis esto
Principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: 'Eia,
Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.'
Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
Interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.

16. **in montes et in arcem**: see Od. 2. 6. 22 n., my mountain stronghold, safe retreat.

17. **satiris**: Sat. 2. 1. 1. See Introd. to Satires, p. 6.

**musa pedestri**: see on Od. 2. 12. 9, and cp. A. P. 95; and with the description of his Satires as 'prose-poetry' cp. Sat. 1. 4. 42, 48 'sermoni propiora,' 'nisi quod certo Sermoni differt, sermo merus,' and Epp. 2. 1. 250 'sermones . . . repentes per humum.'

18. **ambitio**, the pretentious and pushing life of the city. Horace speaks here as if in Rome he could not keep quite clear of it. In Sat. 1. 6. 129 he classes himself as one 'solutorum misera ambitione gravique.' Orelli quotes Ovid's pretty line, Met. 11. 765 'Secretos montes et inambitiosa colebat Rura.'

**plumbeus Auster**: of the depressing effect of the sirocco: Od. 2. 14. 16.

19. **Libitinae**: Od. 3. 30. 7, Epp. 2. 1. 49, the goddess who presides over the funeral rites, so that the sense is the same as Epp. 1. 7. 5 'ficus prima calorque Dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris.'

**quaestus**, 'a source of gain to.'

20. The commencement is mock heroic. He proceeds 'illustrare ruris felicitatem' by painting the troubles of life in Rome. The form is as Virg. Ecl. 3. 60 'ab Iove principium,' Theoc. 17. 1 ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, Arat. Phaen. 1 ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα: cp. Od. 1. 12. 13.

**matutine pater**, 'sire, god of the morning.' The Roman conception of Ianus as the god of beginnings, entrances, undertakings, is described in Ovid, Fast. 1. 63 foll. He was worshipped at the beginning of the year, the month, the day.

**Iane, audis.** For the use of 'audire,' like the Gr. ἀκούειν, in the sense of 'to be named,' cp. Sat. 2. 7. 101, Epp. 1. 7. 38, 1. 16. 17. For the vocative 'Iane' cp. Od. 2. 20. 6 n. 'quem vocas, dilecte.' It is the actual address which the god would 'hear.' It is helped by the preceding vocative as though it were 'vel Iane, si id libentius audis.'

21. **unde** = 'a quo,' Od. 1. 12. 17 n.

23. **sponsorem.** So in the list of distractions for a poet in Rome, Epp. 2. 2. 67 'Hic sponsum vocat.' Ianus is said to 'hurry him off to be surety for a friend,' with the meaning that this is the first occupation of his morning.

**eia . . . urge**, the words with which Ianus presses him. For 'eia' cp. Sat. 1. 1. 18 n.

24. **urge.** We are not to understand a personal object; the true parallel of the use (as Schütz points out) is the construction 'urgere opus,' 'to push on a work'; for 'opus' is substituted the obj.-clause 'ne prior . . . quisquam,' etc., 'be instant that none be before you,' etc. Cp. Od. 2. 18. 10 n.

**officio respondeat**, as Cic. 'officio satisfacere,' to fulfil an expected service.

25. 'However cold the wind or dark the mornings.'

26. **interiore . . . gyro**: a smaller circle, the arc traversed apparently by the sun growing smaller from day to day.

**trahit**, best taken with the Scholiasts as = 'breviorem facit,' 'contrahit'; cp. Lucr. 6. 967 'coria et carnem trahit et conducit in unum.' It is also explained of making the day come slowly.

Postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto,
Luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
'Quid vis, insane, et quas res agis?' improbus urget
Iratis precibus; 'tu pulses omne quod obstat,
Ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras?'
Hoc iuvat et melli est; non mentiar. At simul atras
Ventum est Esquilias aliena negotia centum
Per caput et circa saliunt latus. 'Ante secundam

27. **postmodo quod mi obsit**, 'to my own harm presently,' i. e. if my friend, for whom I have given security, plays false. 'Postmodo' has been also taken with 'luctandum,' 'presently,' i.e. as I go home from court; but cp. Od. 1. 28. 31 'nocituram postmodo te natis.'

**clare certumque.** Palmer suggests very probably that these words were part of the formula in which the 'sponsor' was called upon to give his pledge.

29. **quid vis, insane.** The words of the 'tardus' whom Horace has elbowed. Most of the best MSS. have 'Quid tibi vis,' which makes the line unmetrical. Bentley pointed out that this rather than 'quid vis' was the usual phrase (cp. especially Propert. 1. 5. 3 'Quid tibi vis, insane?' and Pers. S. 5. 143 'quo deinde, insane, ruis? quo? Quid tibi vis?'). He therefore wished to accept it, and to emend the verse by reading 'quam rem' for 'quas res,' quoting many instances of 'quam rem agis' from the comic writers. It is of course quite possible on the other side that the fact that 'quid tibi vis' was the commoner phrase led to the early corruption. Several MSS., reading 'quid tibi vis,' otherwise emend the line, some omitting 'agis,' others omitting 'et,' and putting 'insane' after 'agis.'

30. **precibus**, i.e. 'imprecations.' Epod. 5. 86; cp. Sat. 2. 3. 203 'mala multa precati,' 2. 7. 36 'non referenda precati.'

**tu pulses.** Best taken as a further remonstrance of the 'improbus,' the 'unreasonable' fellow who does not like to be jostled by a man in a hurry. Horace in his self-consciousness imagines him to know where he is going. Grammatically it is a regular conditional sentence. 'Is this the principle, the accepted condition, that if you, sir ("tu"), are in a hurry to get to Maecenas' house, where you remember an engagement, you would elbow anything or anybody that was in your way?'

31. **recurras.** Schütz well compares 'revocant' in Od. 4. 1. 8. The 're-' implies that Maecenas' house is his habitual resort. With the whole picture of the man in a hurry, making his way by jostling, cp. Plaut. Capt. 4. 2. 11 foll. 'Eminor interminorque, ne quis mihi obstiterit obviam, Nisi qui sat diu vixisse sese homo arbitrabitur: Nam qui obstiterit ore sistet,' etc.

32. **hoc**: these visits to Maecenas. 'They are, I will confess it, a sweetening of town life; but I can't even pay them in peace. My very friendship with Maecenas is a source of fresh worries.'

**atras**, from the old use of the place before Maecenas built his palace and laid out the gardens; see Sat. 1. 8, introd. The epithet is complained of as out of keeping here; but it seems purposed, and to refer to what follows: 'something of the old gloomy associations still hangs about it.'

34. **per caput**, 'over head and ears.' The use of 'per' as in Catull. 17. 9 'per caput pedesque.'

**circa latus**, 'in front and on flank.' The metaphor of **saliunt** is doubtful: of a hailstorm? of waves (Ritter)? of a swarm of troublesome insects? It has been questioned whether the lines that follow describe requests which Horace remembers (so Orelli, who takes 'per caput' as 'through my head'), or which are urged by messengers who waylay him near Maecenas' door. A strong argument for the latter view is the repetition of 'orabant,' which has a definite point if two independent messages are reported, both harping on the same troublesome string, but is un-Horatian if he is speaking himself. If they are in the mouth of messengers the

Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.'
'De re communi scribae magna atque nova te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'
'Imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis.'
Dixeris, 'Experiar:' 'Si vis, potes,' addit et instat.
Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus
Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
In numero; dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda
Vellet iter faciens et cui concredere nugas
Hoc genus: 'Hora quota est? Thrax est Gallina Syro par?

tense of 'orabat,' 'orabant,' is the epistolary imperfect (Madv. § 345) used also in messages, as Ter. Eun. 3. 3. 26 'Thais maxumo te orabat opere ut cras redires.'

**ante secundam . . . adesses ad Puteal.** Cp. the parallel quoted from Cic. pro Quintio 6. 25 'necessarios . . . corrogat ut ad tabulam Sestiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie.' 'Tabula Sestia' is not mentioned elsewhere, though 'tabula Valeria' occurs in similar connections in Cic. pro Vatin. 9. 21 and ad Fam. 14. 2. They are variously explained as bankers' counters where money would be paid or accounts verified, and as the localities of courts for the settlement of money questions. A similar doubt, as old as the Scholiasts, besets the meaning of 'puteal'; 'locus Romae ad quem veniebant feneratores; alii dicunt: in quo tribunal solebat esse Praetoris' Acr. It cannot therefore be certainly determined whether Horace's unknown friend Roscius has asked his countenance in court (for 'adesset' in this sense cp. Sat. 1. 9. 38) or his presence or guarantee at a banker's. On 'puteal' see further on Epp. 1. 19. 8.

36. **re communi.** The 'scribae,' clerks in public offices, were organized in 'decuriae.' Cicero calls them collectively 'ordo' in Verr. Act. 2. 3. 79. 183 Horace had held a clerkship in the quaestor's office. 'Communi' naturally means 'common to them and you'; but this would not necessarily imply that Horace was still engaged as a 'scriba.' His interest in these affairs would still be taken for granted by the 'scribae,' though from his own point of view he classes them amongst 'aliena negotia.'

37. **Quinte.** Orelli bases on this use of the 'praenomen' his chief argument for these being soliloquies. He thinks a messenger would not have been so familiar; but perhaps this is answered by Ritter; the scribes address Horace as an old colleague; the message may well be brought by one of the order. This is the only place where Horace's 'praenomen' is named in his writings.

**reverti**: to come back from the Esquiline to the Forum.

38. **imprimat signa.** It is a highly probable inference from these words that Maecenas was at the time of the writing of the Satire in the position described in Dion 51. 3, having charge of affairs at home during Augustus' absence from Italy, and bearing his signet ring; see Introd. to the Satires, p. 3.

39. **dixeris**, the subj. of supposition, the second person generalizing, as though Horace's experience were not peculiar; 'if one says.'

40. **septimus octavo propior iam fugerit**, 'the seventh year, already nearing the eighth, will soon be gone,' i. e. it is now seven, or more nearly eight years since, etc. For the bearing and difficulties of this line see Introd. to the Satires, p. 3.

42. **dumtaxat ad hoc**, 'at least to this extent,' the extent defined by the relative clause 'quem tollere vellet,' etc.

44. **hoc genus.** Madv. § 237, c. obs. 3.

**Thrax**: Epp. 1. 18. 36: a gladiator armed with Thracian buckler and short sword. A 'Thrax' was usually coupled with a 'mirmillo.' **Gallina**, a nickname, perhaps of a Gaul, and **Syrus** are proper names.

Matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent ;'
Et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
Per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam
Invidiae noster. Ludos spectaverat una,
Luserat in campo : Fortunae filius ! omnes.
Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor :
Quicunque obvius est me consulit : 'O bone, nam te
Scire deos quoniam propius contingis oportet ;
Numquid de Dacis audisti ?' Nil equidem. 'Ut tu
Semper eris derisor !' At omnes di exagitent me
Si quicquam. 'Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra
Praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus ?'
Iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
Perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis :

45. **mordent :** so of heat, Epp. 1. 8. 5.

46. **rimosa,** 'leaky' : Ter. Eun. 1. 2. 25 'plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo' ; 'things which may be safely talked of to the most indiscreet.' Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 70 'Nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures.'

48. **noster,** 'our friend,' i.e. I myself, ἀνὴρ ὅδε, a colloquialism found from time to time in Plautus, as Rud. 4. 7. 19 'minume istuc faciet noster Daemones,' where Daemones is speaking. Bentley first perceived the meaning. Previous editors had punctuated at 'Invidiae,' attaching 'noster' to the following sentence only, and interpreting it either of Maecenas or of Horace, the words being put into the mouth of the jealous critics.

**spectaverat :** he carries on the third person from 'noster.' For the plpft. indic. of a case supposed cp. Epp. 2. 2. 151. Bentley from a few secondary MSS. read 'spectaverit,' and from still fewer 'luserit,' and they are accepted by many recent edd.

**una,** i. e. with Maecenas.

49. **Fortunae filius :** our figure would be 'Fortune's favourite.' Sophocles' παῖς τύχης Oed. R. 1080 is hardly relevant.

50. **frigidus,** i. e. alarming.

**manat,** the indic. of a supposition : see above on v. 48.

**a Rostris per compita :** the rumour would start from the centre of Roman life, and spread through the lesser gathering places. For 'compita' see on Sat. 2. 3. 26.

51. **O bone :** infra v. 95, Sat. 2. 3. 31, Epp. 2. 2. 37.

52. **deos,** as the fountain-head of knowledge.

53. **Dacis.** For the bearing of this question see p. 3.

**ut :** an exclamation, as Sat. 2. 8. 62 'ut semper gaudes' ; cp. Od. 1. 11. 3 n. 'ut melius.'

55. **si quicquam,** sc. 'audivi.'

**quid ?** a fresh question, perhaps a fresh questioner.

**Triquetra.** Lucr. 1. 717 'triquetris terrarum in oris,' of the three-cornered island 'Trinacria,' Sicily. The reference is probably to the assignment of lands to the soldiers after the 'bellum Actiacum.' See Introd. to the Satires, p. 3.

57. **unum,** one above all others ; the only one that deserves to be so styled. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 24, Epp. 1. 9. 1. This is analogous to the use of 'unus' with the superlative, 'iustissimus unus Qui fuit e Teucris' Virg. A. 2. 426. It is distinct from the instances sometimes quoted to illustrate it, 'unus caprimulgus' Catull. 22. 10, 'unus paterfamilias' Cic. de Or. 1. 29. 32. See notes of Ellis and of Wilkins on these places. That use is inclusive, 'one of the class,' this is exclusive, 'the one and only one.'

59. **perditur,** 'is wasted.' The only instance in good Latin of the pres. pass.

O rus, quando ego te adspiciam? quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
Ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?
O quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo?
O noctes cenaeque deum! quibus ipse meique
Ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est
Siccat inaequales calices conviva, solutus
Legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
Pocula seu modicis uvescit laetius. Ergo

of 'perdo.' On which account Lachmann would alter it, suggesting 'porgitur,' others 'proditur.'

**votis**: illustrated in the aspirations of vv. 60–65.

61. **veterum libris**. What books they would be we may see in Sat. 2. 3. 11, Epp. 1. 2. 1.

**somno**: Od. 1. 1. 20, Epp. 1. 14. 35.

62. **ducere**: Od. 1. 17. 21. The metaphor is evidently from the 'waters of Lethe.'

**oblivia**, the draughts that make us forget.

**vitae**, the gen. obj.

63. **faba Pythagorae cognata**. For the allusion cp. Epp. 1. 12. 21 n., and Juv. S. 15. 173. 'Pythagoras cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui Tanquam homine, et ventri indulsit non omne legumen,' with Mayor's exhaustive note. The reference is to the Pythagorean proverb *κυάμων ἀπέχεσθαι* Diog. Laert. 8. 18. It is one of a series of short rules on diet, some of which were generally interpreted literally, some as metaphors. Cicero mentions it (de Div. 1. 30. 62) 'Pythagoricis interdictum ne faba vescerentur,' and explains it 'quod habet inflationem magnam is cibus, tranquillitati mentis quaerentis vera contrariam.' Many other fanciful reasons are given. The ground given in the text, connecting it with the doctrine of metempsychosis, as though in eating a bean you might be unconsciously eating a kinsman, whether it be an original jest of Horace's or not, suits well with the tone of amused interest with which he habitually refers to the Pythagorean school. See introd. to Od. 1. 28, and cp. also his treatment of another Pythagorean proverb in Sat. 2. 3. 276. The immediate purpose of the allusion in this place is to give a humorous exaltation to the vegetable which Horace appreciates: Pythagoras honoured it in one way: Horace honours it in another.

64. **satis**, with **uncta**. For the dish cp. Sat. 2. 2. 116 'olus fumosae cum pede pernae.'

65. **mei**, the guests; his easy relation to whom he describes in the following verses.

66. **procaces**, 'saucy.' He is painting the freedom and homeliness of his establishment. Cp. the similar scene in Epod. 2. 65 'Positosque vernas . . . Circum renidentes Lares.'

67. **libatis** (Virg. Aen. 5. 92 'Libavitque dapes'), 'tasted,' i.e. from the master's table, and with plenty still left for the slaves. The word denotes the moderation of the meal.

**prout**, a monosyll., as 'quoad' Sat. 2. 3. 91.

68. **inaequales**, i.e. mixed in different proportions, as explained in the following line. See on Od. 3. 19. 11.

**solutus legibus insanis**: see on Sat. 2. 2. 123.

70. **uvescit**. Cp. the adj. 'uvidus' in Od. 2. 19. 18, 4. 5. 39.

**ergo**, 'and so'; as in Epod. 2. 9, there is slight illative force. The freedom to talk of what is interesting is part and parcel of the absence of other foolish conventionalities. With the picture of the conversation on high matters which gives its flavour to the simple feast cp. the words of Lucilius quoted by Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24 'Condito sermone bono,' evidently in the same connection.

Sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec male necne Lepos saltet ; sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet et nescire malum est agitamus : utrumne
Divitiis homines an sint virtute beati ;
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos ;
Et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.
Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas. Si quis nam laudat Arelli
Sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit : ‘ Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
Asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
Solveret hospitiis animum. Quid multa ? neque ille
Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
Aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi
Frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo ;
Cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna

71. **de villis . . . alienis**, i. e. topics of envy, as the following line represents those of frivolity.

72. **Lepos** : according to the Schol. the name or nickname of a famous ‘ mimus’ of the day, so named ‘ quod molliter saltaret et eloqueretur.’

73. **nescire malum est.** We might without harm be ignorant of the merits and demerits of a dancer.

**utrumne** : see on Sat. 2. 3. 251.

75. **usus** : *τὸ χρήσιμον.*

77. **Cervius . . . Arelli**, names of neighbours. The name ‘ Cervius ’ occurs in a wholly different connection in Sat. 2. 1. 47.

**garrit**, of light and easy talk. Cp. Sat. 1. 10. 41.

78. **ex re** : stories ‘ of the nursery,’ but redeemed from triviality by their being exactly ‘ to the point.’

79. **sollicitas ignarus** : exactly the collocation of adjectives which we notice in the Odes. See on Od. 1. 3. 10 ‘ fragilem truci.’

**olim**, ‘ once upon a time,’ the formula of a fable, Epp. 1. 1. 73.

80. **rusticus urbanum murem mus** : the pairing of the words and the repetition say rather happily ‘ it is only a story of mice, but the essential difference is the same as if they had been men.’

82. **asper** : perhaps like Virgil’s ‘ asper victu ’ Aen. 8. 318, ‘ faring roughly.’ The mouse of the country is painted as like a countryman ; cp. ‘ durus attentusque ’ Epp. 1. 7. 90.

**ut** = ‘ ita ut,’ a qualification of the two adjectives, ‘ not but that he unbent occasionally.’

83. **hospitiis**, acts of hospitality, the abl.

**ille**, a mouse of his character : for the use of ‘ ille ’ cp. Od. 4. 9. 51, Sat. 2. 3. 204.

84. **sepositi**, ‘ choice.’

**longae**, prob. (as Palmer) of the shape of the grain of oats. It is then in contrast with the round pea. The banquet is described from the point of view of the mouse, who pictures his dainties to the eye as well as the taste, as the human epicure does. For Horace’s way of suggesting a contrast by an epithet with one of the two subjects, see on Od. 2. 3. 9, 3. 4. 46, 3. 13. 7, 4. 4. 10. The gen. of respect is Greek ; *οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ | ἀλλοτρίων φθονέειν* Hom. Od. 18. 18 : see on Ode 2. 9. 17.

87. **male** with **tangentis**, ‘ just touching,’ of his languid and fastidious air.

88. **palea horna**, threshed out straw fresh from the threshing-floor. Horace

Esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc: "Quid te iuvat," inquit, "amice,
Praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
Mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
Aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
Dum licet in rebus iucundis vive beatus;
Vive memor quam sis aevi brevis." Haec ubi dicta
Agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
Ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
Moenia nocturni subrepere. Iamque tenebat
Nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
In locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
Multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
Quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris.
Ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes

is preparing the contrast of his seat in the town-house; v. 106.

89. **ador** = 'far,' 'spelt,' a harder and coarser grain. Ritter suggests that he is finding grains of this in the imperfectly threshed ears.

**lolium**, darnel, the 'tares' of the Parable, which would be cut with the corn and left unthreshed on the floor.

90. **ad hunc**: not unlike the use in Epod. 9. 17; 'at the sight of him,' 'in reply to him.'

91. **patientem**, absol., as Sat. 2. 5. 43, but with more sense of a life of hardship: as in Virg. Ecl. 10. 52 'in silvis inter spelaea ferarum Malle pati.'

92. **vis tu**, 'surely you will.' Bentley was the first to point out (on this place) the idiomatic force 'orantis, hortantis, flagitantis, iubentis,' which belongs to this form, as contrasted with 'vin tu' (Sat. 1. 9. 69, which he unnecessarily altered), which only asks a question. Cp. Juv. S. 5. 74 'Vis tu consuetis audax conviva canistris Impleri, panisque tui novisse colorem;' 'have the goodness, please, bold guest,' &c.

93. **mihi crede**, 'trust my advice.'

**quando**, 'since,' the townmouse preaches the Epicurean lesson.

95. **quo, bone, circa**. A tmesis not found elsewhere. For 'bone' see Sat. 2. 3. 31 n., and this Satire v. 51.

98. **pepulere**, 'struck,' 'impressed,' a Ciceronian use.

100. **nocturni**, 'while it was still night.' For the adj. cp. Sat. 1. 3. 117, and 'vespertinus' in Epod. 16. 51, Sat. 2. 4. 17.

**iamque tenebat**. Notice the Epic form, and cp. Sat. 1. 5. 9.

103. **canderet**, 'glowed.' It is a poetical extension of the use of the word of fire and things glowing from heat: 'lamna candente' Epp. 1. 15. 36. The subj. is due to the causal force of 'ubi,' explaining 'locuplete.' We return to the indicative in 'quae . . . inerat,' which states that there actually were such remains.

**vestis**, of the covers of furniture. See on Sat. 2. 4. 84.

105. **procul**, 'hard by.' It expresses separation, but not necessarily distance. Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 32; and see Conington's note on Virg. A. 10. 835.

**hesterna**, of yesterday's feast.

107. **veluti succinctus**. Like a waiter with his tunic girt up. Sat. 2. 8. 10 'alte cinctus.'

Continuatque dapes nec non verniliter ipsis
Fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
Rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
Exanimes trepidare simul domus alta Molossis
Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus: "Haud mihi vita
Est opus hac," ait, "et valeas; me silva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo."'

108. **continuat dapes**: course after course without pause.

**ipsis officiis**, 'plays to the life the part of a homebred slave, even in his attentions, by licking every dish before he serves it'; *possibly* with a reference to the 'praegustator,' an institution introduced by Augustus from Eastern courts, but *certainly* with reference to the habits of slaves noticed in Sat. 1. 3. 81, 2. 4. 29.

112. **valvarum strepitus**: the noise of opening doors indicates that the household is awakened and the servants coming to clear the 'triclinium.'

114. **simul** = 'simul ac.' The barking of the watchdogs, who are disturbed by the movements, adds to the alarm of the mice.

**Molossis**: Epod. 6. 5, Virg. G. 3. 405. Mayor (in a long and interesting note on Juv. S. 15. 7) remarks on the noticeable absence in this fable (as in Greek and Roman life generally) of the cat.

115. **haud.** The emphatic negative, with 'mihi'; 'whatever you may think.'

116. **et**, 'and so.' See on Od. 2. 2. 11. Schütz prints it, et 'valeas,' 'et' introducing his second utterance.

**me solabitur**, 'will satisfy my needs.' Cp. Virg. G. 1. 159 'Concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu.'

# SATIRE VII.

## DAVUS, OR FREEDOM AND SLAVERY.

A DIALOGUE during the Saturnalia between Horace and his slave Davus.

Verses 1–5. *D.* 'If I could only have my turn at fault finding.'

*H.* 'Is that Davus'?

*D.* 'Yes, Davus, not a bad bargain to his master, for all his faults.'

*H.* 'Well, use the licence of the Saturnalia, and say your say.'

6–20. Davus starts off in the style in which Horace represents a Stoic lecturer as declaiming, with stock instances to illustrate his picture of life.

'Mankind is divided into those who are consistent in their vices, and those who hover between vice and virtue.

'Priscus was an instance of the last, Volanerius of the first, and his life was the less miserable of the two.'

21–45. Horace interrupts. 'What a long preamble, what does it all refer to'?

*D.* 'To you.'

*H.* 'How, villain'?

*D.* 'You praise moderation but don't practise it. You praise the country when you are in town—the town when you are in the country. If you are not asked out to dinner, it is all "a dinner of herbs." If an invitation comes rather late you are in a fuss and fury to be gone. The poor parasite who meant to sup with you goes away disappointed, but he sees through you, and is more honest than you are. Nay, I, your slave, am more of a philosopher than you. Don't frown at me; listen to the lessons which I picked up from the porter at Crispinus' lecture-room.'

46–71. Davus then begins again with a coarse declamatory comparison, evidently (from vv. 53, 54 'proiectis insignibus, annulo equestri . . . prodis ex iudice Dama') not addressed personally to Horace, between the vices of slaves and those of their masters, to the disadvantage of the latter, as worse and leading to a more hopeless slavery.

72–94. He supposes Horace to protest: 'non sum moechus'; but brushes the excuse aside with the Stoic doctrine that abstinence from vice from secondary motives is no true abstinence. (Cp. Epp. 1. 16. 46 f.) 'You are a slave whom no manumission can free. I am at most your deputy slave or your fellow slave. No one is free, but the wise man, who is master of himself. That is not the position of one who is at the beck and call of a mistress.

95–101. 'So you share your slave's other faults. He loiters to look at pictures (after his degree), so do you: though they call you a man of taste for it, while they call him a lazy fellow.

102–111. 'He likes a smoking cake; your virtue is not proof against a good supper. If he gets a thrashing, you get a fit of indigestion. It is as bad to sell your estates to feed your gluttony, as for a slave to exchange his master's "strigil" for a bunch of grapes. [Davus is getting away from Horace again.]

111–115. 'Nay, you are a runaway, for you are always trying to escape yourself and give the slip to care; but you are caught again, as a slave might be.'

116–118. This last sally is supposed to exhaust Horace's patience, and after one more thrust Davus is driven away by the threat that he shall be sent to the Sabine farm.

It is a companion Satire to the third of this Book. The substantial part of both is in the playful use of a Stoic paradox as a text for a discourse on the follies of men. In both Horace turns the laugh against himself, Damasippus there, Davus here, charging him with his own faults and especially with the two, laziness (Sat. 3) and changeableness (Sat. 7), to which he professes to plead guilty in Epp. 1. 8. 10–12. In the third Satire the thesis taken is the one dealt with in Cicero's Paradox, 4 *ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται*, in this one Cicero's Paradox, 5 *ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος*. There are signs in both that Horace was familiar with Cicero's expositions of the text. The setting in each case is dramatic, the paradox being pressed on Horace in Sat. 3 by the bankrupt virtuoso, who has himself been saved from suicide by discovering that he was no more mad than most men—in this Satire being put into the concrete form of a slave's claim, urged with the freedom of a licensed moment, to be as good as his master. In neither Satire is the dramatic purpose kept perfectly; when the Stoic teaching is reached the style becomes declamatory and imitative of the lecturer, and the particular occasion is for the moment forgotten.

The Bland. MSS. had this Satire (as have some good extant MSS.) written continuously with the preceding one—evidently a mistake; but it bears witness to a true instinct of the close relation between this Satire and its predecessors. Bentley explains 'iamdudum ausculto' in v. 1 of Davus having heard Horace declaim Sat. 6, and feeling stirred to answer it. This is probably put too narrowly; but the position of the Satire in relation to Sat. 6, when compared with that of Sat. 3 to Sat. 2, and its position in relation to the Book in view of its manifest reference to both the directly didactic Satires (cp. vv. 22, 23 with Sat. 2. 2. 89–93, as well as v. 28 with Sat. 6) make it clear that one purpose is to lighten with his habitual irony any tone of assumption that might be felt in the preceding Satires. 'Who am I to lecture others? They may very well return it in kind.'

It should be noticed that it *is* irony, though the irony be a veil of real modesty. Not to speak of the graver charges which he seems to countenance against himself, his love for the country which he appears here, for fear of having spoken too enthusiastically about it in Sat. 6, to undervalue as a mere phase of feeling, was deep and true; see Epp. 1. 10. 2 and 14. He contrasts his own constancy in respect of it with his bailiff's changeableness, Epp. 1. 14. 14–26.

'IAMDUDUM ausculto et cupiens tibi dicere servus
Pauca reformido.' Davusne? 'Ita, Davus, amicum

1. **Iamdudum ausculto**, 'I have been all this time listening.' Bentley asks, 'to what'? and answers, 'to the reading of the preceding Satire.' Davus being supposed to have overheard it and to wish to take the conceit out of its author; but see Introduction. The scene is a fragment. Davus, accustomed to listen, claims for once to be listened to. The opposition between 'ausculto' and 'dicere' forbids Heindorf's interpretation of 'ausculto,' in the technical sense of 'wait at the door,' after Plaut. Truc. 1. 2. 1 'ad fores auscultato.'

2. **Davusne?** 'is that Davus?' forbids Macleane's view that Horace has been giving Davus good advice.

**ita**, 'just so,' 'yes,' a colloquial use.

Mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis, hoc est
Ut vitale putes.' Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra.
'Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget
Propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
Interdum pravis obnoxia. Saepe notatus
Cum tribus anellis, modo laeva Priscus inani,
Vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas,
Aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
Mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste;
Iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis
Vivere, Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis.

3. **frugi**: 'servus frugi' Cic. Clu. 16. 47; 'honest,' 'serviceable.'

4. **ut vitale putes**: that you need not fear his being 'too good to live'; according to the proverbial saying in Menander, fr. 4. 105 *ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νεός.*

ut explains 'quod sit satis' as qualifying the preceding adjectives. Cp. Sat. 2. 6. 82. For 'vitale' cp. Sat. 2. 1. 62.

**libertate Decembri.** The Saturnalia were a remembrance of the golden age—men were equal again. 'Saturnalibus tota servis licentia permittitur' Macrob. Saturn. 1. 7, 'mos traditus illinc Iste ut cum dominis famuli epulentur ibidem' Accius quoted ibid.

6. Notice that there is no attempt to make Davus speak in character. He begins at once with a Stoic apophthegm, illustrated by stock instances after the manner of Satire. Priscus and Volanerius are not persons within his own cognizance.

7. **natat**, of one who is 'at sea,' who has no solid ground under him. Cicero uses it de Nat. Deorum 3. 24. 62, but the figure is there helped by the jest of deriving the name 'Neptunus a natando,' 'magis tu mihi natare visus es quam ipse Neptunus.'

8. **notatus**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 24, 1. 6. 14; 'noticed' and by way of criticism.

9. **cum**, 'as being with,' 'as wearing.' Three rings are spoken of as an extreme number. In later times Martial's fop 'Senos . . . omnibus digitis gerit' 11. 59, and Seneca, Nat. Quaest. 7. 31 says 'exornamus anulis digitos: in omni articulo gemma disponitur.' The original Roman practice (for those who had the 'ius anuli') was to wear one signet ring of iron.

**laeva**, the hand for rings, 'usus anulorum exemptus dexterae quae multum negotiorum gerit, in laevam [relegabatur] quae otiosior est' Ateius Capito apud Macrob. Saturn. 7. 13.

10. **inaequalis.** Compare the picture of Tigellius' 'inconsistencies,' 'Nil aequale homini fuit illi' Sat. 1. 3. 9.

**ut**, after the adj., as though 'tam' had preceded it. See on Sat. 1. 1. 95.

**clavum mutaret**: now the senator's laticlave, now the equestrian angusticlave.

**in horas**, 'from hour to hour'; 'mutatur in horas' A. P. 160. Cp. Od. 2. 13. 14, A. P. 60.

11. From a grand house he would plunge suddenly into quarters from which a freedman of any refinement would be ashamed to be seen emerging.

13. **doctus.** It is with some hesitation that I print 'doctus,' against 'doctor,' the reading of the oldest MSS. (including the 'Bland.') and of the Comm. Cruq., who annotates 'dicitur enim Priscus oratoriam docuisse.' The corruption, if it is a corruption, is an early one. There is respectable authority for 'doctus,' which is accepted by all recent editors except Dill[r]. Bentley printed 'doctus,' though in his note he holds the balance even between the two readings, 'nescire contenti erimus.' 'Doctus' is the more natural antithesis—the 'man of learning,' against the 'man of loose pleasures.'

14. 'Born under the evil influence of

Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra
Contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
Mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
Conductum pavit; quanto constantior isdem
In vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,
Qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.'
Non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant,
Furcifer? 'Ad te, inquam.' Quo pacto, pessime? 'Laudas
Fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem
Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat usque recuses,
Aut quia non sentis quod clamas rectius esse,
Aut quia non firmus rectum defendis, et haeres
Nequicquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.

Vertumnus in all his thousand shapes.' Ovid calls Vertumnus 'conveniens diversis iste figuris . . . deus' Fast. 6. 341, and describes at length, in Met. 14. 642 foll., his metamorphoses when he was wooing Pomona. He was in origin the god of the changing year, generalized as the god of change. He has made Priscus as changeable as himself.

15. **iusta**, 'well earned.'

17. **phimum.** The Greek name for a dice-box; whether of precisely the same kind as the 'fritillus' is a moot question. The Scholiasts differ. See Mayor's note on Juv. S. 14. 5.

18. **isdem.** A large number of good MSS. have 'idem.'

19. **levius miser**: perhaps with some feeling of the use (common in Plautus) of 'miser' for 'sick.' Cp. Cicero's 'leviter aegrotare.'

19, 20. Few lines of Horace have been more vexed by copyists. The variants are, in v. 19. (*a*) 'ac prior ille'; (*b*) 'ac prior illo'; (*c*) 'acrior ille'; (*d*) 'acrior illo.' In v. 20 (*a*) 'iam ... quam'; (*b*) 'tam . . quam'; (*c*) 'iam . . iam.'

Of these in v. 19, the reading of strongest external authority is 'acrior ille,' which was in three of the Blandinian MSS. and was interpreted by Acr. 'Ac prior,' however, which was in the fourth Bland., and is found in good extant MSS., is not like an emendation. It is easier to imagine the obliteration of 'p' in some archetype. The hesitation between 'ille' and 'illo,' and the variations of v. 20 seem due to different, and some awkward, attempts to make sense of the lines. 'Iam . . iam' was interpreted by Acr. 'iam "modo" intellegendum = modo laxo, modo contento.' As given in the text, the lines present no difficulty. 'Prior' has the sense of 'better,' 'in a better position,' as in Epp. 1. 1. 88. If 'ille' is read 'ac' must be taken as following the comparatives 'levius' and 'prior' in the sense of 'the first mentioned,' i.e. Priscus,—an awkwardly prosaic expression.

20. **contento . . . laxo fune.** The metaphor is perhaps from a ship. The danger may be either from straining the rope too tight or from letting it swing too loose. Cp. the metaphor from a similar subject in Od. 3. 10. 10.

21. **hodie**, 'must I wait all day without your telling me what all this stale stuff comes to'?

22. **furcifer.** One who has worn or deserves to wear the 'furca,' an instrument of servile punishment—a yoke in the shape of a V, which was put over the neck and the arms being fastened along it.

23. The reference seems to be to Sat. 2. 2. 89–93.

24. **si quis deus**: Sat. 1. 1. 15.

25–27. Either because it is all talk, not your genuine feeling, or because with right purposes you have not the energy to carry them out.

27. Cp. the Greek proverbial expression, as in Aesch. Cho. 669 *ἔξω κομίζων . . . πηλοῦ πόδα.*

Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem
Tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es forte vocatus
Ad cenam laudas securum olus ac, velut usquam
Vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque
Quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. Iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
Convivam: "Nemon oleum feret ocius? Ecquis
Audit?" cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.
Mulvius et scurrae tibi non referenda precati
Discedunt. "Etenim fateor me," dixerit ille,
"Duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,
Imbecillus, iners, si quid vis adde popino.
Tu, cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
Insectere velut melior verbisque decoris

28. In this and the following verses there is of course primarily reference to Sat. 2. 6. 60 foll. For the charge of inconstancy in his preference of town and country, cp. Epp. 1. 8. 12.

**absentem**, of the place from which one is absent; cp. Epp. 1. 11. 21.

30. **velut usquam vinctus eas, ita.** 'Ita' is to be taken before 'velut'; 'just as though you went anywhere in chains,' i. e. on compulsion. For 'usquam eas' see on Sat. 1. 1. 37 and cp. Epp. 1. 7. 25.

31. **amasque**, 'hug yourself,' i. e. are pleased with yourself. The comm. quote Cic. ad Att. 4. 16 'in eo me valde amo.'

33. **serum convivam.** Evidently, of a guest invited late, to fill up a vacancy.

**sub lumina prima**, about the lighting of the lamps; Epp. 2. 2. 98.

34. **oleum.** Doubtless for the lamp to light him through the dark streets. On this see Juv. S. 3. 285 foll., with Mayor's note. The Scholiast took it of the anointing at the time of the bath, 'ut lotus et unctus abeat cenatum'; but this would imply an earlier hour and more leisurely start.

**feret.** Holder gave 'fert' in his text (1869), but Keller has returned in his Epilegomena to 'feret,' the reading of the Bland. MSS.

35. **fugis**, 'you are off.' The reading is doubtful. V had 'furis.' Acr. interprets 'fugis' 'expressit velocitatem hominis festinantis ad cenam.' Holder points out that 'furit' is a corruption of 'fugit' in Epp. 2. 2. 75. Prof. Palmer quotes for 'fugis,' Plaut. Asin. 2. 2. 113 'quasi tuum officium facis ergo ac fugis?' Poen. 1. 3. 17 '*Mi.* propera atque abi. *Ag.* fugio. *Mi.* meum est istuc magis officium quam tuum'; where there is allusion to the 'fuga' of slaves. In the same way he thinks there is irony in putting the word into Davus' mouth of his master.

36. **Mulvius.** An unknown name. **et** adds the genus, 'Mulvius and (other) parasites.' See on Sat. 2. 4. 28. These professional diners-out have come to share Horace's meal and they have to go away supperless.

**precati** = 'imprecati'; Sat. 2. 3. 203, 2. 6. 30.

**non referenda**, 'not meant to be repeated to you.'

37. **dixerit ille**, sc. 'Mulvius.' Davus imagines what the lesser parasite may have said of the greater; the only difference is that Mulvius avows his motives more honestly than Horace.

38. **supinor.** For the quasi-middle use Schütz compares 'purgor bilem' A. P. 302. The verb describes the opening of the nostril and laying back of the head in snuffing up the savoury smell.

40. **tu**, 'you, sir.' Cp. with the pronoun and the whole constr. Sat. 2. 6. 30.

41. **insectere**, i. e. in the satires which assail gluttony and laugh at parasites.

Obvolvas vitium?" Quid, si me stultior ipso
Quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? Aufer
Me vultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
Dum quae Crispini docuit me ianitor edo.
Te coniux aliena capit, meretricula Davum:
Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? Acris ubi me
Natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
Quaecunque excepit turgentis verbera caudae,
Clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum,
Dimittit neque famosum neque sollicitum ne
Ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.
Tu cum proiectis insignibus, anulo equestri
Romanoque habitu, prodis ex iudice Dama
Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,
Non es quod simulas? Metuens induceris atque
Altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.
Quid refert uri virgis, ferroque necari
Auctoratus eas, an turpi clausus in arca,
Quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis,
Contractum genibus tangas caput? Estne marito
Matronae peccantis in ambo iusta potestas?
In corruptorem vel iustior. Illa tamen se
Non habitu mutatve loco, peccatve superne.
Cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti,
Ibis sub furcam prudens, dominoque furenti
Committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam.
Evasti: credo metues doctusque cavebis:

42. **me ipso.** Davus begins to speak himself, contrasting himself in these words with Mulvius.

43. **quingentis drachmis**: 'a fair price for a good ordinary slave' Dict. Ant. s.v. 'Servus.' It was almost equivalent to £18 of our money. For a higher price of a slave see Epp. 2. 2. 5. A foreign slave assesses his value in Greek coinage.

**aufer terrere**, an infin. substituted for the usual accusative after 'aufer' = 'lay aside,' 'cease.' 'Aufer lacrimas' Lucr. 3. 955, 'nugas' Plaut. Truc. 4. 4. 8, etc.

45. **Crispini**: see on Sat. 1. 1. 120.

**ianitor.** The doorkeeper has picked up fragments of the master's lectures and retails them to men of his own class. It is not the actual teaching of Crispinus nor of his 'ianitor,' but a lecture by Davus to Horace à la Crispinus, as reported by his 'ianitor.' We need not imagine it to be too appropriate at every turn to Horace. There ought to be some Stoic commonplace in it. Some should be evidently inappropriate, and under cover of this there should be some sly hits at his actual or reputed character.

Quaeres quando iterum paveas iterumque perire
Possis, o toties servus! Quae belua ruptis,
Cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?
Non sum moechus, ais. Neque ego hercule fur ubi vasa
Praetereo sapiens argentea: tolle periclum,
Iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque
Tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
Imposita haud unquam misera formidine privet?
Adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat: nam
Sive vicarius est qui servo paret, uti mos
Vester ait, seu conservus, tibi quid sum ego? Nempe
Tu mihi qui imperitas alii servis miser atque
Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens sibi qui imperiosus,

76. **minor**, ἥττων, 'at the mercy of.'

**vindicta**: the rod with which a slave was touched in the legal form of manumission; see Pers. Sat. 5. 75–88, and ib. 124, 125.

77. **formidine**: first a slave's fear of a master; but in interpretation, the fear which, according to the Stoic, was inseparable from desire, and which was the essence of the 'slavery' of the unemancipated soul; see Epp. 1. 16. 65 'qui cupiet metuet quoque: porro Qui metuens vivit liber mihi non erit unquam.'

78. **super**: best taken (with Bentl.) as = 'insuper' (cp. Epp. 2. 2. 33), 'dictis' being the abl. of comparison after 'levius.'

**nam**: to our usage, redundant; as γάρ often is, where it justifies the assertion that something will be said *by saying it.*

79. **vicarius**: a slave was allowed to purchase out of his 'peculium' a slave to himself to do his work. This deputy was called 'vicarius': see Mart. 2. 18. 7, where a metaphorical use of the custom is made similar to this one.

80. **vester.** Davus speaks of the habits of the Roman world as standing himself, as a slave, outside of it.

**nempe**, 'I will tell you'; used with some irony where the speaker after asking a question answers it himself: see inf. v. 107, and Epp. 1. 10. 22.

81. **alii.** The sing. has the better authority (incl. V) as against 'aliis.' It is true that, when interpreted, the 'other master' means his passions; but in 'alii servis' we are still within the metaphor, and a slave had one master, not several.

82. **alienis**: 'outside yourself,' 'which another will pull.' Persius has the same figure with reminiscence of this place, 5. 127 'servitium acre Te nihil impellit, nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat Quod nervos agitet': see Conington's note there. Bentley quotes the description of marionettes from Apuleius, de Mund. p. 125 'illi qui in ligneolis hominum figuris gestus movent, quando filum membri quod agitari solet traxerint torquebitur cervix, nutabit caput, oculi vibrabunt, totus videbitur vivere.' Bentley asked how the material of the puppets was in point, and wished to accept the conj. 'signum' for 'lignum'; but Orelli rightly answers that 'lignum' is intentionally contemptuous, 'a block of wood,' which owes any movement or simulation of life entirely to the showman's strings.

83. **sibi qui**: the balance of MSS. (incl. V) is for 'sibi que'; the sense is for 'qui,' which is read by Bentl., Orelli, Ritter, Keller (Epilegomena, Holder has 'que'), and Munro; 'sapiens' is more forcible as the single answer to the question 'who?'—'The philosopher of the Stoics,'—the other words give the justification of the answer. 'Sibi imperiosus,' ἐγκρατής: 'qui imperat sibi,

Quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula torrent,
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres, atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne
Ex his ut proprium quid noscere? Quinque talenta
Poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum
Perfundit gelida, rursus vocat: eripe turpi
Colla iugo; 'Liber, liber sum,' dic age. Non quis;
Urget enim dominus mentem non lenis et acres
Subiectat lasso stimulos versatque negantem.
Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
Qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque
Aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror

qui se habet in potestate' Sen. de Benef. 5. 7.

85. **responsare**: inf. v. 103, Epp. 1. 1. 68; in the sense of 'to have always an answer for,' not 'to acquiesce at once in.'

86. **fortis**, with infin., as Od. 1. 37. 26.

**in se ipso totus**: explained by Cicero's words in Parad. 2 'qui totus aptus est ex sese, qui in se uno possit omnia'; 'self-contained,' *αὐταρκής*.

**teres, atque rotundus**, 'smoothed and rounded.' The Stoic similitude of a sphere for the mind of the wise man seems to include the idea of perfection (the sphere being the most perfect figure) and of independence of external things, the surface presenting no angles or flat surface to give lodging to alien matter, as explained in the next line. Ausonius imitates the passage Idyll. 16. 1 'Vir bonus et sapiens . . . Iudex ipse sui totum se explorat ad unguem; Quid proceres vanique ferat quid opinio volgi Securus, mundi instar habens teres atque rotundus Externae ne quid labis per levia sidat.'

88. **manca**: she has lost her usual means of taking hold of him.

89. **ut proprium**, 'as belonging to you.'

89–101. Both in particular expressions and in the order of the topics it is evident that Horace has in view Cicero's declamation in Parad. 5 'An ille mihi liber videatur cui mulier imperat? cui leges imponit, praescribit, iubet, vetat, quod videtur? qui nihil imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet? Poscit? dandum est—Vocat? veniendum—Eicit? abeundum—Minatur? extimescendum . . . Pari stultitia sunt quos signa, quos tabulae, quos Corinthia opera, quos aedificia magnifica magno opere delectant.' Cp. also Sat. 2. 3. 259 foll., and the picture which Horace professes to give of himself when he turns the sting of his iambic verse on himself in Epod. 11.

94. 'Goads you sharply when you are weary, and tugs at your mouth when you jib.'

95. **Pausiaca**: Pausias of Sicyon, a painter of the same age as Apelles, about B.C. 360–330.

**torpes**: a stronger form of the same figure as 'stupet Albius aere' Sat. 1. 4. 28, so *ἐκπλήττεσθαι*. Cp. the expression when there is no sting of satire, 'suspendit picta voltum mentemque tabella' Epp. 2. 1. 97.

96. **Fulvi Rutubaeque . . . Pacideiani**: names of gladiators. The third is certainly from Lucilius, who speaks often as 'optimus multo Post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus' fr. 4. 11; a passage referred to several times by Cicero, as in Tusc. D. 4. 21. 48. See Introd. to the Satires, p. 12.

97. **contento poplite**. It is a doubt as old as the Scholiasts whether these words describe the attitude of the

Proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
Re vera pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes
Arma viri? Nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse
Subtilis veterum iudex et callidus audis.
Nil ego si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
Virtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis
Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?
Tergo plector enim. Qui tu impunitior illa
Quae parvo sumi nequeunt obsonia captas?
Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae.
Illusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
Corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
Furtiva mutat strigili: qui praedia vendit,
Nil servile gulae parens habet? Adde, quod idem
Non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
Ponere, teque ipsum vitas, fugitivus et erro,
Iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam:

gladiators as drawn, or of the spectator standing on tiptoe to get a better view of the drawing. There is force in the argument of Schütz, who takes them as grammatically qualifying 'picta,' that we want some characteristics of the drawing in order to explain 'velut si re vera pugnent.' Horace means to describe the exaggerated drawing which would mark such rough work.

98. **rubrica**, red ochre.

100. **cessator**, 'an idle fellow'; Epp. 2. 2. 14.

101. **callidus**: Sat. 2. 3. 23.

**audis**: Sat. 2. 6. 20.

102. **nil ego**. 'Nihil esse' is a Ciceronian phrase, as Div. in Q. Caecil. 14, in the sense of 'to be worthless,' 'nequam esse.'

103. **responsat**: see above on v. 85.

104. For the position of 'cur' making the question more emphatic see on Sat. 2. 3. 187.

105. **enim** gives the reason why the question may be asked. At first sight it may seem that gluttony does harm me most, for I suffer for it on my back; *but* is your punishment less?

**qui**: not 'why?' but 'how?' as is clear in Persius' imitation, 5. 130 'si intus et in iecore aegro Nascantur domini, qui tu impunitior exis?' etc.

107. **nempe**: see above on v. 80.

108. **illusi**, 'made fools of.' Cp. Virgil's figure, Georg. 2. 94 'temptatura pedes.'

109. **hic qui puer**: Sat. 1. 4. 2, 1. 10. 16; Epod. 2. 37 n.

110. **mutat**: used with an accus. of that which is taken in exchange; see on Od. 1. 17. 2. The 'strigil' was an instrument of bone or metal used to scrape the skin after bathing. It stands for a thing of little value, that will be scarcely missed.

**qui praedia vendit**: 'who sells his estate': **gulae parens**, though it is placed so as to construct with **nil servile habet?** belongs also in sense to 'praedia vendit.' Cp. Epp. 1. 15. 32, Juv. S. 1. 138 'una comedunt patrimonia mensa.'

112. **tecum esse potes**, 'can bear your own company.' Sen. Epist. 10 'non invenio cum quo te malim esse quam tecum.' Horace has in mind in the following words, Lucr. 3. 1053 foll., esp. v. 1068 'hoc se quisque modo fugit.'

113. **ponere**, 'to lay out,' 'employ,' frequent in Cic. with 'tempus,' 'diem,' and the like.

Frustra ; nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.'
Unde mihi lapidem ?—' Quorsum est opus ? '—Unde sagittas?
'Aut insanit homo aut versus facit.' 'Ocius hinc te
Ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.'

115. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 22, 3. 1. 40.

116. **unde mihi lapidem.** For the ellipsis cp. Sat. 2. 5. 102.

**unde sagittas ?** Ritter suggests that Davus, in spite of his assumed unconsciousness of Horace's purpose in desiring a stone, is edging away out of his reach.

117. **aut insanit.** 'He is either mad or (what is next door to it) composing verses.' Davus recognizes the rhythm in Horace's words. With this sally cp. the comic explanation of the fate of the unhappy poet in A. P. 470, etc. 'nec satis apparet cur versus factitet.'

118. It is the standing threat to slaves in the comic dramatists that they shall be transferred to the 'familia rustica'; sent to harder work and fewer pleasures in the country. Plaut. Most. 1. 1. 18 'Augebis ruri numerum'; see Prof. Ramsay's excursus to the Mostellaria 'on slave punishments.'

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# SATIRE VIII.

## AN UPSTART'S SUPPER-PARTY.

A SKETCH of a supper given to Maecenas by a man of wealth without taste or breeding. Horace puts the description of it into the mouth of Fundanius, the comic poet, of whom he speaks with admiration in Sat. 1. 10. 40: but it represents, no doubt, many entertainments at which he had himself suffered and been amused.

Three men of letters have been invited as appropriate guests to meet Maecenas, Fundanius himself, Viscus (see on v. 20), and Varius. The rest of the company consists of the chief guest with two 'umbrae' (vv. 21, 22) whom he has brought, and two 'scurrae,' 'Nomentanus,' and 'Porcius,' who are habitual frequenters of the host's table.

The host is called Nasidienus Rufus (vv. 1, 75, 84, and 58)—doubtless a fictitious name. A conjecture of Lambinus identifies the person so disguised with Salvidienus Rufus, who had been advanced by Augustus 'ex infima fortuna' (Suet. Aug. 66), and who was put to death by him for conspiracy against his interests in B. C. 40. In that case the Satire would be written some years after his death. Nasidienus was itself a Roman name and occurs in Martial 7. 54.

What is satirized is the vulgarity of the man. He has literary men to meet Maecenas, but he can talk of nothing but the dishes. He is full of the gas-

tronomic art, but the results are shown in paradoxes, not in perfection. There is display and yet meanness (cp. A. P. 374, 375). The sketches of the four 'scurrae' are drawn in a few strokes. Vibidius the hard drinker and Balatro the buffoon, both presuming on their relation to the great man to quiz or patronize the host. Nomentanus and Porcius (for their names see on v. 23) playing to Nasidienus, and making the most of their own supper. It will be noticed that Maecenas is not mentioned.

The affectation of gastronomic preciseness in this Satire will be compared with the fourth Satire. It is perhaps meant as a specimen of the kind of talk at supper-tables which moved Horace's spleen, and which he laughed at more elaborately in that Satire.

Verses 1-5. *H.* 'How did you enjoy Nasidienus' supper? I heard you were there.'
*F.* 'Vastly.'
*H.* 'Tell me the order of proceedings.'

6-9. *F.* 'First there came a wild boar, and our host told us all about it; where it came from, and when it was killed. It was garnished with salad and things of piquant flavour.

10-17. 'Then a bustling page wiped the maple table with a purple cloth, while another gathered up the fragments, when enter a solemn procession, an Indian slave carrying Caecuban wine, a Greek slave with Chian. The host asked Maecenas if he would prefer Alban or Falernian; both were in the house.'

18, 19. *H.* 'Alas for the sorrows of wealth! But who were your party?'

20-25. *F.* 'On one couch myself, Viscus, and Varius; on the next Maecenas and his two "umbrae," Servilius Balatro and Vibidius; on the third the host in the middle, Nomentanus on one side of him, Porcius on the other. Nomentanus was so placed in order to point out to Maecenas the secrets of the banquet.

25-33. 'Most of us were hopelessly puzzled, as I soon found. Meanwhile the host lectured us on the proper time to pick apples. You must ask him what the reasons were.

33-41. 'Vibidius, determined to take out his revenge, asked for larger cups, which made our host turn pale. He dislikes hard drinkers, probably because their tongues are too free, or their palates too dull. At the suggestion all filled the new cups except the two parasites of the house.

42-53. 'Then came a lamprey in a big dish garnished with shrimp sauce. The host told us of its condition and how the sauce was composed.

54-74. 'At this moment the awning fell on the table with clouds of dust, frightening us all. The host put down his head and cried. Nomentanus consoled him. The more courteous guests tried to stifle their laughter. Balatro, with mock sympathy, tried to encourage him.

75-78. 'Nasidienus rose and left us, and we fell to whispering.'

79, 80. *H.* 'What sport; and what was the next scene?'

80-95. *F.* 'Vibidius calling again for wine; the company finding excuse for laughter. Presently Nasidienus comes back with his self-possession restored, more slaves bearing a huge charger filled with divers delicacies, not bad in themselves, but rendered unendurable by the host's discourse upon them. We avenged ourselves by going away without tasting them.'

Orelli, who is in accord with most authorities, arranges the 'triclinium' thus:




Maecenas occupied the place of honour. The only departure from usual practice is that noticed by Horace in v. 23, viz. that Nasidienus put Nomentanus in his own place next to the chief guest as more able than himself to do the honours of the table.

Ut Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?  
Nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus here illic  
De medio potare die. 'Sic ut mihi nunquam  
In vita fuerit melius.' Dic, si grave non est,  
Quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.  
'In primis Lucanus aper; leni fuit Austro

1. **Ut.** In a question, as in Epp. 1. 3. 12. As we learn from v. 19 Horace is addressing his friend Fundanius, Sat. 1. 10. 40.

**Nasidieni.** For the scansion (cp. below, vv. 75, 84), the second 'i' being treated as a 'y,' see Sat. 1. 7. 30 'vindemiator.' In this case it apparently has the effect, as in Od. 3. 4. 41 'consilium,' 3. 6. 6 'principium,' of lengthening the preceding vowel, for Martial 7. 54. 11 has 'Nasidiene, tibi' as the end of a pentameter.

**beati,** with a tinge of irony, 'fortune's favourite.'

2. **dictus.** The omission of 'es' is less common than that of 'est,' but it occurs in Virgil, Aen. 1. 237 'pollicitus,' 5. 687 'exosus,' 10. 827 'laetatus.' There and here some editors would write 'pollicitu's,' 'dictu's,' etc.

3. **de medio die**: cp. Epp. 1. 14. 34 'media de luce'; not 'from noon,' but as 'de nocte' Epp. 1. 2. 32, 'media de nocte' Epp. 1. 7. 88, 'before the period of midday is over'; see note on 'de die' Epod. 13. 4. The reference is to what Cicero calls 'tempestivum convivium,' a banquet which begins before the usual hour; see on Epp. 1. 7. 71.

4. **fuerit melius,** 'I enjoyed myself'; so inf. v. 19 'pulchre fuerit'; cp. Sat. 2. 2. 120 'bene erat.'

**dic.** There is some doubt between this reading and 'da.' The weight of MSS. (including all of Cruq.) is for 'dic.' The Comm. Cruq. read and interpreted 'da.' Bentley thinks it an emendation of a copyist who remembered Virg. E. 1. 19 'iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.' Orelli gives 'da,' and Keller argues for it.

5. **placaverit**: cp. Sat. 2. 2. 18 'Latrantem stomachum bene leniet.'

6. **Lucanus**: Sat. 2. 3. 234.

**leni Austro**: see Sat. 2. 2. 41. The point apparently is the vulgarity of the host in discoursing on the dishes presented, and his affectation of gastronomic precision. The boar was from

Captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum
Rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
Pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam
Gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter
Sublegit quodcunque iaceret inutile quodque
Posset cenantes offendere; ut Attica virgo
Cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.
Hic herus: Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
Te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.'
Divitias miseras! Sed quis cenantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.
'Summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra

the forests of Lucania, not from the lowlands (see on Sat. 2. 4. 40–43). It had been killed when there was a south wind, but not a strong scirocco. We are probably going wrong in thinking (with Gesner) of irony, as though the boar was really tainted, and Nasidienus was making the best of it.

7. **cenae pater**: cp. 'pater domus' Sat. 2. 6. 88.

**circum**, garnishing the table. A comparison with Sat. 2. 4. 73 n. makes it appear that putting these stimulants and condiments on the table through the meal was a recent affectation.

8. **rapula**: Sat. 2. 2. 43.

9. **siser**, 'skirwort,' a plant of which the root was pickled and eaten.

**allec**: Sat. 2. 4. 73.

**faecula**, the dim. of 'faex.' It is used by Lucr. 2. 430.

10. **alte cinctus**, as was the fashion; 'ex alticinctis unus atriensibus' Phaedr. 2. 5. 11; so below v. 70 'praecincti.' It gives the idea of 'active,' 'bustling': cp. 'altius ac nos praecinctis' Sat. 1. 5. 5, and Sat. 1. 8. 23 'succinctam.'

**acernam**. Much store was set by the material and beauty of the tables; see on Sat. 2. 2. 4, Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 137: the favourite wood being the 'citrus.' Maple is named by Pliny, N. H. 16. 20, as an inferior material 'citro secundum.' It would seem that the humour consisted in the pretentious care taken of a second-rate table.

11. **gausape**. Hor. is imitating Lucilius (20. 1) 'Purpureo tersit tum latas gausape mensas.'

13. **ut Attica virgo**: like a *κανηφόρος* in the rites of Demeter or Athene: cp. Sat. 1. 3. 9 'velut qui Iunonis sacra ferret.' The pompous dignity of these slaves is contrasted with the fussy activity of the preceding ones: each is equally inappropriate.

15. **maris expers**: *οὐ τεθαλαττωμένον* Athen. 1. p. 32; brine was mingled with Greek wines both for the sake of the taste and for wholesomeness. This is the simplest explanation, and it suits Persius' imitation 5. 39; see Conington's note. Why the usual treatment has been omitted is not clear. It may be a 'fad' of Nasidienus, or he may wish to make the wine less drinkable. Various other suggestions have been made, as (1) that 'maris expers' means 'home-made,' a Greek wine 'that never crossed the sea'; (2) that, as Casaubon took it in Persius, 'maris' is from 'mas,' 'that has lost its strength,' 'insipid.'

16. The host offers what he does not expect to be accepted; shows off his cellar and spares it. 'Sive' is omitted before 'Albanum'; see on Od. 1. 3. 16.

18. **divitias miseras**. Horace's comment. 'What a miserable exhibition of wealth of the "beatus Nasidienus," ostentation with meanness.'

19. **pulchre fuerit**: see above on v. 4.

**laboro**: Epp. 1. 3. 20.

20. **summus ego**. For the placing of the guests see introd.

**Viscus Thurinus**, i. e. of Thurii (Od.

Si memini Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra
Ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas;
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui si quid forte lateret
Indice monstraret digito: nam cetera turba,
Nos, inquam, cenamus aves, conchylia, pisces,
Longe dissimilem noto celantia succum;
Ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
Ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi.
Post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
Ad lunam delecta. Quid hoc intersit ab ipso
Audieris melius. Tum Vibidius Balatroni:

3. 9. 14), on the west side of the Tarentine gulf. From his juxtaposition here, as in Sat. I. 10, with Varius and Fundanius, he is probably one of the two Visci named in Sat. I. 10. 83.

21. **Varius**: Od. I. 6. I n., Sat. I. 5. 40, etc.

**Balatrone**: Sat. I. 2. 2. It would seem to be a nickname = 'jester' or 'buffoon.'

**Servilio**, to be scanned as a trisyllable: see on Sat. I. 7. 30 'vindemiator'; the first 'i' is long: see Juv. S. 10. 319.

22. **umbras**: Epp. I. 5. 28; uninvited guests brought in the suite of some guest of distinction.

23. Nomentanus and Porcius are the parasites of the host.

**ipsum**, Nasidienus. As explained in the introduction, Nomentanus occupied the place usually belonging to the host. The reason is given in v. 25, for 'ad hoc' goes back to 'erat super ipsum.' He was put there as knowing more about cookery than Nasidienus, to point out the features of the banquet to Maecenas. The names are chosen each with a malicious purpose, Nomentanus recalling the 'spendthrift' of Sat. I. I. 102 (see note there), I. 8. II, 2. I. 22, 2. 3. 175, 224; Porcius as suiting his greediness.

24. **ridiculus absorbere**: vol. I, App. 2.

**simul.** The MSS. vary between 'simul' and 'semel.' Either makes sense; 'totas simul' or 'semel ('at one mouthful') absorbere.' There is a doubt also between **absorbere** and 'obsorbere.'

26. **indice digito**, the forefinger.

**cetera turba**, the rest of us, besides Maecenas.

28. **celantia** adds to the force of **dissimilem noto**; the look gave no indication of the taste.

29. **passeris**, a flat fish compared by Plin. N. H. 9. 36 to the 'rhombus.' Bentley would read for 'atque' 'assi et,' which Lambinus had found in some MSS., of what age it is not said. Heind. follows him.

**ut vel continuo patuit.** Prof. Palmer proposes to give more point to this by taking 'ingustata' to mean 'without tasting,' i.e. the strangeness of the flavour became apparent to an earlier sense; but this is perhaps broader humour than Horace intends. The uninitiated wanted a guide, for neither the look of the dishes nor their previous experience prepared them for the manifold surprises. Fundanius learned this early when he was handed this dish 'which he had never tasted before.' The words are carefully chosen to emphasize the novelty of the cookery and avoid any expression either of approval or disapproval.

30. **porrexerat.** The subj. is the host.

31. **melimela**, 'honey apples,' 'dulcibus aut certent quae melimela favis' Mart. I. 44. 4; a special kind of sweet apple.

**minorem ad lunam**, by moonlight, and when the moon was waning.

"Nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti:"
Et calices poscit maiores. Vertere pallor
Tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
Fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
Invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus; imi
Convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis.
Affertur squillas inter muraena natantes
In patina porrecta. Sub hoc herus: "Haec gravida," inquit,
"Capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
His mixtum ius est: oleo quod prima Venafri
Pressit cella; garo de succis piscis Hiberi;
Vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
Dum coquitur—cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
Hoc magis ullum aliud;—pipere albo, non sine aceto,

34. **damnose**, 'ruinously,' so as to drink him 'out of house and home.'

**moriemur inulti**, an epic parody.

35. **calices maiores**: not apparently an unusual liberty for guests to take, at some period at any rate. The edd. quote Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 26. 66 'poscunt maioribus poculis.'

**vertere**: see on Epod. 4. 9.

36. **parochi**: see on Sat. 1. 5. 46. Its application here to the host has an air of slang.

37. **vel . . . vel**. Reasons suggested ironically, the true one being that he would spare his cellar, as Nomentanus and Porcius were aware, v. 41; but they are illustrations also of his own style of making rather transparent excuses.

39. **Allifanis**, the dat. after **invertunt**. Allifae was a town in the valley of the Vulturnus on the frontier of Campania and Samnium, 'ubi fictiles et latiores calices fiebant' Comm. Cruq.

40. **imi convivae lecti**, i.e. Nomentanus and Porcius; see on v. 37, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 10 n. 'imi derisor lecti.'

42. **squillas**: Sat. 2. 4. 58.

**muraena**: Juv. S. 5. 99; a fish greatly prized by the Romans; see Mayor's note there.

**natantes**, i.e. in the sauce which Nasidienus describes in v. 45 foll.

43. **porrecta**: Sat. 2. 2. 39. Contrast Sat. 2. 4. 77 'Angustoque vagos pisces urgere catino.'

**sub hoc**: Epod. 5. 83 'sub haec,' Epp. 2. 2. 34 'sub hoc tempus.'

**gravida**, before spawning. For similar gastronomic refinements see Sat. 2. 4. 44 n.

45. **his**, of these ingredients. For the composition of this sauce see Sat. 2. 4. 63 foll.

**prima**, usually, and perhaps rightly, taken for 'at its first pressing,' Columella telling us that the olives were pressed three times, the quality of the oil being best at the first. The Schol. says 'optima.'

**Venafri**: Od. 2. 6. 16, Sat. 2. 4. 69.

46. **cella** = 'cella olearia,' the store or garner in which the olives were housed, and in which the presses stood. 'Cella pressit' as 'area triverit' Sat. 1. 1. 45.

**garo**. 'Garum' was a preparation of the roe of the 'scomber' or mackerel. The best came (according to Plin. N. H. 31. 43) from New Carthage in Spain, thence called here 'piscis Hiberi'; see Sat. 2. 4. 66 n.

47. **citra mare nato**, i.e. Italian; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 31 'natus mare citra.'

48. **cocto**, an abl. abs. Italian wine is to be stirred in while the sauce is simmering; when it is ready for use Chian is to be added.

Quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.
Erucas virides, inulas ego primus amaras
Monstravi incoquere, inlutos Curtillus echinos,
Ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat."
Interea suspensa graves aulaea ruinas
In patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
Quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
Nos maius veriti postquam nihil esse pericli
Sensimus erigimur. Rufus posito capite, ut si
Filius immaturus obisset, flere. Quis esset
Finis ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
Tolleret: "Heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
Te deus? Ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
Humanis!" Varius mappa compescere risum
Vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,
"Haec est conditio vivendi," aiebat, "eoque
Responsura tuo nunquam est par fama labori.
Tene ut ego accipiar laute torquerier omni
Sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,

50. Vinegar made from Lesbian wine. **mutaverit**: Sat. 2. 2. 58.

51. **erucas . . . inulas** (Sat. 2. 2. 44 'acidae'). The herbs to be so used are not named in Sat. 2. 4. 67 'ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis.'

52. **inlutos**, and so with the salt water still in them.

53. **ut melius**, etc., 'as something, better than fish pickle, which the sea shell-fish of itself yields': 'quod' = 'id quod,' 'id' resuming 'inlutos echinos,' which was equivalent to 'sea urchins with their brine.' For 'muria' see on Sat. 2. 4. 66. It was not mere brine, so that 'quam,' the reading of some but not the best MSS., would be hard to explain.

**remittat**: Sat. 2. 4. 69, Epp. 2. 1. 235.

54. **aulaea**, as this passage shows, an awning between the roof and the table. The dust would lodge upon it; see on Od. 3. 29. 15, and Conington on Virg. Aen. 1. 697.

57. **maius**: 'ruinam domus metuentes' Comm. Cruq.

58. **erigimur**, metaph. 'recover ourselves'; so 'tolleret' v. 61.

**Rufus**, i. e. Nasidienus.

62. **ut semper**: Sat. 2. 6. 53 'ut tu Semper eris derisor.' Nomentanus consoles him by representing his calamity as part of the common lot of humanity.

**illudere**: cp. Od. 3. 29. 49 'Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax.'

63. **mappa**: see on Sat. 2. 4. 81. Varius stuffs his napkin in his mouth.

64. **suspendens omnia naso**, 'who has a sneer for everything'; see on Sat. 1. 6. 5 'naso suspendis adunco.'

65. **eo**: Sat. 1. 3. 30; 'for that reason.'

67. **tene**: for construction see on Sat. 1. 9. 72, 2. 4. 83, Madv. § 399. There is irony in 'tene ... ut ego,' Balatro making the most of the difference between Nasidienus and himself, and yet professing to suppose that the entertainment was for the sake of himself.

68. **adustus**, 'scorched,' 'overbaked.' On the nicety of the Romans in respect to the quality of bread cp. Sat. 1. 1. 47, 1. 5. 89 foll., and especially Juv. S. 5. 67 foll. with Mayor's notes. Orelli thinks that the several points touched are supposed to be blots in Nasidienus' entertainment. But the overbaking of the bread is a detail which must, if it were real, be obvious, and Nasidienus

Ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes
Praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent!
Adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si
Ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
Sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res
Adversae nudare solent, celare secundae."
Nasidienus ad haec: "Tibi di quaecunque preceris
Commoda dent! Ita vir bonus es convivaque comis."
Et soleas poscit. Tum in lecto quoque videres
Stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.'
Nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa
Redde age quae deinceps risisti. 'Vibidius dum
Quaerit de pueris num sit quoque fracta lagena,
Quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque
Ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo,
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
Emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti
Mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
Membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre;

could in that case hardly be obtuse enough to take the speech as kindly meant. The 'sneer' of Balatro consists in the profession of sympathy which he does not feel, and in his encouragement of the host to new efforts which he expects to be as ludicrous in their results as the former ones.

69. **ne male conditum** refers to Nasidienus' account of the thought he has bestowed on the sauce, v. 45 foll., as the next verse refers to the actual dress of the waiters, v. 10.

72. **ut modo**, 'as they did just now.'

**agaso**, lit. a stable-boy. Here probably and in Pers. 5. 76 for a clownish slave. We are not to think with Heind. that Nasidienus has actually brought his groom in to wait.

77. **soleas**: Sat. 1. 3. 128, Epp. 1. 13. 15; slippers worn indoors. The guests lay with their feet bare (cp. the story in St. Luke vii. 37, 38). When they moved they resumed the 'soleae.' Plaut. Truc. 2. 4. 12 'cedo soleas mihi,' when Dinarchus rises from table, ibid. 16, when he sits down again, 'deme soleas.' Cp. Mostell. 2. 1. 37 with Ramsay's note.

78. Notice the imitation of whispering in the accumulated sibilants.

81. **quoque**, with the sentence, 'whether the wine-jar had been broken as well,' i. e. besides the accident of the awning.

83. **fictis rerum**: see on Sat. 2. 2. 25 'vanis rerum'; 'pretended jests,' to conceal the fact that they were really laughing at their host and his shifts.

**secundo**, 'strenue adiuvante,' the metaphor from 'vento secundo,' 'Balatro filling our sails.'

84. **Nasidiene.** The vocative is mock heroic, after Homer's *Οὐδέ σεθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο*, etc.

**redis mutatae frontis**, an extension of the common use of the gen. of quality with 'sum'; see on Sat. 1. 4. 17.

**arte**, from Ter. Ad. 4. 7. 23 'illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.'

86. **mazonomo.** Properly a trencher for serving barley-cakes (*μᾶζα*) on (Athen. 4. § 31, p. 149). Here it is used for a large dish on which was collected this medley of delicacies.

87. **gruis sparsi.** It is noticed that 'grus' is in all other places feminine, 'anser' masc. (The reading 'albae'

Pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae
Et leporum avulsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
Quam si cum lumbis quis edit; tum pectore adusto
Vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,
Suaves res, si non causas narraret earum et
Naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
Ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia afflasset peior serpentibus Afris.'

here is that of V.) It is very possibly intended to indicate that Nasidienus called attention to the sex of the birds, cp. v. 43; so he spoke of the diet on which the goose had been fattened, of its colour, of the part chosen of the hare. See on this last Sat. 2. 4. 44.

90. **edit**: subj. as Epod. 3. 3.

**pectore adusto** (see above v. 68). This, as 'sine clune,' seems to have been a drawback or peculiarity. In spite of these Fundanius says the dishes were not bad if the host would have let them be eaten in peace without his lectures upon them.

91. **vidimus**, as v. 94 shows, emphatic: 'we saw but did not taste.'

92. **causas, naturas**: words that suggest a philosophy of the table. 'Rerum causas' Virg. G. 2. 450, 'rerum naturam' Lucr. 1. 21, etc. Cp. the similar play in Sat. 2. 4.

95. **peior serpentibus**. For the poisonousness of the serpent's breath the edd. quote Colum. 8. 5. 18 'cavendum ne a serpentibus afflentur [pulli] quorum odor tam pestilens est ut interimat universos.'

**Afris**: 'Mauris anguibus' Od. 3. 10. 18. For Canidia as a witch see introd. to Epod. 5 and 17, Sat. 1. 8. She is introduced here as a sort of refrain, a literary reminiscence (the words are still in Fundanius' mouth, but he is made in effect to say 'I am speaking Horace's feelings'), like the 'Tityre, te patulae,' which ends Virgil's Ecl. 10 as an echo of the 'Tityre, tu patulae' of Ecl. 1. 1.

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I OF THE EPISTLES.

## *Date of the Book.*

THE Second Book of Satires and the Epodes were published between the years 31 and 30 B.C. The three Books of the Odes occupy the next seven years of Horace's life and were published, as seems almost certain (see vol. I. p. 2), in B.C. 23. He may have written some of the Epistles before that time, but all which can be dated fall into the years between 23 and 20 (or 19 at the latest).

Epp. I. 13 refers no doubt to the presentation of the Odes to Augustus, though there are difficulties as to the occasion contemplated; I. 19 is polemical against critics of the Odes and Epodes: these would most naturally have been written soon after B.C. 23. Tibullus, who died in B.C. 19 or soon afterwards, was still living when I. 4 was written. For more exact dating, I. 3 is addressed to Florus, who is at the time accompanying the future emperor Tiberius in his progress into Armenia, i.e. it is composed in B.C. 20. Epistles 8, 9 and 11 have possibly links with the same event. Epistle 18 is fixed to the same year by the words 'Sub duce, qui templis Parthorum signa refigit,' an evident reference to the restoration by the Parthians of the standards taken at Charrae, which was an incident in that progress. In 12. 26–28 this event is again referred to and with it another which causes a little more difficulty:

> 'Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
> Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates
> Caesaris accepit genibus minor.'

The first words have to do with the final conquest of the Cantabrians by Agrippa, which appears from Dion C. 54. 11 to have

been begun and completed in B.C. 19 (see introd. to Odes I–III. I. § 6).

On the other hand, in Epist. 20, where Horace is apparently intending to date the Book as well as his own life, he says that he completed his forty-fourth December (the month of his birth) in the year when Lollius was consul. This was in B.C. 21. It is a natural mode of dating if it means 'last December'—a less natural one if another birthday has already passed. We are driven therefore to choose between supposing that Agrippa achieved his victory over the Cantabri or some parts of it in B.C. 20, in spite of Dion Cassius' words, or that Horace's desire to link Lollius' name with the conclusion of his book has led him to date it by the year before the one last expired.

### *Title and nature of the Epistles.*

Horace once uses the word 'Epistula,' in Epp. 2. 2. 22, possibly, but not certainly, in the sense of a poetical epistle. In Epp. 2. 1. 250 he seems to include the Epistles of the First Book with the Satires under the common title of 'Sermones[1].' Otherwise we have no direct evidence what title he intended them to bear. The MSS. all call them 'Epistulae,' and the Scholiasts say that the title was given to them by Horace himself.

They are 'Epistulae' in varying senses. Some have not only the form, but a definite purpose at the moment and such as finds natural expression in a letter—enquiries about absent friends, as in Ep. 3; an invitation, as in Ep. 5; the introduction of a friend, as in Ep. 9; desire for information about a watering-place, as in Ep. 15. To these we may add, as short and purely personal in their tone, Epp. 4, 8 and 12. It is hard again to draw a fixed line between these and such Epistles as 7, 10 and 11, where, though a larger and general subject is in view, the person addressed and the occasion are never wholly lost. But the epistolary introduction and conclusion tend by degrees to become merely an excuse for the moralizing which intervenes, till, as in Epp. 1 and 6, the only relic left of the letter is the vocative case which begins it, just as 'Qui fit, Maecenas?' or 'Vel quia, Maecenas,' begins a Satire. It is of course possible to underrate the personal element which is really

[1] They are probably also included in the title 'Sermones' in the Suetonian life of Horace (vol. i. p. xxix), where it is said that Augustus 'post Sermones lectos' complained that none was addressed to him.

present in the composition of any particular Epistle. But Horace meant us, we may be sure, to see this element in the Epistle itself, not to depend upon tradition for it.

It must be added that the Epistolary form becomes in some cases a matter of play—as when he makes a professed letter to his bailiff the vehicle for the humorous expression of his own love of the country and dislike of restlessness (Ep. 14); when he puts an apology to Augustus into the form of a letter sent after the messenger who is supposed to be carrying to him a volume of poems (Ep. 13); or when he addresses to his own Book of collected Epistles the confidences and anticipations which he means for his world-wide audience-to-be (Ep. 20).

In calling his Epistles 'Sermones' he is expressing the continuity in substance, and even in form, which unites the most important of them, those for the sake of which the book was written, to the Satires. Their subject is the same, that which always interested him most deeply,—the art of life. It runs into the same topics, the folly of avarice, the wisdom of enjoying instead of wishing, the charm of country life, of moderate tastes, of contentment. He fingers amusedly, as before, the paradoxes of philosophers, and puts even more confidently his view that more is to be learnt from common sense and from the poets than in the schools. The style is the same—the free and unrhetorical style of the best conversation, playful and serious by turns, lighted up by wit, good humour, touches of poetry. It still cuts an argument short with an anecdote or a fable. There is the same tendency to use an individual name where a class is meant, and in doing so to mix indiscriminately names of the day with literary or even mythological reminiscences[1]. The epistolary form is in truth as much a dramatic adaptation as the form of dialogue adopted in Book II of the Satires. As Acron remarks, it is conversation still, conversation with the absent instead of conversation held or overheard, with the present: 'Epistulis enim ad absentes loquimur, sermone cum praesentibus[2].' In speaking of the Satires we noticed the influence

[1] 'A gladiator' is Veianius, 1. 4; 'a man of keen vision,' Lynceus (the Argonaut), 1. 28; 'an athlete,' Glycon, 1. 30. Maenius is, as in the Satires, the glutton and spendthrift in 15. 26. See the note on Bestius, ib. 37. It should be noticed also, as illustrating what is said on p. 11, that the anecdotes of Lucullus 6. 40 f., Philippus 7. 46 f., Eutrapelus 18. 31 f., belong to persons of a former generation.

[2] Cp. Augustus' words in complaining that Horace has addressed none of his 'Sermones' to him: 'irasci me tibi scito quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis *mecum* potissimum *loquaris*.'

which Horace felt both in respect of form and matter from the philosophical dialogues of Cicero. It cannot be doubted that his Epistles in the same way are influenced by Cicero's Letters.

The differences between the Epistles and Satires are analogous to the differences between the later Satires and the earlier.

Life is passing on and has brought to him, if not strong health, the means of taking care of himself, ease, interests, and contentment. He spends his autumn in the Sabine valley, his winter by the sea, returns to Rome with the swallows, and stays there only as long as he feels disposed. His acquaintance among the congenial part of Roman society has grown. He has a recognised position as a man of letters. There are still critics who in public decry his Odes and Epodes, but they read and admire them in private, and they pay him the flattery of foolish imitation. He has no real disposition to quarrel with them. We see him in one light which is always an amiable one. His correspondents are greatly among the younger generation of literary men. He is interested in their work, he has their confidence, and can speak at once honestly and kindly with no false affectation either of superiority or of equality.

If his views of life are richer and more mature than in the Satires, his expression of them is more perfect. We feel the training of the seven years given to lyric composition. There is more ease and music in the verse—more touches of imagination in the language. He has reached the perfection of his own style and the most finished grace of which Latin writing is capable.

### *Order of the Epistles.*

It has been already pointed out (vol. I. p. 8) how exactly the arrangement of the Epistles in this Book corresponds in one important particular with that of the Odes of the first three Books—the first Epistle and the last but one being addressed, as Ode I. I and 2. 29, to Maecenas, the last place in each case being reserved for the poet's own pride at the accomplishment of his task. We may trace occasionally in the order of the rest of the Epistles some of the same principles which seemed to dictate the order of the Odes and, in a less marked degree, of the Satires. Ep. 2 seems to follow Ep. I as an immediate putting into practice of the purposes announced in it. Epp. 17, 18 are put together as dealing with one subject in a way that might be less easily perceived if they were apart, at the same time the two are put at some distance from Ep. 6,

closely though that is connected with them, lest too great attention should seem to be drawn to the matter. In the same way Epp. 13 and 19, which speak of his own poems, are separated. I have pointed out in the introd. to Ep. 16 how the ironical conclusion of Ep. 15 is made to form, quite in Horace's manner, an introduction to one of the most serious and high-toned of his Epistles. The effect of irony is increased by the sequence which puts Ep. 17, with its tone (however it be explained) of cynicism, immediately after Ep. 16.

Epistulis ad absentes loquimur, sermone cum praesentibus.

ACRON.

# LIBER PRIMUS.

## EPISTLE I.

### TO MAECENAS.

THE Epistle is written for its place. It is the dedication to Maecenas of the First Book of the Epistles, and it is an apology (1) for his change of style—from the Odes to the Epistles; (2) for the subject-matter of his new compositions. He has outgrown the power and taste for lyric poetry. His soul is set now on attaining a philosophy of life. He has not done so; but short of that, he would make the most of such eclectic and elementary fragments of truth as he has made his own. It is his own mind and life that he professes to be thinking of; but it is implied that his compositions will reflect his new tastes.

Verses 1–6. You have every claim on me, Maecenas, and I have always acknowledged it; but what you ask of me now is to shut the door of the training school again on a gladiator who has earned his discharge.

7–9. I am for turning a horse out to grass in time, before he breaks down.

10–12. So now I am laying down lyric poetry as one of my playthings. I am thinking now of philosophy, with a practical aim.

13–19. Do not suppose that this means that I have a system cut and dried. I am still an eclectic. At one time I think myself a Stoic, at another I relapse into Epicureanism.

20–26. I am impatient for the day when I may accomplish the most serious work of life by attaining a true philosophical scheme.

27. Meanwhile I would guide and comfort myself with such rudimentary lessons as these.

28–32. A little is better than nothing—especially in a medicinal art.

33–40. There is no passion that does not admit of mitigation if the patient will submit to treatment.

41–47. Humble and negative as this is, it is the first necessary step to virtue and wisdom. If only men were as eager to escape wrong desires as they are to escape poverty!

49–31. On all analogy they should be so; for the prize offered is greater, the effort required less, for virtue is to gold as gold is to silver.

52–56. Unfortunately the opposite doctrine is preached by the business world of Rome and learnt eagerly by all classes.

57–64. The arrangements of social rank go the same way. Your place depends on your money. How much better our boys could teach us with their nursery jingle 'Rex eris si recte facies.' That is sounder than the law of Otho.

68, 69. Which is the better adviser, one who says, 'Make money without regard to the means,' or one who says (and teaches you how to do it), 'Stand up like a man and face fortune'?

70–75. If the world were to ask me why I do not acquiesce in its judgments, I should answer, first, in the words of the old fable, that I will not enter its den because I never see that any who do so come out again.

76–80. Secondly, that it is difficult to imitate when even where men are agreed on the end they differ greatly as to the means:—where in the scale of disgrace am I to stop?—

81–90. nay, when no one man has the same taste for an hour together.

91–93. In this matter of capriciousness there is no difference of rank. The poor follow the rich:

94–105. I am as bad as others; but though you are ready to laugh at incongruities of dress and habit, you do not notice incongruities of mind and life: or if you do, you think them such common forms of madness as not to call either for cure or for restraint.

106–108. What is the conclusion? what but the sum of all the Stoic paradoxes? All the world is sick, except the philosopher—he never, except when he has a cold.

Note the accumulated irony of the ending. (1) Who am I, to preach? I am hitting myself as hard as any one. (2) What does my preaching come to? Am I not assuming the very Stoic tone at which I am always laughing?

PRIMA dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
Spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis

1. **Prima dicte,** after Homer's ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι Il. 9. 97, Virg. Ecl. 8. 11 (to Pollio) 'a te principium, tibi desinet.' There is reference of course to the place which Maecenas occupies in Horace's previously published collections of poems, Epod. 1, Od. 1. 1, Sat. 1. 1. For 'dicere' in the sense of 'cantu praedicare' see on Od. 1. 12. 13. Note the careful order. First the address, which means, 'you have infinite claims on me, and you know that I have never failed to acknowledge them'; then the circumstance which should exempt Horace from the present request, 'I have already earned and received my discharge'; then the fact that Maecenas is actually making the request, and the true nature of the request—the vocative, which gives the tone of remonstrance, being put between these. Then follows in language free from metaphor, but directly answering the 'iterum antiquo,' the reason why what was possible before is not possible now.

2. **spectatum,** 'approved,' like 'rude' and 'ludo,' a technical term of the gladiator's life. 'Tesserae' have been fonnd with the inscription 'SP.' which are supposed to have been presented to gladiators as marks of popular approval.

**rude,** the gladiator's wooden sword used for practice and given to the retiring gladiator as a symbol of his discharge. Cic. Phil. 2. 29. 74 'tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?' Ovid, perhaps remembering that Horace has the metaph. of literary effort, Ov. Trist. 4. 8. 34 'Me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat.' Cp. Juv. S. 7. 171 'Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem.'

3. **ludo,** 'the gladiator's training school.'

4. **mens,** 'inclination.' The words imply that the one has changed with the other.

**Veianius**: evidently a retired gladiator of note. The Scholiasts say that his arms were dedicated at a temple of Hercules at Fundi (in Latium). For the practice of dedicating to some deity the implements of a discarded craft see on Od. 3. 26. 3. Hercules is a natural god for a gladiator to honour in this way; and the Scholiasts' note may point to some special connection of Veianius with Fundi and so with a temple there. No

Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro,
Ne populum extrema toties exoret arena.
Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem:
'Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.'
Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono,
Quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum;
Condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
Ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuter,

proof is alleged of any more specific relation between gladiators and the worship of Hercules beyond Vitruvius' injunction (1. 7), quoted by Orelli, that temples of Hercules should be built near gymnasia, amphitheatres, or (as at Rome) the Circus.

5. **abditus**: Od. 3. 4. 38, of retired veterans, 'abdidit oppidis.' But here with 'latet' there is a stronger sense of hiding; 'he hides himself out of sight in the country.' So Cicero of his retirement from public life, de Off. 3. 1. 3 'abdimus nos quantum licet et soli sumus.'

6. The idea seems to be that if he were tempted or forced back into the arena he would have each time again to win his discharge by appeal to the people. He wishes to have done with it once for all.

**extrema arena**, 'from the arena's edge,' i.e. approaching the parapet round the arena behind which the most distinguished spectators sat. The explanation given of **populum exoret** is that of Acron, who vouches for the fact that gladiators obtained their 'rudis' in this way. Some editors interpret it of his being defeated and having to appeal for his life; cp. Juv. S. 3. 36 'verso pollice volgus Quem iubet occidunt populariter.' It is more difficult however to give in this way a satisfactory meaning to **toties**; and the chance of ending with a breakdown seems to be kept as a last consideration for the following verses and a different similitude.

7. **est mihi**: as Orelli interprets, an inward monitor. Cp. with him Pers. S. 5. 96 'Stat contra ratio et secretam garrit in aurem Ne liceat facere,' etc.

**purgatam**. It is a double statement; that there is such a monitor and that the poet's ear is open to listen. Cp. 'auriculae collecta sorde dolentes' Epp. 1. 2. 53.

8. **mature sanus**, 'be wise in time and loose,' etc.

9. **ilia ducat**: the tired horse which stands 'straining his flanks' in the effort to get breath.

10. **et cetera ludicra**, 'among my other playthings.' Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 55 'Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes: Eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum; Tendunt extorquere poemata.'

**pono**, sc. 'depono.'

11. **quid verum**, sc. 'sit.' 'Verum' and 'decens' are two descriptions of moral right, both from philosophical language of the day. For 'verum' in the sense of true to a moral standard cp. Sat. 2. 3. 208, 312; Epp. 1. 7. 98, 1. 12. 23; Virg. Aen. 12. 694 'me verius unum Pro vobis foedus luere.'

**decens**, acc. to Cicero's definition (Off. 1. 27. 93) the equivalent of 'honestum' and of the Greek *πρέπον*.

**omnis in hoc sum**: Sat. 1. 9. 2 'totus in illis.'

12. **condo**, of storing material.

**compono**, of setting it in order.

**depromere**, a continuation of the metaphor, 'to bring out of the store' for use. He is accumulating or digesting principles of practical philosophy for his own guidance.

13. **ne roges**, 'to forestall your asking'; the negative purpose of the statement made in v. 14 foll. See on Od. 1. 33. 1, and cp. Epp. 1. 16. 1, 1. 19. 26, 2. 1. 208.

**quo duce**: 'dux' was used both of a leader in war and of the chief of a philosophical school. See Munro on Lucr. 1. 638.

**lare**, a variation of the frequent use of 'familia' and 'domus' (Od. 1. 29. 14) for such a school.

**me tuter**: the verb is best adapted

Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
Nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,
Virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles;
Nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,
Et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.
Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque
Longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus
Pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum;
Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem
Consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod

to the metaphor of the last of the two substantives.

14. **addictus**: properly of a debtor who has been by sentence of court given over for the time as slave to his creditor; then used metaphorically, as Cic. Tusc. 2. 2. 5 'qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis addicti et consecrati sunt.'

**iurare in verba.** Cp. Epod. 15. 4 'in verba iurabas mea'; to swear after a formula dictated. It was specially used of the military oath of allegiance, as in Liv. 28. 29 'in verba P. Scipionis iurarunt.' Here however the reference is to the oath of obedience taken by those who engaged themselves as gladiators; 'magistri' being a title of the 'lanista' or trainer of a gladiatorial school (Cic. de Or. 3. 23. 86 'magister Samnitium'). See Mayor on Juv. S. 11. 8 'leges et regia verba lanistae,' and cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 7. 58 'uri, virgis ferroque necari, Auctoratus.' 'Addictus' here takes the place of 'auctoratus' ('having hired himself out'). The inf. in both cases is of the class discussed in Appendix 2 (§ 2) of vol. 1.

15. **deferor hospes**, 'I come to land and claim hospitality.' The metaphor is a natural one, but cp. Cic. Acad. Prior. 2. 8 'ad quamcunque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati.'

16. **agilis**: Epp. 1. 18. 90 'agilem gnavumque'; 'a man of action.' Cicero, de Fin. 3. 20. 68, quotes Chrysippus as teaching the Stoic doctrine that the wise man should take part in public life, 'velit gerere et administrare rempublicam.'

**civilibus undis**: Epp. 2. 2. 84 'rerum fluctibus in mediis.'

17. **verae**: true to its standard, not lowered to suit men's weakness.

**custos rigidusque satelles.** 'Rigidus' belongs to both substantives and is outside the metaphor, describing otherwise the strictness of the true Stoic: 'custos,' 'satelles,' as though Virtue were a sovereign.

18. **Aristippi**: Sat. 2. 3. 100, Epp. 1. 17. 14, 23; the founder of the Cyrenaic school, who 'voluptatem finem esse voluerunt' Cic. Acad. Prior. 42. 131.

**furtim relabor**, as though he was ashamed of it. Horace does not paint this eclecticism as an ideal. He is in search of a philosophical system. This hesitation is a proof that he has not attained it.

19. 'Try to make things serve me, not myself serve them.' A general description of his own attitude towards external things in his Epicurean moments. He finds the principles of his life in his own inclinations, not in rules, claims, relations outside himself.

21. **opus debentibus**, 'whose work is a matter of debt.' A man who is working for his own pleasure or advantage finds the day too short.

22. **pupillis . . . custodia.** The former is a technical word, the latter not. The boys are orphans and therefore 'pupilli,' 'wards' of some guardian, 'tutor,' appointed under the father's will. They live still with their mother and are therefore under her control, in fact, though not in law, as a woman could not be a 'tutor'.

**dura**, 'irksome.'

24. **id quod**, etc., i. e. the obtaining of fixed principles of conduct.

Aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque,
Aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
Restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;
Nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus;

25, 26. **prodest . . . nocebit.** The future adds 'by and by, though it may not seem so at the moment,' and it suits the comparison in its clause between successive stages of life. The young see no evil results, but they will follow equally.

27. **restat:** till I attain to the system, I must do what I can with so much of the alphabet of philosophy as I have learnt.

**his:** such as are exemplified in the rest of the Epistle.

**ego me ipse** emphasizes again that his aim is practical and personal. He is not going to mount the professor's chair.

**regam solerque:** the practical aims of moral philosophy, guidance in conduct, and the attainment of content and tranquillity.

28–31. These lines contain an apology. 'Little is better than nothing.' They also offer a first example of the 'elementa' of philosophical commonplace of which he speaks.

28. **non possis:** see on Sat. 1. 1. 45. The omission of the concessive or conditional particle, that is, the return to co-ordinate construction, has the effect of contrasting more forcibly the possible hypothesis and the impossible conclusion which might wrongly be drawn from it. Notice that in using the second person henceforth in the Epistle (at least until v. 95), Horace has in view not Maecenas, but an imaginary disputant or object of his teaching. See note on Epp. 1. 16. 41–43.

**oculo contendere:** lit. to make an effort with the eye, as Cic. Lig. 3. 6 'voce contendere.' Bentley, following Lambinus, with small MS. authority, reads and argues for 'oculos,' though allowing that both constructions are lawful. The position of 'contendere' makes it the inf. not after 'possis,' but after 'potuit' or 'potuisset,' in the rel. clause.

**Lynceus:** one of the Argonauts, famous for keenness of sight. Pind. Nem. 10. 62 *κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ' ὀξύτατον ὄμμα.*

29. **lippus inungi:** Sat. 1. 5. 30.

30. **Glyconis.** Lessing pointed out that a famous athlete, Glycon of Pergamum, is the object of an epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica, a contemporary, as appears, of Horace. Otherwise his name is unknown, and as early as Acron the conjecture 'Milonis' had been substituted in some copies. Curiously, Milo is the name in the sentence which is quoted from Epictetus, and which possibly was suggested by this passage: *οὐδὲ γὰρ Μίλων ἔσομαι, καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τοῦ σώματος· οὐδὲ Κροῖσος, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τῆς κτήσεως.*

31. **cheragra:** Sat. 2. 7. 16.

32. **est,** *ἔξεστι.* Sat. 2. 5. 103.

**quadam . . . tenus.** The tmesis as in Virg. Aen. 5. 603 'Hac celebrata tenus.' 'Quadam' is one of the many true readings received into the text of Horace by Cruquius on the testimony of V. It had been conjecturally restored by Lambinus, but has since been found in most of the best MSS. The earlier readings were 'quodam' and 'quoddam.' The latter made no sense, the former is contrary to the usual formation of adverbial compounds of 'tenus,' which have the fem. abl. as 'hactenus,' 'aliquatenus.'

33. **fervet.** Perhaps, 'is fevered,' the metaphor being continuous in this and the two following lines. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 79 'luxuria . . . aut alio mentis morbo calet.' Otherwise we should take it as Cicero's 'fervet ferturque

Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes; sunt certa piacula quae te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
Si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.
Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse. Vides quae maxima credis
Esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
Quanto devites animi capitisque labore.
Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:

avaritia' pro Quint. 11. 38, or Ovid's 'tumida fervebat ab ira' Met. 2. 602; 'is in a ferment.' For the indicative of hypothesis cp. inf. v. 58 and 87.

**misero**: Sat. 1. 4. 26 'ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat,' ib. 1. 6. 129.

**cupidine**: a larger word than 'avaritia,' including all the ways of desiring instead of enjoying, of which that is (to Horace) the standing instance. See introd. to Sat. 1. 1. Cp. the phrase 'inops cupido' in Epp. 1. 18. 98. For the gender of 'cupido' see on Od. 2. 16. 15.

34. **verba et voces**: perhaps with remembrance of Eur. Hipp. 478 *εἰσὶν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι· | φανήσεταί τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου*, where *ἐπῳδαί* would answer to 'voces,' *λόγοι* to 'verba.' The teachings of philosophy are likened to the spells of the *ἰατρόμαντις*.

36. **laudis amore**: ambition stands next to avarice, as in Sat. 1. 4. 26, 2. 3. 179 foll.; Epp. 2. 2. 205.

**tumes**, as Sat. 2. 3. 213. The choice of the figure is due to the windy, unsubstantial, character of the objects of ambition, 'inani ambitione' Epp. 2. 2. 206. But it is also another medical word, ambition is as a dropsy.

**piacula**: continuing the figure of ancient medicine, which mixed the arts of the physician and of the seer.

37. **ter**: see note on Sat. 2. 1. 7.

**pure**, as Orelli explains it = *ἁγνῶς, καθαρῶς*. So, with a similar mixture of medical and religious import. Plin. N. H. 22. 10 (12) 'radix caste pureque collecta.'

**libello**. The word covers both the philosophical treatise and the book of magic formulae to which it is likened.

41. **virtus**. We are probably, as is usual with Horace, to understand 'prima' from the second substantive. 'It is a first step in virtue to avoid vice, as it is the first step in wisdom to have got rid of folly.' He is still apologizing for the elementary and negative character of the wisdom which is to come.

43. **censum . . . repulsam**. These follow the order of the two vices of which he has spoken, avarice and ambition.

**turpem**: cp. Od. 3. 2. 17 'repulsae . . . sordidae.'

44. **animi capitisque labore**. A difficulty was early felt in the apparent contrast of 'animi' and 'capitis.' Our opposition of 'heart' and 'head' is not to be thought of. The true explanation is probably indicated in the early glosses which have in some MSS. crept into the text as substitutes for 'labore,' (1) 'dolore,' i.e. 'labor' means 'pain' rather than 'effort'; (2) 'periclo,' i.e. 'labor' is used with something of a zeugma, 'capitis labore' having rather the sense of 'risk to life.'

46. **per mare . . . per saxa, per ignes**. The enumeration is proverbial and metaphorical, though it begins with a danger which may be understood literally. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 38, 2. 3. 54. With the general picture of the trader cp. Od. 3. 24. 36 foll.

Ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,
Discere et audire, et meliori credere non vis?
Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
Cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
'O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
Virtus post nummos:' haec Ianus summus ab imo
Prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque,
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque;

47. **ne cures**: the negative purpose of 'discere,' etc., 'to save yourself from caring for,' etc.

48. **meliori**: cp. Epp. 1. 2. 68 'te melioribus offer.'

49–51. These lines enforce by an illustration the appeal of vv. 47, 48. Compare the prize in the two cases and the effort required. It is as though a hack prize-fighter were offered a garland at Olympia without having to fight for it.

50. **coronari Olympia**, a Graecism: στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια, as Ennius 'vicit Olumpia,' quoted by Cic. de Sen. 5. 13.

52. **vilius**, etc. This is the interpretation of the preceding question. 'Virtue is the prize offered, and that is as much more valuable than gold, which you are seeking at such cost, as gold itself is more valuable than silver. But (he goes on) here is the difficulty:—this doctrine which seems to me so clear is the very opposite of the doctrine which all the world preaches and repeats.'

54. **Ianus summus ab imo**. As to the exact meaning of this phrase see on Sat. 2. 3. 18 'Ianum ad medium.' In any case it means, generally, the headquarters of the business of money-making.

55. **prodocet**, an ἅπαξ λεγ. It seems to answer to 'recinunt dictata'; 'deals forth as from the teacher's chair.' 'Praedocet,' 'perdocet,' each found in a few MSS. of inferior value, are emendations of a rare word.

**recinunt dictata**: Epp. 1. 18. 13 'saevo dictata magistro Reddere' (cp. Sat. 1. 10. 75), of lessons taught orally and repeated in sing-song by the class.

56. The line is repeated from Sat. 1. 6. 74, where see note. It seems here to emphasize 'senes' ironically. 'Yes, the old, in this matter, are as true schoolboys as those whom I used to see and whom I described tripping to school at Venusia.' Similar repetitions of a line with a purpose occur between Sat. 1. 2. 27 and Sat. 1. 4. 92; Sat. 1. 8. 11 and Sat. 2. 1. 22; apparently without a purpose between Sat. 1. 2. 13 and A. P. 421; Sat. 2. 3. 163 and Epp. 1. 6. 28; and, though the reading is questioned, Epp. 1. 14. 34 and Epp. 1. 18. 91. It is also a usage found in the Odes under both circumstances. Cp. Od. 1. 19. 1 with 4. 1. 5; and Od. 3. 21. 20 with 4. 8. 33.

57, 58. The great majority of editors since Cruquius place these lines in this order, and there is some MS. authority for it, including Holder's E and g. Bentley, who argues strongly for it, supposes 57 to have been at some time omitted and wrongly replaced. He points out that in one of his MSS. (that belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford) it is inserted after v. 61.

If 58 is to be put before 57, we must imagine it to be a reply of the money-seeker, answering to that made in Sat. 1. 1. 62 'Nil satis est (inquit) quia tanti quantum habeas sis.' 'Nay, the world is right, not you, for I am still some way off the income which carries with it respectability.' But this is a serious break in an otherwise orderly series of thought. Putting 57 before 58 we find Horace still pursuing his statement that the world puts money before merit. That is the lesson taught on 'Change. That is the lesson (so vv. 57–59 run) of our social distinctions.

57. **est**, 'suppose you have.'

**animus**: here 'gifts of mind,' which

Sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt;
Plebs eris. At pueri ludentes, 'Rex eris,' aiunt,
'Si recte facies.' Hic murus aëneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
Nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
Et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
Isne tibi melius suadet qui, rem facias, rem,
Si possis recte, si non, quocunque modo rem,
Ut propius spectes lacrimosa poëmata Pupi,

in the similar Od. 2. 18. 9 is 'ingeni vena.'

**lingua fides.** Some relation is to be felt between these. Contrast Plaut. M. G. 2. 2. 35 'os habeat, linguam, perfidiam.'

58. **sed.** There is a v. l. 'si' in some good MSS. (incl. the Queen's Coll. MS.), followed in the early editions, which placed this line before 57; but the weight of evidence is for 'sed,' and 'si' was perhaps an emendation intended to smooth the transition when the verses were read in that order.

**quadringentis**, the 'equestris summa' of A. P. 383, a fortune of 400,000 sesterces.

**sex septem**, 'six or seven,' a colloquial use. Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 40 'his mensibus sex septem,' Cic. ad Att. 10. 8 'sex septem diebus.'

59. **plebs** for 'plebeius.' Prof. Wilkins points out the Homeric parallel, *δῆμον ἐόντα*, i. e. one of the people, Il. 12. 213. 'Plebs' is used with its usual Horatian meaning of 'the people' in a depreciatory sense, 'one of the crowd.'

**at.** Horace's answer to the judgment of the world.

60. **si recte facies.** The Scholiast gives the full line of the 'nenia,' a trochaic tetrameter catal., 'Rex eris si recte facies, si non facies, non eris,' and the same verse is quoted as a proverb by Isidore of Seville (beginning of 7th cent.) in his Origines (9. 3. 4). What meaning the boys gave to 'recte facere,' whether 'to play well' or 'to keep the rules' is a matter of guessing. Horace is concerned with the words, and the connection into which 'rex' and 'recte facere' are brought. Plato (Theaetetus, p. 146) alludes to a Greek game of ball in which the worst player was called *ὄνος*, the best *βασιλεύς*.

**hic**: for the attraction of the pronoun see Madv. § 316.

**murus aëneus**, i. e. a perfect protection. See on Od. 3. 3. 65.

61. **sibi**: an indefinite subject being understood to 'conscire.' Wilkins points out a similar instance in Cic. de Nat. D. 1. 30. 84, where we have 'sibi' (altered by some edd. to 'tibi') 'displicere,' although the sentence is addressed, as here, to the second person.

62. **Roscia lex.** See on Epod. 4. 15. It is taken as the type of an estimate of rank based upon money.

**sodes**: Sat. 1. 9. 41.

63. **nenia**: see on Od. 3. 28. 16; 'refrain,' 'nursery rhyme.' Phaedrus depreciatingly calls his fables (3. prol. 10) 'viles neniae.'

64. **maribus**: A. P. 402 'mares animos.'

**Curiis . . . Camillis**: Od. 1. 12. 41, 42; for the plural see on ibid. 37. Virgil has 'Camillos' G. 2. 169.

**decantata.** See on Od. 1. 33. 3. Here we have only the idea of repetition, from generation to generation.

65. **rem . . . rem . . . rem**, of the one thing preached in season and out of season, 'money, money, money.' Cp. a slighter instance of such repetition Epod. 14. 6.

67. **propius**, i. e. in the seats which the 'lex Roscia' appropriated to the knights.

**lacrimosa**, 'doleful.' Nothing is known of Pupius but what the Scholiasts tell us, viz. that he wrote tragedies and that the following epigram was composed on him, they say, by himself, 'Flebunt amici et bene noti mortem meam: Nam populus in me vivo lacrimavit satis.'

An qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
Liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
Quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget, cur
Non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,
Nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,
Olim quod volpes aegroto cauta leoni
Respondit referam: 'Quia me vestigia terrent,
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'
Belua multorum es capitum. Nam quid sequar aut quem?
Pars hominum gestit conducere publica, sunt qui
Frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,
Excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
Multis occulto crescit res fenore. Verum

68. **responsare**: see on Sat. 2. 7. 85.

69. **erectum.** Orelli compares Cic. Deiot. 13. 36 'magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem.'

**praesens**: much as it is used of divinities, 'with ready help,' 'in hour of need'; it goes with both verbs: he not only advises but helps you to keep the advice.

**aptat.** A few good MSS. (incl. Regin.) 'optat.' There is the reverse mistake in Epp. 1. 6. 55, some old MSS. reading 'adapta.'

71. **porticibus**: see Sat. 1. 4. 134 n.

**fruar**: not only use, but 'use with pleasure.'

73. **olim,** as in Sat. 2. 6. 79, the 'once upon a time' of a fable. Cp. Epp. 1. 3. 18. It is an Aesopean fable. Porph. tells us that Lucilius had used it, and some of the lines in which he did so have been pieced together in his fragments, 30. 80 foll. ed. Müller, cp. esp. vv. 86, 87 'Quid sibi volt, quare fit ut introversus et ad te Spectent atque ferant vestigia se omnia prorsus?'

76. **belua multorum capitum.** Horace dwells on the figure of the fable and gives another aspect to it. The world which bids me imitate it is well represented as a beast—a beast, like those of legend, with many heads.

77–80. We are passing from the charge brought against the world, of a wrong standard, to that of inconstancy, but this is not done with logical accuracy, and the instances given of variety of taste in different people belong still to the old subject, being limited to various ways, including the most questionable ones, of making money.

77. **conducere publica,** 'to take public contracts.' The phrase seems to cover contracts both for the farming of the revenue (cp. 'publicis male redemptis' Cic. Q. Frat. 1. 1. 11) and for works to be executed for the state. It is possible that Horace is thinking of various grades of dignity in such contracts (cp. Juvenal's 'Quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus, Siccandam eluviem,' etc. 3. 30), but the main irony lies in the verb 'gestit,' 'is greedy to,' and in the juxtaposition of the calling of the 'publicanus' with that of the legacy-hunter and the money-lender, as though the difference were one of taste.

78. **frustis**: Perhaps a contemptuous term; 'scraps,' 'broken meat,' of such presents as the 'turdus' of Sat. 2. 5. 10. Most editors have preferred the reading 'crustis' ('cakes,' 'pastry'; cp. the dim. 'crustula' in Sat. 1. 1. 25), which Cruquius and Lambinus found in some of their MSS. and which has the authority of $\sigma$ (the St. Gall MS.).

**pomis**: Sat. 2. 5. 12.

**venentur . . . excipiant**: Od. 3. 12. 12 'excipere aprum.'

79. **vivaria,** of catching wild game and turning them into preserves. Cp. the similar metaphor of catching fish and putting them in fishponds, Sat. 2. 5. 44.

80. **occulto.** It is difficult to choose between the interpretations 'secret,' i.e. unlawful, and therefore not arranged in public, and 'the interest that grows, men

Esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:
Idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
'Nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis,'
Si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri; cui si vitiosa libido
Fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
Tolletis, fabri. Lectus genialis in aula est,
Nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita;
Si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?
Quid pauper? Ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,
Balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
Nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis.
Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos
Occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae

know not how,' after Od. I. 12. 45 'crescit occulto velut arbor aevo.' In the latter case the epithet would suggest the idea of an 'unearned increment,' and so of an invidious mode of money-making.

84. **lacus et mare**: the Lucrine lake and the sea outside the bar. The rich proprietor disturbs both by his building. Cp. on the subject Od. 2. 18. 19–22, 3. 1. 33–40, 3. 24. 1–4.

**sentit**, in a bad sense, 'feels the effects of,' 'smarts for.'

85. **libido**, 'fancy,' 'caprice.'

86. **fecerit auspicium**: 'facere auspicium' is said of the birds or other appearances that give the omen.

**Teanum**, i. e. from the seaside to an inland town. Teanum called 'Sidicinum,' to distinguish it from the town of the same name in Apulia, was a town of Campania on the Via Latina between Cales and Casinum.

87. **lectus genialis**: the bed dedicated to the genius (called 'lectus adversus' Prop. 4. 11. 85) which stood in the 'atrium' of a house where a married couple lived.

**est**: see above on vv. 33, 58.

89. **bene esse**: Od. 2. 16. 43.

90. **Protea**: see on Sat. 2. 3. 71.

91. **quid pauper?** A reply of the rich man to Horace's arraignment. Perhaps, as Cruquius suggests, it is meant to be the answer of Maecenas himself. Horace hastens to answer that the same charge of inconstancy holds against all, against himself. It is the commencement of the ironical conclusion. For the meaning of 'pauper' see on Od. 1. 1. 18. It covers, as we see, a man in Horace's own station.

**cenacula**: by usage, of the hired garrets of the poor. See Mayor on Juv. S. 10. 18.

92. **conducto navigio**: though he has to hire the boat, he goes to sea and is sick just as much as the rich man who has his own trireme.

93. **priva triremis**: see on Od. 2. 16. 21–24 and 3. 1. 37 foll.

94. **inaequali tonsore**, an abl. absol. (see on Od. 1. 6. 1). The point is not a general air of untidiness but the particular incongruities—the hair trimmed unevenly on the two sides, a new outer tunic and an old inner one, a 'toga' that sits unequally on the two shoulders. Maecenas' eye is especially quick for the want of harmony in any such external matters, yet he is blind to greater internal inconsistencies. At the same time the passage would seem to imply that Horace actually laid himself open to such criticisms, and therefore increases the probability that in Sat. 1. 3. 31 foll. he is thinking of himself.

95. **occurri**. The omission of the pronoun or any emphatic mark of a change of subject or person addressed supports Cruquius' view, that the reference to Horace himself has begun in the preceding lines.

Trita subest tunicae vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides: quid mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?
Insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
A praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
Cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
De te pendentis, te respicientis amici.
Ad summam: sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum;
Praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

**subucula**: acc. to Varro (fragm. preserved by Nonius) this was a second tunic worn under the other.

**pexae**, of wool still fresh, with the nap on. Cp. Mart. 2. 58. 1 'Pexatus pulcre rides mea, Zoile, trita.'

96. **dissidet impar**, corresponds to 'toga defluit' in Sat. 1. 3. 31.

99. **aestuat**, sways to and fro like the tide.

**disconvenit**: Epp. 1. 14. 18.

**ordine toto**: his life is a succession of incongruities.

100. **diruit, aedificat.** Horace makes the Stoic in Sat. 2. 3. 307 laugh at him for spending money in building.

**mutat quadrata**: probably a proverbial expression for fanciful alterations, based, as Lambinus suggested, on the story told of Agesilaus (see Plutarch, Ap. Laconica, Agesilai 27) that on seeing in Asia square beams used in the roof of a house he asked if trees in that country were square, and being told that they were round, said, 'then if trees grew square would you make your beams round?' Some modest alterations in his Sabine villa would be enough to give occasion to his own ironical laughter at his own expense.

101. **sollemnia**, as the Schol. explains it, 'pro consuetudine cunctorum,' one more madman in a mad world; the doctrine of Sat. 2. 3. For the use of 'sollemnis' cp. Epp. 1. 18. 49, 2. 1. 103; for the cogn. acc. with 'insanire' see Sat. 2. 3. 63.

102. **curatoris**: see note on Sat. 2. 3. 217.

103. **rerum tutela**, etc., 'though you take such responsibility for me, and are so sensitive for my reputation, and though your lightest word has such weight with me.'

106. **ad summam**: cp. his way of bringing a discussion to a close in Sat. 1. 3. 137 'Ne longum faciam.' He sums up in this ironical way his whole moral lecture. 'You see what I have been saying. It is the old story. The true object of desire is "wisdom," the "wise man" is all that the Stoics have called him—that I have often laughed at them for calling him.' See note on Sat. 1. 3. 124 foll.

108. **praecipue**, 'above all,' 'as a chief distinction.'

**sanus**, 'sound,' i.e. primarily, as opp. to 'insanus' (v. 101), but the double meaning suggests the playful qualification, 'except when he has a bad cold.' Orelli shows by quotations that among the later Stoics at least the question was common how far such minor physical infirmities deduct from the perfect happiness of the wise man. It is possible that there is a playful reference to a medico-philosophical doctrine that 'pituita' (see on Sat. 2. 2. 75) clouded the intellect. Cp. Plin. N. H. 20. 7. 26 '[lactucae] lentitiam pituitae digerunt atque ut aliqui tradiderunt, sensus purgant' with Pers. S. 2. 57 'Somnia pituita . . . purgatissima'; see Conington's note there.

For the scansion of 'pituita' see on Sat. 2. 2. 75.

# EPISTLE II.

## TO LOLLIUS.

Verses 1–4. I HAVE been re-reading my Homer, Lollius. He is a better teacher of morals than your Stoics and Academics.

5–8. The whole story is full of the follies both of the few and of the many.

9–16. Antenor and Nestor, in the Iliad, are the philosophers, going to the root of the matter, showing the way of safety, composing foolish quarrels. Paris, Achilles, and Agamemnon are the 'madmen' of common life, refusing to be saved, driven headlong by desire or anger. The many suffer for the sins of the few. Life and its follies are the same in both camps.

17–31. So in the Odyssey, Ulysses is the philosopher, studying life, thinking for others, proof against adversity, deaf to the Sirens and to Circe, while his comrades fall victims to them. We find our part in the ciphers of the story, the suitors, the courtiers of Alcinous, prodigals, fops, and loungers.

32–39. This is the bane of life. Wake up, show in a good cause something of the energy which robbers show in a bad. Laziness will avenge itself in the case of moral health as of physical.

40–43. Do not procrastinate. Time waits for no man.

44, 45. You plead excuses. You are busy on legitimate objects of desire.

46–54. Be it so, but set a limit to these. Remember that wealth to be enjoyed presupposes health to enjoy, health of mind as well as body.

55–62. Pleasure is often bought too dear. Avarice is perpetual poverty. Envy is a torment. Anger is a temporary insanity.

62–67. These can all be tamed if you treat the mind as you treat your horse and your dog—break it in early.

67–70. Listen to me while you are young. Early lessons are long retained.

70, 71. But, whether you listen or not, I shall go my own pace.

This Epistle is to be read with the First. It is an instance of the rudimentary philosophy, the thoughts on life and morals, which Horace represents himself then as storing. They are brought out now for the benefit of a young man. Homer's poems are only the text and excuse, a link, it may be, between Lollius' old studies and new needs. But we see elsewhere (see on Epp. 1. 16. 73) that Horace was inclined as he read the Greek poets to find for himself moral applications of their legends.

The 'Lollius' of this Epistle and (we may suppose) of the Eighteenth is a young man who in the later Epistle is spoken of as having served under Augustus in the Cantabrian campaign, B.C. 25, 24. He is possibly the son of the M. Lollius to whom Od. 4. 9 is addressed.

Various theories have been held as to the meaning of the appellation 'Maxime' given to him in v. 1. It has been taken (1) as = 'natu maxime,' as though there were several brothers. One brother is mentioned in Epp. 1. 18. 63. Cp. 'O maior iuvenum' A. P. 366. This is Orelli's view, but it has been pointed out that there is no authority for the use of 'maxime' by itself in the sense of 'eldest.' (2) As either literally or playfully = 'illustrious,' the former by those who with the Scholiasts take the Epistle to be addressed to M. Lollius who was consul in B.C. 21; among

these is Ritter. The latter by those who think it to be addressed to a boy. (3) As a cognomen. This is no new theory, having been held by Scaliger, but it has gained general belief since Meineke's advocacy of it. There is no trustworthy evidence of the cognomen borne by M. Lollius, the consul of B. C. 21. Under the Republic the only cognomen found in the gens Lollia is Palicanus. A granddaughter of his is called 'Lollia Paullina,' and this has been supposed to indicate that the cognomen was Paullinus. But the whole question of cognomina at this period is very obscure. A 'Lollius Maximus' is found in an inscription, but of a much later date. Keller compares Ovid's address (ex Pont. 2. 8. 2 and 3. 5. 6) 'Maxime Cotta' to the son of Messalla, the orator, who had been adopted into the Aurelia gens, and bore apparently both the cognomen which belonged to it, and that of Maximus, an old cognomen in the Valeria gens, to which by birth he belonged.

TROIANI belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romae Praeneste relegi;
Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
Cur ita crediderim nisi quid te distinet audi.
Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello,
Stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.

1. **Maxime Lolli.** Taking 'Maxime' as a cognomen (see introd.), notice the inversion of the two names, as in Od. 2. 2. 3 'Crispe Salusti,' where see n.

2. **declamas,** of a young man practising the art of speaking under the guidance of a 'rhetor.' Cicero describes himself as doing so Brut. 90. 310 'commentabar declamitans (sic enim loquuntur) saepe cum M. Piceno et cum Q. Pompeio aut cum aliquo quotidie;' see Mayor on Juv. S. 7. 150.

**Praeneste,** a haunt of Horace; see Od. 3. 4. 23 n. It does not follow that he possessed a house there.

3. **pulchrum . . . utile:** *καλόν, χρήσιμον.* The two tests of action according to Cic. de Off. 1. 3. 10.

4. **planius.** The Bland. MSS. seem here to have had the worse reading 'plenius.' The Pseudo-Acron had 'planius,' which he interprets by 'apertius,' the Comm. Cruq. by 'manifestius.' 'Plenius' would involve an unnecessary paradox, as Chrysippus and Crantor are both spoken of as most voluminous writers. For Chrysippus the Stoic see on Sat. 1. 3. 126. Crantor was an Academic, 'Legimus omnes Crantoris veteris Academici de luctu' Cic. Academ. Prior. 2. 136, 'Crantor ille qui in nostra Academia vel inprimis fuit nobilis' id. Tusc. D. 3. 6. 12. Diog. Laert. (4. 24) speaks of him as having written a book of *ὑπομνήματα*, which contained 30,000 lines.

5. **crediderim.** For the tense cp. Od. 3. 5. 1.

**distinet:** the reading of the best MSS., including the Bland., as against 'detinet.'

7. **Barbariae:** cp. Od. 2. 4. 9 'Barbarae postquam cecidere turmae,' and Epod. 9. 6. The Roman poets introduce into their language about the Trojan war the post-Homeric distinction of Greeks and *βάρβαροι*, so that 'barbari' becomes the equivalent of Trojan or Phrygian; see Conington on Virg. Aen. 2. 504.

**duello.** Horace affects this archaic form Od. 3. 5. 38, 3. 14. 18, 4. 15. 8; Epp. 2. 1. 254, 2. 2. 98. Notice, with Orelli, the effect of the sonorous verse with its heroic tone, in contrast with the preceding line, in emphasizing the inadequacy of the cause and the seriousness of the result.

8. **stultorum.** In the philosophical sense, as opposed to the 'sapiens.' Antenor and Nestor are the philosophers.

Antenor censet belli praecidere causam:
Quid Paris? Ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus
Cogi posse negat. Nestor componere lites
Inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden;
Hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.
Seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira
Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.
Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen,
Qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbes
Et mores hominum inspexit, latumque per aequor,
Dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
Pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.
Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti;
Quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,
Vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus.
Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,

9. **Antenor.** The reference is to Il. 7. 347 foll. Cp. also Liv. 1. 1 'duobus Aeneae Antenorique . . . quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae auctores semper fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse.'

10. **quid Paris?** Il. 7. 357 foll. *'Αντῆνορ σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις, κ.τ.λ.* Horace puts the result of Paris' answer into his mouth as though he had actually foreseen and chosen it. Bentley, not allowing sufficiently for the irony, argues strongly for the reading of inferior authority, 'Quod Paris,' 'quod' being the accusative after 'cogi.'

11. **Nestor**: Il. 1. 254 foll.

12. **inter . . . inter.** For this idiom see on Sat. 1. 7. 11.

13. **hunc**: sc. Agamemnon.

14. **plectuntur**: Sat. 2. 7. 105 'tergo plector.'

15. **atque**, not coordinated with **et** but adding to **scelere** its two motives, 'crime, and the lust and anger from which it springs.'

19–22. A free translation of the first five lines of the Odyssey, of part of which he gives another version in A. P. 141, 142, *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ | πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε· πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, | πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμὸν | ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.*

23. **Sirenum**: Odyss. 12. 39 foll. and 166 foll.

**Circae pocula**: Odyss. 10. 230 foll. Horace recurs to the story of the crew of Ulysses in Epp. 1. 6. 64 foll.

24. **stultus cupidusque.** He perhaps means to suggest that the *μῶλυ* with which by Hermes' advice Ulysses had fortified himself before he drank of Circe's cup, represents temperance, with which the cup of pleasure becomes harmless. He did not drink 'in foolish greediness.'

25. **turpis et excors**, 'shamed and witless.' Lambinus suggests that the words are an echo of Homer's *κακὸν καὶ ἀνήνορα* Od. 10. 301. For 'excors' see Sat. 2. 3. 67.

26. **immundus . . . amica luto** seem to suggest a moral interpretation of the story.

27. **nos numerus sumus.** Ulysses is the one in the thousand; we are the nine hundred and ninety-nine,

Sponsi Penelopae, nebulones, Alcinoique
In cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus,
Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
Ad strepitum citharae † cessatum ducere curam.
Ut iugulent hominem surgunt de nocte latrones:
Ut te ipsum serves non expergisceris? Atqui

the ἀριθμός, πρόβατ' ἄλλως, ἀμφορῆς νενησμένοι of Arist. Nub. 1203, where the succeeding designations explain the first: men without individuality, who can only be spoken of in the mass.

**fruges consumere nati**, 'fit for no task higher than to eat their share of earth's fruits'; an adaptation of the Homeric *βροτῶν οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν*. For 'nati' with the inf. see App. 2 of vol. 1. § 2.

28. **sponsi.** Cp. Virgil's 'nulli quondam flexere mariti' of Dido's suitors, Aen. 4. 35.

**nebulones**: see on Sat. 1. 1. 104. It is a further designation of 'sponsi,' giving the application by a familiar phrase of Roman town life, answering to the description of 'Alcinoi iuventus,' 'good-for-naught suitors of Penelope.'

**Alcinoi iuventus**, the young courtiers of Alcinous, as he describes them in Odyss. 8. 248 *αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροί τε | εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.* Cp. Epp. 1. 15. 24 'Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti.'

29. **cute curanda**: Epp. 1. 4. 15 'bene curata cute,' Sat. 2. 5. 38 'pelliculam curare'; 'in keeping their skin sleek.'

30. **in medios dormire dies.** This belongs to the life of a lazy young Roman (cp. Pers. Sat. 3 passim), not the actual Homeric picture.

31. **†cessatum ducere curam.** So editors usually print, even those who, as Munro, do not believe Horace to have written it. If we accept it, it will probably mean 'to beguile care into stopping.' Any objection to the phrase itself is not to the supine after 'ducere,' which is abundantly supported by Sat. 2. 4. 89 'auditum ducere,' but to the fanciful character of the expression, which has nothing in Homer to account for it, and is unlike Horace's style. But although the majority of the older MSS. give this reading, all Cruquius' Blandinian MSS. had 'somnum' instead of 'curam,' and this Keller considers the reading generally of his 'second class' of MSS. The scholium of Acr. in its later part explains 'cessatum curam,' but Bentley argues that the first annotation, 'quia adhibemus sonitum citharae ac lyrae ut facilius sopiamur' belongs to an earlier reading of 'somnum.' The Bland. MSS. seem to have had 'cessatum,' which with 'somnum' has no meaning, and so have the other MSS. Bentley, building in part on the reading of some early editions 'cessantum,' proposed to complete the sense by altering 'cessatum' to 'cessantem,' and he is followed by Haupt, Meineke, and others. Munro (Journ. of Philology, vol. 9. p. 217) proposes 'recreatum,' 'to prolong sleep restored at the sound of the lyre.' Bentley takes 'cessantem' in the same sense as Od. 3. 28. 8 'cessantem amphoram,' 'to tempt sleep when it is coy.' The parallel will be Od. 3. 1. 20 'Non avium citharaeque cantus Somnum reducent.' The problem can hardly be said to be solved: but there is great force in Bentley's argument that the context both before and after is in favour of some reading which makes sense of 'somnum.' The young Phaeacians are not painted as burdened with care which needs beguiling, and we need to emphasize in every way, and to end with, the charge of excessive sleep, as it is the text of the moral lecture which follows. With 'curam' the connection of 32 foll. is harsh.

32. **hominem.** Orelli follows a few MSS. in reading 'homines.' Keller shows that, besides the great preponderance of authority, the usual phrase for 'murder' was 'hominem occidere,' as in Epp. 1. 16. 48.

**de nocte**, 'while it is still night.' See on 'de die' Epod. 13. 4.

33. **te ipsum.** We must not suppose these lessons to be pressed home directly to Lollius. As in the last Epistle, Horace addresses an imaginary person, some young 'Phaeacian' of Roman society.

Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus; et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
Invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur
Quae laedunt oculos festinas demere, si quid
Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
Dimidium facti qui coepit habet; sapere aude;
Incipe. Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam
Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.
Quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis
Uxor, et incultae pacantur vomere silvae:
Quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet.

34. **et** couples two statements, the one of which is the illustration and analogue of the other. '*As* if you will not take exercise while you are well you will have to do so to cure an illness; *so* if you will not wake to study and honourable effort, you will wake to suffer the torture of bad passions.' For the use of 'et' cp. 'neque, nec' Od. 3. 5. 27 n. Some good MSS. have 'nolis' and 'cures,' and Bentley prefers this reading, understanding 'expergisci,' but the Bland. had 'curres,' and the Scholiasts interpret it.

39. **est**: sc. 'edit.'

**in annum**: Epp. 1. 11. 23; 'till next year,' i.e. indefinitely.

40. **dimidium**, etc. A Greek proverb, ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός.

41. **recte vivendi**: Epp. 1. 6. 29, 1. 8. 4, 1. 16. 17, 2. 2. 213.

42. **rusticus exspectat** 'is as the countryman waiting for the river to run by,' i.e. acts as though he thought time would stop for him. One of Horace's fables remembered or invented. It is not found elsewhere.

43. **volubilis**: Od. 4. 1. 40. Notice the imitative rhythm of the verse describing the unbroken course of the sliding water.

44 foll. Excuses imagined for him who postpones his self-reformation. He is busy for the moment getting money, or a wife, or bringing an estate into order. (Cp. the excuses in the Parable of the Guests.) Horace allows them, but gives cautions. Such desires must be limited to what is enough. They must not be allowed to degenerate into unsatisfied cravings. Moral health is necessary to any enjoyment.

44. **beata**. Perhaps best taken as by the Scholiasts ('partu felix'), and as by Ritter, closely with 'pueris creandis.' The two lines seem meant to describe a man's aims from his own point of view, and the irony (which Orelli and others imagine) of the juxtaposition, 'a rich wife to bear children,' would be out of place.

45. **pacantur**, 'are in process of being tamed.' Other things must wait till the urgent task is accomplished. The metaphor implies both the beneficence of the work and the struggle involved. It is better taken, with Orelli and earlier editors, of forest land reclaimed, a metaphor from the civilizing progress of Roman arms (cp. 'mitiget' Epp. 2. 2. 186), than with Ritter and Dill[r] (after Lachmann on Lucret. 5. 1203) in the more literal sense of clearing the country of wild beasts (as Manil. 4. 182 'pacare metu silvas'). The interpretation is given by 'incultae' on the one side and 'vomere' on the other. Cp. the picture of the breaking up of woodland in Virg. G. 2. 207–211. Orelli's quotation of id. v. 239 'ea [terra] nec mansuescit arando' is tempting, but not fully in point, for there, as in Lucret. 5. 1368, which Virgil had in mind, the ideas put together are of taming wild animals and exchanging wild growths for cultivated.

Non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri
Aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas. Valeat possessor oportet,
Si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res
Ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,
Auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentes.
Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcunque infundis acescit.
Sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas.
Semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis:
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Maius tormentum. Qui non moderabitur irae
Infectum volet esse dolor quod suaserit et mens,
Dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.
Ira furor brevis est: animum rege, qui nisi paret
Imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister

47. Orelli points out that the three things named, 'domus,' 'fundus,' 'aeris acervus,' answer, in varied order, to the three objects of desire mentioned in vv. 44, 45.

47–49. **non . . . non.** Another illustration or argument from analogy. As they do not restore bodily health, so they do not mental.

48. **deduxit.** The aoristic use. This line is an echo of Lucret. 2. 34, where the general sense is the same, 'Nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres,' etc. Cp. Od. 3. 1. 41 foll.

49. **valeat.** Health is a condition of enjoyment. Cp. the emphatic position of 'valido' in Od. 1. 31. 17.

51. **sic ut**, i. e. no more than.

52. **fomenta.** Usually explained since Düntzer by Seneca de Prov. 9. 4, which speaks of 'fomenta subinde mutata' as a means practised by the luxurious of keeping the feet warm, hot flannels or the like. The argument is 'if the organs of sense are diseased, that which ordinarily gives pleasure to them ceases to do so.' What gives pleasurable warmth to a healthy foot will give pain rather than pleasure to an inflamed one. If 'fomenta' were explained of applications used to relieve the gout, there would be no parallel to the other cases.

54. **sincerum**, 'clean,' Sat. 1. 3. 56. For the thought of the line cp. Lucr. 6. 17 'Intellegit ibi vitium vas efficere ipsum Omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus,' where the meaning is the same as here, that till the heart is clean no pleasure can be enjoyed.

55 foll. Precepts towards the moral health of which he has been speaking.

56. **voto** has been taken both as an abl. closely with **pete**, 'aim your wishes at a fixed point,' and as a dative, 'find a definite limit to your wishing'; cp. 'sit finis quaerendi' Sat. 1. 1. 92.

58. **Siculi tyranni**, as Phalaris with his brazen bull.

60. **dolor**, 'soreness.'

**mens**: what kind of 'feeling' is explained in the following line which defines the occasions 'in his hurry to satisfy his vengeful hatred.'

61. **festinat**: cp. Horace's use of 'properare' with accus., Od. 3. 24. 62, Epp. 1. 3. 28.

63. **tu**: see on Od. 1. 9. 16; and cp. Epp. 1. 11. 22.

64 foll. 'It is possible if you begin in time.'

64. **tenera cervice**: abl. with 'doci-

Ire viam qua monstret eques; venaticus, ex quo
Tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
Militat in silvis catulus. Nunc adbibe puro
Pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.
Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu. Quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis,
Nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

lem,' 'while he learns the lesson easily because his neck is tender.'

65. **ire** feels the constr. both of 'fingit' = 'docet' and of 'docilem.'

**venaticus**: pred. 'The hound who does service in the forest has been a hunter from the day when he barked at a stuffed stag's hide in the yard.'

67. **puro pectore**: perh. = while the heart is still a *καθαρὸς πίναξ*.

68. **puer**, 'in boyhood.' If the word is meant to characterize Lollius cp. Epp. 1. 18. 55 'puer . . . Cantabrica bella tulisti.' That would be two or three years previously. But possibly, as so often in the Epistles, it is an imaginary auditor rather than Lollius whom Horace is addressing.

**melioribus**: see Epp. 1. 1. 48 'meliori credere.'

69. See note on Od. 1. 20. 2, Quintilian 1. 1. 5 (putting together in meaning this line and Od. 3. 5. 27) 'natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor quo nova imbuas durat, nec lanarum colores quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est elui possunt.'

70-71. The point of this seems to be the ironical assurance that his preaching is not too earnest. 'You must take what I have said or leave it. If you try to throw me off I shall make no efforts to keep pace with you.' Cp., for the figure, Sat. 1. 9. 9, of one trying to get rid of a companion, 'Ire modo ocius, interdum consistere,' etc.; and for the use of 'praecedere' id. v. 42.

# EPISTLE III.

## TO JULIUS FLORUS.

Verses 1–6. I WANT to know all about the progress of Tiberius' journey, and quite as much about the literary occupation of his staff.

7, 8. Who is to write the panegyric of the reign?

9–14. What is Titius about, that brave imitator of Pindar? his promising lyrics; or tragedy which lends itself too easily to rant?

15–20. What of Celsus? I hope he is remembering the warning to avoid too much imitation.

21–29. And yourself, on which of your many interests are you busy? You have great gifts and have cultivated them. Distinction is assured to you if you are seeking it, in oratory, in legal knowledge, in poetry. If you would take the right course you might attain the still greater happiness of the philosopher. That is the true end of life.

30–36. One more question. How do you stand with Munatius? Do you value him as you should? or is the quarrel imperfectly made up?

Farewell. I am looking anxiously for the return of both of you.

The Epistle is addressed to Julius Florus, to whom Horace addresses also the second Epistle of Book II. See introd. to that Epistle.

Florus is probably identified with the Florus who is named by the elder Seneca (Controv. 4. 25) as a pupil in oratory of M. Porcius Latro, a famous 'rhetor' of Augustus' time and by Quintilian 10. 3. 14 as 'in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum eam exercuit, princeps' (cp. v. 23 of this Epistle). The Scholiasts say 'Hic Florus fuit Satirarum scriptor, cuius sunt electae ex Ennio Lucilio Varrone cet.' This has been explained to mean that he published selections (Pliny uses the word 'electa' in this sense Epp. 8. 21) from these older poets, perhaps modernized (see introd. to Sat. 1. 10).

He, with other young men of literary tastes, is in the suite of the Emperor's elder stepson Tiberius, who has been sent on a mission by Augustus to the East, in the year B. C. 20, to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia.

IULI FLORE, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
An freta vicinas inter currentia turres,

2. **Claudius.** Tiberius Claudius Nero, the elder of Livia's sons, and the future Emperor Tiberius. Horace calls him 'Claudius,' Od. 4. 14. 29, Epp. 1. 9. 1, 'Claudius Nero,' Epp. 1. 12. 26, 'Nero' Epp. 1. 8. 2, 2. 2. 1, 'maior Neronum' Od. 4. 14. 4.

**privignus.** He did not become Augustus' son by adoption till B. C. 3. At this time C. and L. Caesar, the grandsons of the Emperor, were still alive.

**scire laboro**: Sat 2. 8. 19; 'I am anxious to know.'

3. **Thraca**: for the form cp. Virg. Aen. 12. 335 'gemit ultima pulsa Thraca pedum.'

4. **turres.** V had 'terras,' and Bentley defends it; but the Scholiasts all interpret 'turres,' sc. 'Herus et Lean-

An pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur?
Quid studiosa cohors operum struit? Hoc quoque curo.
Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?
Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora?
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
Fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos.
Ut valet? ut meminit nostri? Fidibusne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,
An tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?

dri,' Porph. The tower of Hero is frequently spoken of, and Strabo, 13. 1. 22, speaks of a tower on the opposite coast from which the passage between Abydos and Sestos was made.

6. **studiosa**, used absolutely = 'litterata' Comm. Cruq. 'Operum' follows 'quid.'

**cohors**, 'suite': see on Sat. 1. 7. 23.

**hoc**, the question which precedes. 'Mind you do not omit what is to me the most interesting part.'

7. **scribere sumit.** For constr. cp. Od. 1. 12. 1, and see vol. 1. App. 2. § 1.

**scribere**, probably of poetry; see on Od. 1. 6. 1.

8. **bella et paces.** Either 'how he made war and peace,' the plur. as in Sall. Jug. 31. 20 'cum regna, provinciae, leges, iura, iudicia, bella atque paces . . . penes paucos erant,' where see Kritz's note; or as in Epp. 2. 1. 103 'bonae paces,' 'times of war and times of peace.' The first is perhaps most likely, as there is no doubt special reference to the mission of high politics on which Tiberius was travelling.

**diffundit.** A metaphor of space transf. to time; the pres. in the sense 'is to spread.'

9. **Titius.** Nothing is known of him but what may be inferred from the text. The Comm. Cruq. identifies him with the Septimius of Od. 2. 6. 1 and Epp. 1. 9. 1; but this can hardly be right, as both Titius and Septimius are gentile names, which are not cumulated. We gather from the text that he had ventured on the task, from which Horace in Od. 4. 2. 1 foll. professes to shrink, of writing Latin lyrics in imitation of Pindar, and that he wrote tragedies.

**venturus in ora**: soon to be on the lips of all in Rome. Prop. 3. 9. 32 'venies tu quoque in ora virum,' and Virgil 'volitare per ora' G. 3. 9, 'ferri per ora' Aen. 12. 235.

10. **Pindarici fontis**: 'to drink of the fountain of Pindar,' must mean, in the first place, to seek the source of inspiration in Pindar ('Thebanos modos' v. 13), and in Pindar directly, not in imitations in which his fresh stream stagnates or runs thinly ('lacus et vivos'). Mr. Prickard suggests with some probability that Horace had in mind also Pindar's own expression for what is original as against what is borrowed, which Quintilian has preserved (10. 1. 109) 'non pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit [Cicero] sed vivo gurgite exundat.'

12. **ut valet?** Sat. 2. 8. 1.

13. **Thebanos**, i.e. of Pindar, the Theban.

**auspice Musa**, as Virg. has 'dis auspicibus' Aen. 4. 45.

14. **desaevit**, 'storms.' The prep. as in 'decertare' Od. 1. 3. 13.

**ampullatur.** 'Ampullor' is a verb coined perhaps by Horace from 'ampulla' in the sense in which it is used in A. P. 97 'proiicit ampullas.' The two words evidently mean the using of florid or bombastic language. Porph. explains them as adaptations of the Greek *λήκυθος* and *ληκυθίζειν*, quoting *ληκυθεῖος Μοῦσα* from Callimachus. Acr. and the Comm. Cruq. on the other hand, without suggesting a Greek origin, explain them from the shape of the 'ampulla' (dim. of 'amphora'), 'inflata' Acr., 'ventricosa' Comm. Cr. If these explanations are to be combined, as has been very generally assumed, it will follow that Horace either consciously or unconsciously put a turn on

Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus multumque monendus
Privatas ut quaerat opes, et tangere vitet
Scripta Palatinus quaecunque recepit Apollo,
Ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium, plumas, moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes?
Quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? Non tibi parvum
Ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum.
Seu linguam causis acuis, seu civica iura
Respondere paras, seu condis amabile carmen,
Prima feres hederae victricis praemia. Quodsi

the phrase which did not originally belong to it: for the true explanation of λήκυθος seems to be given in the passage usually quoted from Cicero, ad Att. I. 14 'Totum hunc locum quem ego varie meis orationibus . . . soleo pingére de flamma, de ferro (nosti illas ληκύθους) valde graviter pertrahit,' where it is clear that he takes it to mean 'a paint-pot'; cp. ad Att. 2. I 'Aristotelia pigmenta.' It is however equally likely that Horace thought *only* of the Greek ληκυθίζειν, and that 'ampullatur' means 'uses the paint-pot,' 'lays the colour on thick.' This is Ritter's view and that of Prof. Wilkins.

15. **quid agit?** As in Sat. I. 9. 4 'How is Celsus'?

**mihi**, dat. ethicus, 'tell me,' 'I wish to know.' Celsus is probably to be identified with the Celsus Albinovanus to whom Epp. I. 8 is addressed.

16. **privatas opes**, wealth that he can call his own.

17. **Palatinus Apollo.** The temple of Apollo on the Palatine dedicated by Augustus in B.C. 28, attached to which was the famous library. See Od. I. 31, introd.

18. **olim**, 'one day'; see Epp. I. I. 73.

19. **grex avium.** The form of the fable in Horace corresponds with that of the late Greek collection of Aesop's fables (Fab. 78). In the earlier version of Babrius and Phaedrus the jackdaw dresses himself in peacock's feathers only.

**cornicula**: a word not found elsewhere. It answers to κολοιός, 'graculus,' in the Greek fables and in Phaedrus; but the diminutive is playful, 'poor little crow.' Orelli rightly warns us that we are not to think of Horace as charging Celsus with what we understand by 'plagiarism.' That he employs such a fable in writing of a friend shows that he has no idea that any moral stigma can be imagined. He is rather urging originality on a young writer. What he charges imitators with (Epp. I. 19. 19 foll.) is servility rather than dishonesty.

21. **agilis**, 'on your nimble wing.' The point, as explained by the following lines, is his versatility.

**thyma.** For the metaphor rather differently applied see Od. 4. 2. 27.

22. **turpiter**: to the husbandman's disgrace.

**hirtum**: opp. 'nitentia culta,' 'bramblegrown.'

23. **linguam acuis.** The metaphor is in Cicero; Brut. 97. 331 'tu illuc veneras unus qui non linguam modo acuisses exercitatione dicendi.'

**causis** is the dat., 'for pleading.'

**civica iura respondere.** Cicero uses the phrase 'ius respondere' (de Leg. I. 4. 12, de Orat. I. 45. 198, see Wilkins' note) of the 'iurisconsultus' giving advice on questions of law. 'Civica iura' is the poetical variation of the technical 'ius civile.' For 'civicus' see on Od. 2. I. I.

24. **amabile**, as he calls the 'chori vatum' 'amabiles' in Od. 4. 3. 14.

25. **hederae victricis**: the ivy properly belongs only to the poet (see on Od. I. I. 29). The epithet 'victricis' (scarcely appropriate to the poet's ivy crown, which was rather a sign of his

Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
Quo te caelestis sapientia duceret ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
Debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi curae
Quantae conveniat Munatius. An male sarta
Gratia nequicquam coit et rescinditur, ac vos
Seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
Indomita cervice feros? Ubicunque locorum
Vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere foedus,
Pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.

dedication to Bacchus than of his vanquishing other poets) helps here to the generalizing of the words to cover the prizes of other learned pursuits.

26. **frigida curarum fomenta.** This phrase has been much discussed, but it seems to be simply explained by the Ciceronian use of the metaphor, 'haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum' Tusc. D. 2. 24. 59, and by Horace's own 'Fomenta volnus nil malum levantia' Epod. 11. 25, where the last words answer to the general epithet 'frigida.' The sense will then be 'You are sure to win distinction, if that is your aim, in oratory, jurisprudence, poetry. You might attain to the more celestial heights to which philosophy conducts, if you would discard the anodynes to care which have not the first condition of comfort.' How close the application, what the special career of Florus, what the anodynes with which he sought to mitigate them, whether wealth, luxury, the objects of ambition, or the like, we have no materials for guessing. Generally we may compare for the figure Epp. 1. 2. 47 foll., Od. 3. 1. 41 foll. In the 'caelestis sapientia' and the figure of 'duceret, ires,' we have, perhaps a distant echo of Lucret. 2. 7 foll. 'Edita doctrina sapientum, templa serena,' etc.

28. **hoc opus**: the task of attaining the true philosophical mind: 'quod Aeque pauperibus prodest locupletibus aeque, Aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit' Epp. 1. 1. 24. For 'properemus' see Epp. 1. 2. 61 n.

29. **nobis cari**: cp. 'Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum' Epp. 1. 18. 101, where 'quid minuat curas' answers to 'fomenta curarum' of this passage.

30. **sit.** This is the reading of the best MSS., including all the Bland., and was interpreted by Porph. ('deest an'). Orelli and Ritter follow Bentley in preferring 'si,' though it has little authority, Orelli as the 'lectio difficilior'; Ritter thinking that 'si' was turned to 'sit' by the sequence of 'tibi.' With either reading a direct question begins with 'an male.'

31 foll. 'Or does your broken friendship, like a wound ill-stitched, close to no purpose and tear open again; and do you suffer still, in the fierceness of untamed necks, be it from hot blood or from ignorance of life'?

31. **sarta.** The edd. show that both 'sarcire' and 'coire' are medical terms for the artificial and natural processes of closing a wound.

32. **ac.** So the best MSS. Orelli follows the early editions (before Bentley) in reading 'at,' marking the question at 'rescinditur?' For 'gratia coit et rescinditur' cp. Epp. 1. 18. 41 'gratia dissiluit.'

33. **seu . . . seu** seems the certain reading, though many good MSS., including all the Bland., had 'heu . . . heu.' Acron interprets 'seu.'

35. **indigni rumpere.** Orelli and Dill[r]. point out that this is an inaccurate expression, being = 'quos indignum est, non decet, rumpere,' after the model of the Greek idiom with ἄξιος, δίκαιος, and the like.

# EPISTLE IV.

## TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

Albius to whom I owe thanks for your fair judgment of my Satires, I wonder what you are doing at your country house—writing your excellent verses, or strolling in the forest, gaining health and meditating like a philosopher? You are a happy man with all the gifts outward and inward. Mind you keep to the true Epicurean creed, as, if you will come to see me, you will find that I do.

A comparison with Od. 1. 33, which is also addressed to the poet Tibullus, suggests that the enumeration of his advantages and the exhortation to imitate Horace's philosophy of life have a definite personal purpose.

The contemporary epitaph on Tibullus by Domitius Marsus seems to imply that he died about the same time as Virgil ('Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle, Mors iuvenem campos misit in Elysios'), i. e. in B.C. 19 or 18, a date which will allow this Epistle to fall within the same limit with the others which can be dated, i. e. before B.C. 19.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,

1. **sermonum.** For Horace's use of this term see Introd. to the Satires, p. 6. It is impossible to prove that Tibullus had not seen privately some of Horace's 'Sermones' of the new Epistolary type, but the term must mean here in the first instance the Satires: cp. the address 'candide Furni' Sat. 1. 10. 86, where he is contrasting fair and unfair criticism on his Satires. It was there that he had been hurt and was sensitive: the tone of his Epistles was not provocative of censure.

2. **regione Pedana.** For 'regio' cp. Epp. 1. 15. 2. Pedum, a town which in Horace's time was in decay, if it had not already ceased to exist, is described by the Scholiasts as between Tibur and Praeneste, and this agrees with the notice of it in Liv. 8. 13. The site is identified by Burn (Rome and Campagna, p. 388) with that of the modern village of Gallicano. Caesar had a villa in its neighbourhood: Cic. ad Att. 9. 18. The locality of Tibullus' property is not named elsewhere.

3. **Cassi Parmensis.** See note on Sat. 1. 10. 61 for the strong arguments against the Scholiasts' identification of this person with the 'Etruscus Cassius,' the fluent and bad writer whose funeral pile was formed of his own books. The natural interpretation of the present passage requires that the standard by which Horace tries the poems of Tibullus should be one which in the judgment of both would imply a compliment. The Pseudo-Acron (whose evidence however is damaged by the above mentioned confusion of persons) says of Cassius Parmensis 'hic aliquot generibus stilum exercuit: inter quae opera elegiaca et epigrammata eius laudantur.'

**opuscula.** There is perhaps some slight depreciatory meaning in the diminutive, as when Horace uses it of his own Odes in Epp. 1. 19. 35. It is used in Plin. Epp. 8. 21 as the usual term for the separate poems which compose a book, 'liber opusculis varius.'

4. **tacitum** carries the idea of quiet uninterrupted thought, as in Sat. 1. 3. 65, 1. 6. 123.

**silvas inter.** The edd. quote Tib. 4. 13. 9 (not however certainly a poem of Tibullus) 'Sic ego secretis possum bene

Curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore. Di tibi formam,
Di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
Quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,
Qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui
Gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,
Et mundus victus non deficiente crumena?
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
Grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises
Cum ridere voles Epicuri de grege porcum.

vivere silvis, Qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.'

**reptare**, of leisurely strolling.

6. **eras**. The time is explained by the emphasis laid in v. 2 on 'nunc.' Horace's ground for being sure that Tibullus is *now* either busy on good poetry or living as a philosopher, is his *previous* knowledge of him. See note on Od. I. 37. 4. This instance comes under (2). 'I thought so when I knew you and I was right.'

**pectore**, used as 'cor,' 'animus.' Ovid has 'rudis et sine pectore' Met. 13. 290.

**formam**. In two lives of the poet prefixed to MSS. of his poems he is described as 'insignis forma.'

7. **divitias**: the word, as Dissen reremarks in his introd. to Tibullus, is explained in v. 11 by 'mundus victus non deficiente crumena,' and so reconciled to what Tibullus himself repeatedly says of his circumstances. He speaks of having a reduced estate, small but sufficient: 'paupertas' I. I. 5, 'composito securus acervo Despiciam dites despiciamque famem' I. I. 77, but 'riches' is a relative term.

**dedĕrunt**: Epod. 9. 17 'vertĕrunt,' Sat. I. 10. 45 'annuĕrunt.' Some MSS. have 'dederant.'

8. **voveat**, in the sense of 'to pray for,' as 'votum' frequently.

**nutricula**. For a foster-mother's prayers cp. Pers. Sat. 2. 37 'Ego nutrici non mando vota,' etc.

9. **qui**. The constr. is quite straightforward. 'What more should a fond foster-mother desire for a dear child who already can,' etc.? This was missed, and some comparative constr. after 'maius' looked for; and the result was the variant 'quam,' which with the interpolation 'ut' before 'possit' occupied the early editions. Some good MSS. have 'quin.'

**sapere et fari**. Obbar recalls Thuc. 2. 60 *γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα*.

11. **mundus**: illustrated by Od. 3. 29. 14, Sat. 2. 2. 65, and the opposite 'pauperies, immunda domus' Epp. 2. 2. 199.

12. **inter**, etc., 'in a world of;' where others, who are not philosophers are tossed by divers passions, do you hold fast the secret of tranquillity.

13. **omnem crede**. Another version of such precepts as 'Quem fors dierum cunque dabit, lucro Appone' Od. I. 9. 14, and 'carpe diem quam minimum credula postero' Od. I. 11. 8.

14. **superveniet**: come as a welcome surprise.

15. **me**, in its emphatic position points the argument, 'I practise what I preach'; at the same time when speaking of himself Horace with his usual irony puts Epicureanism in a playful aspect.

**pinguem**, an actual feature in Horace's case acc. to the Suetonian life, 'habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus.'

**nitidum**: Sat. 2. 2. 128.

**curata cute**: Epp. I. 2. 29.

16. **grege**: Sat. 2. 3. 45. A usual metaphor for a 'school' of philosophy, but here it is intended to suit, and as Prof. Wilkins says to lighten (by the fact that it is an habitual figure), the metaphor of 'porcum.' 'Epicurus' sty' would turn play into earnest.

# EPISTLE V.

## TO TORQUATUS.

SEE introduction to Od. 4. 7.

An invitation to a modest entertainment at the poet's house on the night before Caesar's birthday. The tone and topics are very like those of the Odes.

If you do not mind a simple entertainment, Torquatus, I shall expect you at sunset. I will get you what wine I can: if that is not to your liking, you must send better. All is ready and in best trim in your honour. Leave money-making and ambition. To-morrow is a holiday, so we can sit all night if we like. The only use of fortune is to enjoy it. I am in the humour for merriment. Wine is nature's best gift. My business is to see that all is neat and clean, and that the company is well chosen. I shall have Butra and Septimius and, I hope, Sabinus. There is room for you to bring some guests, but remember the drawbacks of too large a party. Your business is to say how many you wish them to be, and then to slip away from your business and come.

SI potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis,
Nec modica cenare times olus omne patella,
Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustres
Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.

1. **potes.** For 'posse' in the sense of τλῆναι see on Od. 3. 11. 30, Epod. 9. 14.

**Archiacis.** 'Archias faber fuit vilium lectorum' Acr. The adj. as 'Pausiacus' from 'Pausias' Sat. 2. 7. 95. As another instance of furniture of a special make being known by the maker's name is quoted Aul. Gell. 12. 2 'Soterici lectis.' Horace's couches were not as in great houses 'rubro ubi cocco Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos' (Sat. 2. 6. 102), but they were from a known maker, and the tone implies that he is modestly proud of them. Some MSS. had 'Archaicis,' which has been taken as a Latin form of ἀρχαϊκοῖς, but such a use of a Greek word is not Horatian, and in all words of similar form (as 'Achaicus' Od. 4. 3. 5) the antepenultimate 'a' is long as in the Greek. The Comm. Cruq. who read 'Archaicis,' explained it of the name of the maker.

2. **modica.** Cp. Od. 1. 20. 1 'Vile potabis modicis Sabinum Cantharis.' In both places he is matching some modesty in the cups or dishes with the modesty of their contents. Is *it* of make and material? or of size? For the latter cp. Sat. 2. 2. 95 'grandes rhombi patinaeque Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus' and 2. 8. 35 'calices poscit maiores.'

**olus omne,** 'a mess of vegetables.' We need not suppose that the supper consisted entirely of this.

3. **supremo sole.** Cp. 'sub lumina prima' Sat. 2. 7. 33, of the hour of Maecenas' supper.

4. **iterum Tauro,** i. e. 'consule.' T. Statilius Taurus was consul (iterum) with Augustus in B.C. 26.

**diffusa.** Juv. S. 5. 30 'Ipse capillato diffusum consule potat'; as we should say, 'bottled,' transferred from the 'dolium' to the 'amphorae.' This was only done with the better wines which would keep. See note on Epod. 2. 47.

5. **Petrinum.** 'Petrinus mons est Sinuessae imminens vel ager Sinuessae

Si melius quid habes arcesse vel imperium fer.
Iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
Mitte leves spes et certamina divitiarum
Et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
Dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
Aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
Parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
Adsidet insano. Potare et spargere flores

vicinus' Comm. Cruq., 'vicus olim et locus in agro Falerno' Acr. Horace defines the locality, but more cannot be known. 'Between Minturnae (at the mouth of the Liris) and Sinuessa' (a dozen miles eastward along the coast) would be in the near neighbourhood of the Mons Massicus.

6. **arcesse**, 'send for it,' i.e. bid it be brought from your own house to mine.

**imperium fer**: 'patere me regem esse convivii' Comm. Cruq.; 'submit to my ordering.'

7. **splendet focus**, both of the hearth, cleaned for the occasion, and the 'renidentes Lares' (Epod. 2. 65 n.) by it.

8. **leves**: they seem trifles to-day.

**certamina divitiarum**, 'wealth with its rivalries.' 'Noli curare de divitiis quibus certamus anteire ditiores' Schol. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 113 foll.

9. **Moschi causam.** Some famous cause in which Torquatus was engaged. The Scholiast says that Moschus was a 'rhetor' from Pergamum who was tried for poisoning.

**nato Caesare.** Suetonius (Aug. 57) says 'equites Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebraverunt.' and Horace's supper-party the night before seems to have the same purpose.

10. **veniam somnumque**: licence for holiday and for longer sleep than usual, so that we need not fear a late revel to-night.

11. **aestivam.** The word is used with some latitude, for Augustus' birthday was A.D. ix Kal. Oct. (Sept. 23). This has been felt to be a serious difficulty and various modes of escape have been sought. (1) Meineke, Haupt, and Munro, following one or two later MSS., read 'Festivam.' This is objected to, apart from its small authority, on the ground that the antithesis 'festus dies,' 'festivam noctem' is cold and not Horatian. (2) Others suppose it to be the birthday of Julius Caesar (July 12) or (Ritter) of Gaius Caesar the elder son of Julia and Agrippa, who was born in the summer of B.C. 20. 'Caesar' is used without further designation for C. Jul. Caesar in Od. 1. 2. 44 and Sat. 1. 9. 18, but in both cases the context makes the use of it clear. Everywhere else it is the name of Augustus and can hardly but be so here.

12. **fortunam.** It is difficult to decide between 'fortunam' and 'fortuna'; good MSS. are divided. The Bland. had 'fortuna': but the exchange of 'ā' (= 'am') and 'a' is easy. The schol. of Acron 'ad quid mihi dederunt dii fortunam,' though not conclusive, points to his having found 'fortunam.' On the possibility of the ablative in this constr. see Conington on Virg. Aen. 4. 98 'quo nunc certamine tanto?' The evidence for it is doubtful. On the other hand the accusative is amply supported not only in cases (as Ov. Am. 2. 19. 7 'Quo mihi fortunam quae nunquam fallere curet'?), where a similar doubt of reading might arise. but in such cases as ibid. 3. 7. 49 'Quo mihi fortunae tantum? quo regna sine usu?' where the metre excludes the ablative. Cp. for a somewhat similar ellipsis with the accus. Sat. 2. 5. 102 'unde mihi tam fortem?' 2. 7. 116 'unde mihi lapidem?'

13. **ob heredis curam.** For the feeling cp. Od. 2. 3. 19, 2. 14. 25, 4. 7. 19, with the notes on those passages.

14. **adsidet**: as we say, 'is next door to'; a metaph. use not found elsewhere; though the opposite, 'dissideo,' is common.

**spargere flores.** Od. 3. 19. 22

Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
Quid non ebrietas dissignat? Operta recludit,
Spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem;
Sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.
Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
Haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
Invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
Corruget nares, ne non et cantharus et lanx

'sparge rosas.' It is not certain which is described, whether strewing the table with flowers, or pelting one another with them.

15. **inconsultus**, 'a madcap.' So 'furere' Od. 2. 7. 28, 'insanire iuvat' 3. 19. 18, 'desipere' 4. 12. 28.

**patiar haberi**: for constr. cp. Epp. 1. 16. 30 'Si pateris sapiens vocari.' It is a Grecism going beyond the prose use, which would require 'me' with the accus. of the complemental adj.

16. **dissignat**. This, as against 'designat,' is the reading of all the best MSS. So also 'dissignatorem' in Epp. 1. 7. 6. 'Dissignare' was in any case a rare word, and its meanings have been made more uncertain by the frequent confusion with 'designare.' This confusion is as old as the schol. on Horace. Acr. and Porph. apparently had 'dissignat,' the Comm. Cruq. 'designat.' Three meanings have been traced in 'dissignare': (1) 'to stamp apart,' so 'to order the distinct parts of something.' This should be the meaning in 'dissignator,' the 'undertaker, or master of the ceremonies at a funeral': (2) 'to stamp differently,' so 'to do something at once marked and strange.' This is the interpretation which Nonius and Donatus put on Ter. Adelph. 82 'quid dissignavit,' (but the reading is very doubtful both in Terence and in Non. and in Donat.): (3) 'to unseal' (cp. the use of 'discludere,' 'to unclose,' as in Virg. Aen. 12. 782), so 'to divulge,' 'to reveal.' Porph. took it here in this sense = 'aperit.' Acr. hesitates; 'aperit vel confundit,' the latter interpretation approximating to (2). Prof. Nettleship, in an article on the word in the Journal of Philology, vol. 10, p. 206 f., perhaps unnecessarily, would make the use in (2) a modification of (3). He interprets it here by, 'of what miracles is not intoxication capable?' Schütz still prefers, and perhaps rightly, 'designat.' The word would have a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* force, attributing purpose to that which is usually thought the cause of random action. He well compares Aristophanes' adjective: *Οἴνου γὰρ εὕροις ἄν τι πρακτικώτερον; | ὁρᾷς; ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε | πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας, | εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς φίλους* Eq. 91 f.

**operta recludit**. Cp. in the stanzas parallel to this passage (Od. 3. 21. 13–20), 'sapientium Curas et arcanum iocoso Consilium retegis Lyaeo.' He is not speaking of the betrayal of secrets, but of sharing and so lightening the burden of them.

17. **spes iubet esse ratas**, 'bids hope be fast' Con., gives it substance and confidence.

**inertem**: see on Od. 3. 5. 36.

18. **addocet**: *ἅπαξ λεγ.* (unless 'addocti' be read, which is very doubtful, in Cic. Clu. 36), 'teaches new arts.' Cp. the correlative 'addisco' freq. in Cic., as de Sen. 8. 26 'quotidie aliquid addiscentem senem fieri.'

19. **fecundi**: best taken (with Ritter, Schütz) as 'fertilizing,' 'life-giving.' A metaphor is suggested,—wine is to the intellect what water is to the parched soil. Orelli prefers 'flowing,' 'ever replenished.' There is a v. l. with some authority, 'facundi,' but the tautology of 'facundi disertum' has little point.

21. **ego**, opp. to 'tu' in v. 30. 'This in my part.'

**imperor**, 'I am under orders,' i.e. from himself. A rare instance of a personal passive for a verb which governs a dative. So 'invideor' A. P. 56. So Virg. 'credor' Aen. 2. 247 'non unquam credita Teucris.'

22. **toral**: see on Sat. 2. 4. 84.

**mappa**: Sat. 2. 4. 81, 2. 8. 63.

23. **corruget nares**. Quintilian (11.

Ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
Sit qui dicta foras eliminet, ut coeat par
Iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque,
Et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
Detinet, adsumam: locus est et pluribus umbris:
Sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
Tu quotus esse velis rescribe, et rebus omissis
Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

3. 80) quotes this in illustrating the use and abuse of gestures and grimaces, adding 'naribus derisus contemptus, fastidium significari solet.'

25. **dicta eliminet.** The edd. quote the Greek proverb preserved by Martial 1. 28. 7 *μισῶ μνήμονα συμπότην.*

**par pari**: in allusion perhaps to the Greek proverb *ὁμοῖον ὁμοίῳ.*

**coeat**, of the choice of the company:

26. **iungatur**, of its assortment at table.

27. **cena prior**: 'prior,' as in Epp. 1. 1. 88, 'better.' The tautology of which Orelli complains in this rendering is removed by the fact that 'prior potiorque' is a common conjunction; here the two are apportioned between the two substantives. It is also taken for 'an earlier invitation' (Orelli) or 'a supper at an earlier hour' (Schütz).

28. **adsumam**, a certain reading, though the meaningless 'ad summam' got possession of all the MSS. except Keller's E.

**umbris**: see on Sat. 2. 8. 22; here guests whom Torquatus might bring with him.

29. **premunt caprae**, 'when a party is too crowded a flock of goats is disagreeably near.'

30. **quotus**, 'one of how many.'

31. **atria servantem**, 'waiting in the hall.' Sen. de Brev. Vitae 14. 7 'quam multi per refertum clientibus atrium prodire vitabunt et per obscuros aedium aditus profugient.'

# EPISTLE VI.

## TO NUMICIUS.

'*CHOOSE your "summum bonum" and having chosen it pursue it with thoroughness and consistency.*' One who says this has his own idea of the true 'summum bonum,' and the illustrations of his principle in the case of ideals other than this must be in some degree ironical.

Verses 1, 2. Assume the 'summum bonum' to be the *ἀταραξία* of the Epicureans.

3–16. Then, see all that follows from this and remember (17–27) how the absurdity of overestimating sublunary things is pointed by the instability of human life.

28–31. So with all ideals. You are energetic in trying to cure a pain in your side or back. Be the same in moral things.

If virtue is the one road to happiness, make any sacrifices for her.

31–48. If on the contrary there is no standard but a material one, then pursue with energy material wealth.

49–55. If the objects of ambition give happiness, spare no pains on them.

56–64. If good eating, then take the shortest roads to that.

65, 66. If love and mirth, think of nothing else than them.

67, 68. These are my principles, Numicius; tell me frankly if you have any better ones.

Note that the phrases which give the connection are v. 2 'facere et servare beatum,' v. 29 'recte vivere,' v. 47 'facere et servare beatum,' v. 49 'fortunatum praestat,' v. 56 'bene vivit,' v. 66 'vivas in....' all expressions of the 'summum bonum' or ideal of life.

In speaking of the philosophical idea of *ἀταραξία* identified with *ἀθαυμαστία* (see on v. 1), vv. 1–27, the key-words are 'admirari' v. 1, 'miratur' v. 9, 'mirare' v. 18, 'mirabilis' v. 24.

We have no clue to the identity of Numicius. The Scholiasts are silent about him.

NIL admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque, quae possit facere et servare beatum.
Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis

1. **Nil admirari**: cp. Strabo's words (1. 3. 21) *τὴν ἀθαυμαστίαν ἣν ὑμνεῖ Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι πάντες; παράκειται γὰρ τῷ ἀθαμβεῖ καὶ ἀταράχῳ καὶ ἀνεκπλήκτῳ*, and Cicero, de Fin. 5. 29. 87 'Id enim ille [Democritus] summum bonum *εὐθυμίαν* et saepe *ἀθαμβίαν* appellat, id est animum terrore liberum.' *Μηδὲν θαυμάζειν* is a precept or a boast attributed to philosophers of several schools, but Horace is likely to be thinking chiefly of the *ἀταραξία* of the Epicureans.

**prope**, 'is perhaps the one and only thing.' See on Sat. 2. 3. 32 'stultique prope omnes,' and cp. A. P. 432 'faciunt prope plura.'

**una solaque.** Cicero prefers 'unus solus' without the conjunction, and uses it frequently. 'Una,' = 'praecipua.' Notice the additional force given by dividing 'una' from 'solaque,' and by the insertion between them of the vocative which asks for special attention.

3. **hunc solem**, 'yonder sun.'

Tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti spectent: quid censes munera terrae,
Quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos,
Ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis,
Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
Qui timet his adversa fere miratur eodem
Quo cupiens pacto; pavor est utrobique molestus,
Improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,
Si quicquid vidit melius peiusve sua spe
Defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet?

4. **momentis**, 'movements,' as in Cic. de Nat. D. 2. 46 'astra . . . sua momenta sustentant.'

**formidine nulla imbuti**, 'with no tinge of fear.' The fear meant must be the fear from which Lucretius' poem was written to free mankind. The key seems to be given in the epithet 'certis' in v. 3. The philosopher does not wonder or fear, because he learns the law.

5. **quid censes . . . quo spectanda modo . . . credis.** The construction is rightly illustrated by Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 17. 49 'Quid censes hunc ipsum S. Roscium, quo studio et qua intelligentia esse in rusticis rebus?', a more lively way of saying 'quo studio, etc. hunc S. Roscium esse censes?' 'Credis' only repeats 'censes.' It is an argument from the greater to the less. If philosophy teaches indifference in the presence of the great celestial movements of the universe, how much more in the presence of things terrestrial.

6. **Arabas et Indos**: Od. 3. 24. 1.

7. **ludicra**: either the plur. of 'ludicrum,' a frequent word in Livy for a show of games, or the neut. plur. of the adj., a more general term than 'ludos,' 'public games and all that concerns them.' We must remember the large space occupied by spectacles in the aims and dreams of a Roman. The words have been punctuated and taken in many ways. Acr. interprets by 'inania,' but there is nothing to show whether he took it as in apposition or agreement with 'munera,' 'mere playthings,' or with 'plausus,' the latter being a genitive, 'empty applause.' The objection to these seems valid that a contemptuous epithet spoils the rhetorical force of the question, still more when it is affixed to part only of the objects of the sentence.

**plausus et dona** are to be taken together as both governing 'Quiritis.'

**Quiritis**, properly a single Roman citizen (as in Od. 2. 7. 3). Here used collectively for the Romans, as 'Romanus' in A. P. 54; with 'dona Quiritis,' cp. Juv. S. 10. 78 'qui [populus] dabat olim Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia.'

9. **fere**, best taken with **eodem**, as in Sat. 1. 3. 96 with 'paria,' (see note there) 'the same or nearly so.'

**miratur**: he breaks the rule 'nil admirari.' It is well translated by Prof. Wilkins 'overesteems.'

10. **cupiens**, 'the man who desires them.'

**pavor**, in the sense of Virgil's 'pavor pulsans' G. 3. 106, A. 5. 138, 'the flutter of excitement.' 'There is the flutter of heart which is painful in either case, so soon as a sight that was not looked for amazes the one and the other.'

11. **exterret** is used much as in Virg. A. 11. 806 'exterritus Arruns Laetitia mixtoque metu,' of the amazement of strong emotion. There seems no need, in spite of Lachmann's authority (on Lucr. 4. 1022, where he adopted the same verb), to accept the conj. of Jacobs (Lect. Venus.) 'externat' (a verb analogous in formation and sense to 'consternare').

12. The same fourfold division of emotions as Virg. A. 6. 733.

13. **spe**, 'expectation.'

14. 'Eyes are riveted, and heart and limbs alike spellbound.' With 'torpet' cp. Sat. 2. 7. 95 n.

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes
Suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;
Gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;
Navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum,
Ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mutus et (indignum, quod sit peioribus ortus)
Hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.
Quicquid sub terra est in apricum proferet aetas;
Defodiet condetque nitentia. Cum bene notum
Porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,
Ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.

15, 16. The sentiment is that of Cic. Tusc. D. 4. 29. 62 'Omnium philosophorum una ratio est medendi, ut nihil, quale sit illud, quod perturbet animum, sed de ipsa sit perturbatione dicendum . . . etiam si virtutis ipsius vehementior appetitus sit, eadem sit omnibus ad deterrendum adhibenda oratio.'

17. **i nunc.** An ironical exhortation to do which in the face of what has been said ('nunc') is ridiculous, Epp. 2. 2. 76. Cp. Virg. A. 7. 425 'I nunc, ingratis offer te, irrise, periclis,' Juv. S. 12. 57 'I nunc et ventis animam committe.' For 'i' without 'nunc' Juv. S. 10. 166 'i, demens curre per Alpes.' For 'nunc' without 'i' Virg. E. 1. 74 'Insere nunc, Melibaee piros,' 'with this before you,' as Conington renders it.

**argentum**: see on Sat. 1. 4. 28.

**artes**: Od. 4. 8. 5, Epp. 2. 1. 203; 'works of art.'

18. **suspice**: the opp. of 'despice.'

**mirare**, again the key word, vv. 1, 9, 23.

**cum gemmis colores**: Virg. G. 2. 506 'Ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro.'

20. **vespertinus**, adj., for adv. of time: Sat. 2. 4. 17 'Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes.' 'Vespertinus' implies industry, as business stopped generally soon after noon.

21. **ne plus**: 'that you may gain by your own exertions as large an estate as Mutus, who excites your envy, gained by a fortunate marriage.' He might have said only 'that you may gain a large estate,' but the additional purpose of thereby cutting out Mutus shows still further the standard by which the wealth-seeker judges things, the ideal (note the word 'mirabilis') which he sets before himself.

22. **Mutus**, an unknown person. Bentley showed that the name is found in inscriptions. Previous editors have altered 'Mutus et' to 'Mucius,' with some MS. support, but to the injury of the grammar.

**indignum**: a parenthetical characterising of the action, like 'nefas' in Epod. 16. 14, Virg. A. 8. 688. It is less usual to append, as here, a justifying clause 'quod,' etc.

24. **in apricum**, 'into the sunshine,' as 'nitentia,' 'those that are in the light.'

25. **defodiet condetque**, 'will hide underground.' The generations of men pass as other things that grow of earth. This is the thought which condemns such idealizing of wealth. The edd. compare for the expression Soph. Aj. 646 ἅπανθ᾽ ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος | φύει τ᾽ ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.

**bene notum**, 'a familiar sight.'

26. **porticus Agrippae**: see on Sat. 1. 4. 134. The colonnade here mentioned is taken to be the Porticus Neptuni erected by Agrippa in B.C. 27, and adorned with paintings representing the story of the Argonauts—a memorial of his own naval victories.

**via Appi**: in Epod. 4. 14, the upstart displaying his wealth, 'Appiam mannis terit.'

27. **Numa quo devenit et Ancus,**

Si latus aut renes morbo temptantur acuto
Quaere fugam morbi. Vis recte vivere: quis non?
Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis
Hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putas et
Lucum ligna: cave ne portūs occupet alter,
Ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas;
Mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
Tertia succedant et quae pars quadrat acervum.
Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos
Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,

'the best and greatest of kings.' See on Od. 4. 7. 17, Lucr. 3. 1025.

28. **si latus**, etc. This verse, substituting 'cum' for 'si,' and the subj. for the ind., occurs in Sat. 2. 3. 163; see note there. The original text 'nil admirari' is now exhausted, and he turns to other conceptions of the 'summum bonum,' putting between the two parts of the Epistle the principle which gives it its true thread. This is expressed in a figurative form: 'If you are ill you would take some pains to be well.' The relation between the two members of the analogical comparison is expressed, in the absence of conjunctions, by assimilating the form of sentences, two imperatives, as though he said 'when I bid you choose your ideal and pursue it with spirit, it is only as though I bade you do what you would do without my bidding, namely, try to get well if you were ill.'

29. **recte vivere**, 'to guide your life aright,' 'to follow the true end whatever it is.' See on Epp. 1. 2. 41.

**quis non?** 'All men have their ideal.'

30. **omissis deliciis**, for they belong to another ideal, pleasure.

31. **hoc age**, 'to business!' 'give your whole attention,' Sat. 2. 3. 152, Epp. 1. 18. 88.

**virtutem verba putas.** This answers not to 'vis recte vivere,' but to 'si virtus hoc una potest dare.' We may mark it as a question, or take it as a supposition. The reference is probably to Brutus' last words, *ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε | ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν.* See note on Od. 2. 7. 11, and cp. Epp. 1. 17. 41 'Aut virtus nomen inane est Aut,' etc. Bentl. preferred 'putes,' which is in some good MSS., as more modest: 'you may possibly think.'

'Are you a man who takes a purely material account of everything, who thinks virtue a thing to talk of but of no substantial existence, who thinks a sacred grove so many yards of timber; seek then with vigour the ideal which suits your view, namely, material wealth.'

33. **Cibyratica.** Cibyra was a town in the south of Phrygia, on the borders of Caria and Lycia. It gave its name to one of the largest 'conventus' in Roman Asia Minor, that one, namely, of which Laodicea was the chief town. Strabo, 13. 4. 17, speaks of an iron trade at Cibyra. Bp. Lightfoot (Introd. to Ep. to Colossians, 'Churches of the Lycus') thinks that the phrase 'Cibyratica negotia' refers rather to the trade of Laodicea.

**Bithyna**: Od. 3. 7. 3 'Thyna merce beatum.'

**perdas**, i. e. if any one forestals you.

34. **rotundentur**, 'rotundo' and 'corrotundo' are used for 'to make up a round sum.'

35. **quae pars quadrat**, 'the fourth thousand which makes the heap four times the original.' The MSS. vary between 'quadrat' and 'quadret'; either can stand.

36. **scilicet**: ironical, and marking that the sentiment is not Horace's but that of the votary of wealth; 'of course, you know.'

**fidem**: cp. Juv. S. 3. 143 'Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca, Tantum habet et fidei.'

37. **et genus et formam.** Schütz seems right in saying that there is a parody of the Stoic paradoxes of the perfection of the wise man, 'liber honoratus pulcher rex denique regum.'

Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:
Ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
Si posset centum scenae praebere rogatus,
'Qui possum tot?' ait; 'tamen et quaeram et quot habebo
Mittam:' post paulo scribit sibi milia quinque
Esse domi chlamydum; partem vel tolleret omnes.
Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt
Et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. Ergo,
Si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
Hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
Mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum
Qui fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram

38. **bene nummatum.** A phrase found in Cicero, de leg. Agr. 2. 22. 54 'adolescens non minus bene nummatus quam bene capillatus.'

**Suadela**, Πειθώ. The man of money is the man who is listened to, the man who is loved.

39. The king of the Cappadocians and Lucullus are instances, the former of failure, the latter of success, in complying with the precept to do what you do thoroughly. Cicero, speaking of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia (predecessor of Archelaus, who was king at this time), writes 'nullum aerarium nullum vectigal habet . . . nihil illo regno spoliatius, nihil rege egentius' ad Att. 6. 1, 'erat rex perpauper' id. 6. 3. The Roman slavemarket was flooded with Cappadocian slaves. 'The king sends us many slaves but cannot pay his tribute; Lucullus was truly royal in his magnificence.' The story of Lucullus is repeated by Plutarch in his life of him.

40. **ne fueris hic**, 'do not answer to this picture.' Cp. Epp. 1. 15. 42 'hic ego sum.' For the long syllable 'fueris' see on Sat. 2. 2. 74.

**chlamydes**, the Greek soldier's cloak, here wanted for a pageant on the stage. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 190.

44. **tolleret**, the subj. is the praetor or the person giving the show.

46. **fallunt**, 'are forgotten by,' as by Lucullus in this instance.

47. **facere et servare beatum.** The repetition from v. 1 is meant to show the connection. The phrase is varied in v. 49 'fortunatum praestat.' We are passing in review various ideals.

49. **species**, 'display,' 'splendour.' Epp. 2. 2. 203. The edd. quote Cic. Pis. 11. 24 'magnum nomen est, magna species . . . consulis.'

50. **qui dictet**: what was called a 'nomenclator.'

**laevum**, as the slave would walk on the left side; see on Sat. 2. 5. 17. A little doubt hangs over the reading. The mass of MSS. (including the Bland.) having 'saevum,' which makes no sense. Keller's E gives 'laevum.' Ritter reads 'servum' with some slight MS. authority, but the repetition has no intelligible force.

51. **trans pondera.** A phrase which has not been certainly explained. (1) The Comm. Cruq. and Acron explain 'pondera' as the high stepping-stones (such as are to be seen in Pompeii) by which people crossed from the raised path on one side of the street to that on the other; 'to stretch half across the street.' There is no other ground for thinking that 'pondera' was a technical name for these stepping-stones, and it may be a guess as baseless as others. It has been taken in several other ways, as (2) 'across the counter,' of shaking hands with tradesmen in a 'taberna' opening on the street, 'pondera' being the weights used in scales. This view is taken by Orelli, Keller, and Schütz. (3) 'Beyond your balance,' 'at risk of tumbling down' Con. This was suggested

Porrigere: 'Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
Cui libet hic fasces dabit eripietque curule
Cui volet importunus ebur.' Frater, Pater, adde;
Ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.
Si bene qui cenat bene vivit, lucet, eamus
Quo ducit gula, piscemur, venemur, ut olim
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos
Differtum transire forum populumque iubebat,
Unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
Emptum mulus aprum. Crudi tumidique lavemur,
Quid deceat, quid non, obliti, Caerite cera
Digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixei,
Cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque

by Gesner and is supported by Lachmann on Lucret. 6. 574. It is given by Ritter. (4) It has lately been explained of weighted tassels attached to the dress in order to make it sit properly, such as are represented in monuments, and such as have been found in Etruscan tombs (Dennis, Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. 2. p. 515). It is difficult however to see how, if this is the sense, it adds anything to the picture.

52. **Fabia . . . Velina**, sc. 'tribu.' Horace apparently takes two names of tribes at random. Pers. 5. 73, probably in imitation of him, has 'Velina.'

53. **hic**, not the 'hic' of v. 52, but a third citizen. Some good MSS. (including Regin.) have 'is,' which Bentley defends.

54. **importunus**, with **eripiet**, 'roughly,' 'ruthlessly;' see on Od. 4. 13. 9.

**frater**: so Juv. S. 5. 135, Virro to Trebius, when his fortune has come to him, 'Vis, frater, ab ipsis Ilibus?' See Mayor's note.

55. **facetus**, 'blande et comiter' Orell. The quotations for this use are from Plautus and Terence.

56. **lucet**: 'let us start at daybreak and prepare for our feast.'

57. **piscemur, venemur.** 'Let us go fishing and hunting, not in the way that involves manly exercise, but after Gargilius' easy fashion.' The story is suggested by the metaphorical use of 'venemur,' and adds nothing to it.

60. **populo.** The repetition means the same people that saw him go out.

61. **crudi**: used both of undigested food and persons in a state of indigestion. See Sat. 1. 5. 49. For the practice spoken of cp. Pers. Sat. 3. 98 'Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur,' etc., Juv. S. 1. 142 'Poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus Turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.' See Mayor's note there.

62. **quid deceat.** There must be no back-glances at ideals you have forsworn.

**Caerite cera digni**, 'worthy of the register of Caere.' This phrase, which does not occur elsewhere, is explained by the Scholiasts and by A. Gellius 16.13 to be the equivalent of 'qui in aerarios referantur,' that is, to be reduced to the condition of 'civitas sine suffragio,' 'disfranchised.' The origin of the phrase is traced by Gellius to the story told in Liv. 5. 40 f., of the services rendered by Caere to Rome during the Gallic invasion and its consequent reward of an honorary citizenship, by the Scholiasts to the occasion of the later rebellion of Caere (Liv. 7. 20) when the citizenship originally given was limited in this way as a punishment. The matter is discussed by Madv. Opusc. vol. 1. p. 240.

63. **remigium Ulixei**: cp. the interpretation of this story in Epp. 1. 2. 23 f.

64. **interdicta voluptas.** With particular reference perhaps to the slaughter of the cattle of the Sun, Hom. Od. 12. 271 f.

65. **Mimnermus**, of Colophon, an

Nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.
Vive, vale. Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

elegiac poet of the time of Solon. See Epp. 2. 2. 101; cp. frag. 1 (Bergk) *τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης; | τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι κ.τ.λ.*

67. **vive, vale**: see on Sat. 2. 5. 110. **istis**, 'what I have given you': having been identified thus in relation to Numicius they become in v. 68 'his' in relation to himself and Numicius together. 'Istis' is to be referred, not to the advice of Mimnermus (as Pope perhaps took it in his imitation of the Epistle), but to the whole tenor of the Epistle.

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# EPISTLE VII.

## TO MAECENAS.

Verses 1–9. I TALKED of a few days in the country, Maecenas, and it has proved to mean all August. But as you would excuse me if I were ill, so you must excuse me for shunning what makes me ill.

10–13. Rome in autumn is deadly; and if the winter is cold, I must go to the sea-coast; so you must not look for me till the spring.

14–19. Your generosity to me has not been that of the Calabrian host who presses on his guest pears that are so plentiful that what he refuses goes to the pigs.

20–24. True generosity chooses worthy objects, but gives what it values. I hope I am not unworthy of your bounty.

25–28. What fails me is youthful health and vigour, and that you cannot restore to me.

29–34. If any one says 'you have surrendered your liberty, and can only regain it in the same way as the vixen who got into the corn-bin when she had an empty stomach,' I take him at his word.

35, 36. I quite mean what I say, and really prefer liberty to wealth.

37–43. It is not that I am discontented or ungrateful; but you would see that I could cheerfully return all you gave me, and answer as Telemachus answered when horses which he could never use were offered to him.

44, 45. What I want now is not the grandeur of Rome but the leisure and peace of the country.

46–98. The story of Philippus and Volteius is a warning to the givers and receivers of patronage. The latter should be wise in time and draw back as soon as they find that the offered improvement of their position is no improvement. The measure which suits one man will not suit another.

The Epistle is a picture of *patronage as it should be and as it should not be.* It is implied in the idea of such a poem as well as asserted in words in it, that Maecenas' patronage has been of the former kind,—such as was honourable both to patron and to poet. The Epistle, therefore, ranges itself with Sat. 1. 5, 6, and 9, which describe and defend Horace's relation to Maecenas.

The story of Philippus and Volteius gives a picture to be contrasted with that of Maecenas and Horace. It is patronage based on no intellectual sympathy or real benevolence, but on caprice and a selfish desire for amusement. It has the effect for the time of breaking down the sturdy independence and destroying the contented simplicity of Volteius. It puts him into two false positions—first as guest at a table where he does not understand the proprieties, then in a country life for which he has no taste or aptitude.

The story is cleverly imitated, in its outward aspect, by Swift in his 'Address to the Earl of Oxford,' though a different turn is given to it; his own banishment to the deanery of St. Patrick's being the analogue to Volteius' settlement in a Sabine farm.

QUINQUE dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui,
Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
Quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timenti,
Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque
Dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
Dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
Officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis
Adducit febres et testamenta resignat.
Quodsi bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet
Contractusque leget: te, dulcis amice, reviset

1. **Quinque dies**: proverbial for a short time; Sat. 1. 3. 16. It is the equivalent of our 'a week,' and indicates that the hebdomadal division of time had not yet taken hold of language.

2. **Sextilem**: Epp. 1. 11. 19, the month that was subsequently named after Augustus.

**mendax**: of breaking a promise; Od. 3. 1. 30.

3. **sanum recteque valentem**: Epp. 1. 16. 21. It is an habitual combination, 'sani sunt ac valentes' Cic. Acad. 2. 7. 19.

4. **das...dabis**, 'now'... 'all through the unhealthy month of September (Epp. 1. 16. 16) which is just coming.'

6. **dissignatorem**: see on Epp. 1. 5. 16. Seneca, Benef. 6. 38, joins 'dissignatores et libitinarios,' the latter being the attendants here called 'lictores atri.'

7. **matercula**: a fond mother.

8. **officiosa sedulitas**: constant occupation in paying attention to the great or to friends. Cp. Sat. 2. 5. 48, 6. 23 f., Epp. 2. 2. 67 f. These passages illustrate also the 'petty business of the Forum,' the duties, that is, of 'sponsores,' 'advocati,' 'testes.'

9. **resignat**, 'breaks their seals,' by causing the death of the testator.

10. **quodsi**. For the quasi-temporal use of 'si' see Virg. A. 5. 64 'si nona diem mortalibus almum Aurora extulerit,' and Catull. 14. 17 'si luxerit.' It seems to have been idiomatic, having arisen (see Conington and Ellis i. l.) from a 'modest or religious way of speaking of a future event.'

**Albanis agris**: the slopes of the Alban hills.

**illinet**: perhaps a painter's word; the first 'touches' of snow.

11. **vates tuus**. Horace throws on Maecenas the responsibility of the title 'vates.' Cp. Od. 1. 1. 35 'si me lyricis vatibus inseres.'

12. **contractus**. The phrases that seem to explain the word best are Virgil's 'contracto frigore pigrae' of the bees, G. 4. 259, and Phaedr. 4. 23. 12 of a fly, 'mori contractam cum te co-

Cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
Non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes
Tu me fecisti locupletem. 'Vescere sodes.'
'Iam satis est.' 'At tu quantum vis tolle.' 'Benigne.'
'Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.'
'Tam teneor dono, quam si dimittar onustus.'
'Ut libet; haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.'
Prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit;
Haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.
Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus,
Nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis:
Dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.

gunt frigora.' Horace likens himself to creatures that feel and shrink from the cold. Orelli takes it as painting his actual attitude; 'zusammengekauert,' as Lucian's ἐπικεκυφὼς ἀμφὶ τὴν κάμινον, 'crouching' or 'huddled at the stove.' But the word is bald in such a sense, and the touch too comic.

**leget** carries with it the sense of 'stay indoors,' 'stay on my couch,' Sat. 1. 6. 122.

13. The zephyrs and the swallows go together as the representatives of returning spring in Virg. G. 4. 305 'Hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas . . . ante Garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo.'

15. **sodes**: Sat. 1. 9. 41; Epp. 1. 1. 62, 1. 16. 31; A. P. 438.

16. **benigne**, inf. v. 62: sub. 'facis' or 'dicis,' a phrase of common life. Cicero has 'benigne ac liberaliter,' 'you are kind and generous' in Verr. 2. 3. 85. In these two passages of Horace it has the idiomatic force of refusal, 'no, thank you.'

18. **tam teneor**: 'I am as much obliged.'

20. **prodigus et stultus**: one person, not two. 'Prodigus' is opposed to 'bonus,' the really generous who count the cost of what they give and yet give it. Seneca paraphrases (Epist. 120) 'mentitur prodigus liberalem, cum multum intersit utrum quis dare sciat an servare nesciat. Multi sunt qui non donant sed proiiciunt.'

21. **haec seges**: 'land sown in this way.'

**tulit et feret**: Od. 2. 13. 9 'rapuit rapietque,' 4. 2. 38 'donavere nec dabunt.'

22. **dignis ait esse paratus.** For the constr. cp. Od. 3. 27. 73 (the first interpretation given) 'uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis.' The same Grecism is found in Catull. 4. 1 'Phaselus ille . . . ait fuisse navium celerrimus.' The Virgilian uses of the idiom usually cited (A. 2. 277, 5. 372) are less certain. 'Dignis' is masc. and dat., 'those who deserve it,' 'paratus' being taken, like ἑτοῖμος, with dat. in the sense of 'ready to help.' It has also been explained as the neut. abl. 'ready with worthy gifts'; but this sacrifices the evident correspondence with 'dignum' in v. 24.

23. **aera lupinis**, 'the difference between real and sham money,' i. e. between valuable and valueless gifts. Lupine seeds were used for money on the stage, and for counters in playing games. Cp. Plaut. Poen. 3. 2. 20 '*Ag.* agite, inspicite, aurum est. *Co.* profecto, spectatores, comicum: macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in barbaria boves.'

24. **dignum pro laude merentis**: 'qualem tua de me merentis postulat laus atque virtus' Obbar. 'Dignus' is absol. as 'dignis' in v. 22. 'Pro laude' adds the determining standard. Cp. Lucret. 5. 1 'Quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen Condere, pro rerum maiestate hisque repertis? Quisve valet verbis tantum, qui fingere laudes Pro meritis eius possit?' 'Worthy I will show myself too, to match the renown of my benefactor.' For 'merentis' absol. cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 664 'Quisque sui memores alios fecere merendo.' The

Quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes
Forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
Reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum, et
Inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.
Forte per angustam tenuis volpecula rimam
Repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus
Ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra;
Cui mustela procul, 'Si vis,' ait, 'effugere istinc,
Macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.'
Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno;

thought, though not the exact expression, is parallel to Epp. 2. 1. 245 'At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt Dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae.'

25. **usquam discedere**: see on Sat. 1. 1. 37, 2. 7. 30.

26. **latus**: chest, lungs: 'Si ventri bene, si lateri, pedibusque tuis est' Epp. 1. 12. 5.

**nigros angusta fronte capillos**: see on Od. 1. 33. 5 'tenui fronte,' and cp. Plin. Epp. 3. 6. 2 'rari et cedentes capilli, lata frons.' Horace was now 'praecanus' Epp. 1. 20. 24, and, it is here implied, becoming bald.

27. **dulce loqui, ridere**: cp. 'dulce ridentem, dulce loquentem' Od. 1. 22. 23, 'canet indoctum sed dulce' Epp. 2. 2. 9; 'dulce' means, so as to charm others.

28. Some lover's play is described. Orelli takes **inter vina** as qualifying both **fugam** and **maerere**. In any case 'protervae' implies that the flight is playful, and the position of 'maerere' implies that the mourning is not serious. For 'Cinara' cp. Od. 4. 1. 4, 4. 13. 21; Epp. 1. 14. 33; and see in App. I. of vol. 1. 'on the unknown names in the Odes.' Here, as in all the other places where the name occurs, it is to recall an epoch in the poet's life.

29. **forte**, like 'olim,' a wonted particle in beginning a fable.

**volpecula**. This is the reading of all MSS. and Schol. Bentley would read 'nitedula,' 'a shrew-mouse,' ex conj., arguing that a fox does not and cannot eat corn, and that all the circumstances suit an animal much smaller and more accustomed to human dwelling-places. He shows from St. Jerome (ad Salvinum) that a similar fable existed in which a mouse plays the part: 'docet et Aesopi fabula plenum muris ventrem per angustum foramen egredi non valere.' On the other hand the fable, both in Babrius (Fab. 86) and in the later Aesopean collections, makes it a fox, but changes the bin of corn to a hole or a larder with meat and bread, and the weasel to a second fox. Attempts have been made to save Horace's credit in the second way by accepting the reading of some inferior MSS. 'cameram,' and interpreting (Dacier) 'cameram frumenti' as 'a granary,' where the attraction might be not the grain but pullets and pigeons who frequented it. Bentley shows that though Columella says 'sedem frumentis optimam quibusdam videri horreum camera contentum,' 'camera frumenti' could not have the meaning necessary for this purpose. Lachmann (on Lucr. 3. 10. 14) strongly supports Bentley's conjecture, and it is received into the text by Haupt and translated by such a conservative scholar as Conington. Keller and Munro both condemn it. The latter says 'Bentley's famous "nitedula" for "volpecula" deserves all praise—it is brilliant; is what Horace ought to have written, but I sadly fear did not write; not from ignorance probably, but because he had in his thoughts some old-world foxes, whose foxes were not as our foxes.'

30. **cumeram**: see on Sat. 1. 1. 53.

32. **procul**, 'hard by': see on Sat. 2. 6. 105.

34. **hac si compellor imagine**: 'if this figure is used to challenge me'; Sat. 1. 7. 31, 2. 3. 297.

**resigno**: see on Od. 3. 29. 54.

Nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium, nec
Otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
Saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque
Audisti coram, nec verbo parcius absens:
Inspice si possum donata reponere laetus.
Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei:
'Non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae;
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'
Parvum parva decent; mihi iam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.
Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis

35, 36. An enforcement of 'cuncta resigno.' 'I do so sincerely (not merely as an epicure will praise simple living) and with no backward glances, no mind to barter freedom for wealth.'

35. **somnum plebis**: 'somnus agrestium Lenis virorum non humiles domos Fastidit' Od. 3. 1. 21.

**satur altilium**, 'with fat capon lined;' for 'altilis,' 'a fattened fowl,' see Juv. S. 5. 115 with Mayor's note.

36. **otia liberrima**: such as he describes in Sat. 2. 6. 60 f. Cp. the phrases 'mihi me reddentis agelli' Od. 1. 14. 1, 'mihi vivam' Epp. 1. 18. 107.

**divitiis Arabum**: Od. 1. 29. 1, 2. 12. 24, 3. 24. 1.

37. 'I have your own testimony that all this is not a cover of discontent. My gratitude has been expressed behind your back as much as to your face.' Cp. the picture of himself in Od. 2. 18. 12 'nec potentem amicum Largiora flagito, Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.'

**rexque paterque**. For 'rex' of a patron cp. Epp. 1. 17. 43 'Coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes,' Juv. S. 1. 136, 5. 14 and 161, etc.

38. **audisti**, 'you have been called.' See on Sat. 2. 6. 20, 2. 7. 101; Epp. 1. 16. 17.

39. **si possum**. Madv. § 451, d. The indicative in this use is not found in prose. Cp. 'visam si domi est' Ter. Heaut. 1. 1. 118.

40. This reference is to Odyss. 4. 601, where Telemachus refuses the proffered present of Menelaus: *ἵππους δ' ἐς Ἰθάκην οὐκ ἄξομαι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ αὐτῷ | ἐνθάδε λείψω ἄγαλμα· σὺ γὰρ πεδίοιο ἀνάσσεις . . . ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἂρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών.*

**proles**, 'the true son;' his father's spirit showed itself in the answer.

**patientis**, a translation of Homer's *πολύτλας*. Cf. Epod. 17. 16 'Laboriosi remiges Ulyssei.'

41. **aptus equis**: Od. 1. 7. 9; *ἱππόβοτος*.

42. **spatiis**, a trans. of *δρόμοι*: Epp. 1. 14. 9, Virg. G. 1. 513, 3. 202 'maxima campi . . . spatia;' 'spaces for racing.'

44. **regia Roma**, Rome with its regal magnificence. Cp. 'regiae moles' Od. 2. 15. 1, but there is also perhaps a feeling of the 'Roma princeps urbium' of Od. 4. 3. 13, 'domina Roma' of Od. 4. 14. 44.

45. **vacuum**: so 'vacuas Athenas' Epp. 2. 2. 81.

**imbelle**. Cp. 'molle Tarentum' Sat. 2. 4. 34. They are both epithets which to the lover of life in Rome would be epithets of disparagement; but Horace is attracted by the 'emptiness' which means quiet, and the 'softness' of a southern climate. For Horace's love of Tibur and Tarentum see Od. 2. 6. 5 foll.

46. **strenuus et fortis**: see on Sat. 2. 1. 16; this particular conjunction was habitual. This appears not only from their frequent use together, but also from such a passage as Cic. Phil. 2. 32. 78 'si minus fortem, attamen strenuum,' where it is implied that the two qualities naturally go together. As that passage also shows, 'strenuus' is of energy, 'fortis' of courage or resolution. The

Clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam
Dum redit, atque Foro nimium distare Carinas
Iam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
Adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra
Cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues.
'Demetri,'—puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi
Accipiebat—'abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,
Cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono.'
It, redit et narrat, Volteium nomine Menam,
Praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum

description seems to touch the story at several points. In the first place it marks the contrast of the two men, the great man who lifts the little man out of his sphere, the busy man who is struck with the leisureliness of the more homely life. It serves also to explain the forcefulness which Mena was unable to resist, and perhaps to apologize (cp. v. 79) for Philippus' amusing himself in such a way,—'he had done a good day's work'—it was a freak in an energetic and honourable life. The person meant is L. Marcius Philippus, consul in B.C. 91, the opponent of the tribune M. Livius Drusus. Cicero characterizes him (de Orat. 3. 1. 4) as 'vehemens et disertus et imprimis fortis ad resistendum.'

47. **octavam horam.** For the meaning of 'hora' see on Sat. 1. 5. 23.

48. **Carinae**: Virg. Aen. 8. 361 'lautis . . . Carinis;' a fashionable quarter where Philippus may be supposed to have had a house. It was on the Mons Oppius, the southern spur of the Esquiline, which runs out towards the Arch of Titus. The Sacra Via commenced in the Carinae, and ran through the Forum.

50. **adrasum.** The main point is the leisurely and contented life of the man. It is in contrast with the busy and strenuous life of Philippus. He is already shaved, the barber has gone away, and he is sitting on at his ease in the shade of the booth, cleaning his nails, as though he had nothing else to do ('leniter'). This contrast with himself is represented as the first thing that attracts Philippus to Volteius; then the picture of the contented, ordered, life of an 'abnormis sapiens,' as described in his messenger's words (vv. 55-59), then the character of the man as shown by his blunt refusal of his invitation (62-64). It is possible that 'adrasum,' like the whole picture, implies also that he is not a man of fashion; cp. 'tonsa cute,' as a sign of rusticity, Epp. 1. 18. 7.

51. **proprios**: a grander or less leisurely person would have left this to the 'tonsor.' Plaut. Aul. 2. 4. 33 'Quin ipsi pridem tonsor ungues dempserat.'

52. **Demetri**, a Greek slave; see on Sat. 2. 5. 18.

**non laeve**, 'very cleverly.'

53. **unde domo**: Virg. Aen. 8. 114 'Qui genus? unde domo?'

54. **quo patre quove patrono**: father, if he were free born; patron, if if he were a freedman; 'nullo patre natus.' Cp. A. P. 248 'quibus est pater.'

55. **Volteium Menam.** It is pointed out that the two names together implied that he was a freedman, Volteius being a Roman gentile name, the name of his 'patronus,' Menas, a Greek name, contracted from Menodorus. Bishop Lightfoot, in notes on Coloss. 4. 12, 14, 15, has collected a large number of such contracted names.

56. **praeconem**, an auctioneer, as we see from v. 65. Cp. A. P. 419 'praeco ad merces qui turbam cogit emendas.'

**notum** has been taken separately (Orell., Dill^r. as 'bene notum' Epp. 1. 6. 25) or with 'sine crimine' = 'notae probitatis' (Obbar). In either of these cases it will be best to take the infinitives (with Orelli) as in orat. obl. after 'narrat,' not with 'gaudentem,' which has its own constr. with the ablatives. It is perhaps better however with the more recent editors (Ritter, Keller, Munro, Wilkins) to construct 'notum' with the infinitives, 'known to.' Bentley proposed 'sine crimine natum,' 'of blameless, respectable, birth,' but with hesita-

Et properare loco et cessare et quaerere et uti,
Gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo
Et ludis et post decisa negotia Campo.
'Scitari libet ex ipso quodcunque refers; dic
Ad cenam veniat.' Non sane credere Mena,
Mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? 'Benigne,'
Respondet. 'Neget ille mihi?' 'Negat improbus et te
Neglegit aut horret.' Volteium mane Philippus
Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello
Occupat et salvere iubet prior. Ille Philippo
Excusare laborem et mercenaria vincla,
Quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non
Providisset eum. 'Sic ignovisse putato

tion, and with the conclusion 'interpretes, ut opinor, semper inter se dissidebunt.'

57. **loco**, as 'in loco' Od. 4. 12. 8, at fitting times. 'Et ... et' with 'properare' and 'quaerere' standing first in the two pairs implies 'to be busy as well as leisurely, to get as well as to spend.' His present condition is not his constant one, nor the proof of laziness, rather of the good sense which knows how to temper work with enjoyment. For 'cessare' cp. Epp. 1. 10. 46, 2. 2. 183. 'Quaerere' and 'uti' are contrasted as in Sat. 1. 1. 38, and both are used absolutely as 'quaerere' in Sat. 1. 1. 92, 'uti' in Epp. 2. 2. 190.

58. **parvis.** For 'parvum parva decent' sup. v. 44.

**certo.** Bentley was inclined to 'curto,' which Cruq. found in two of his MSS. (not the Bland.); but it is no improvement. The phrases are balanced between his advantages and drawbacks. The modesty of his home may be gathered from that of his companions. He is not like the 'scurra' in Epp. 1. 15. 28 'vagus, qui non certum praesaepe teneret.'

61. **sane**: it seems an echo of what he said himself, 'non sane credo;' see on Epp. 1. 15. 5.

62. **benigne**, as above in v. 16.

63. **neget.** Rather better supported than 'negat;' 'is he to refuse me?' The subj. expresses better the tone of pique, from which the slave takes his cue.

**improbus**: cp. Sat. 1. 9. 73 'fugit improbus,' Sat. 2. 5. 84 'anus improba,' ἀναιδής. The amount of real or mock indignation implied will vary with each case.

64. **neglegit aut horret**: the antithesis settles the meaning of 'horret': Volteius shows either defect or excess of the proper respect. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 11.

65. **tunicato.** See Mayor's note on Juv. S. 3. 171 'Pars magna Italiae est ... in qua Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.' The 'toga' was only worn even in Rome by the well-to-do or on public occasions. Tac. de Orat. 7 'volgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus.'

**popello**: the dimin. of depreciation; Pers. S. 4. 15, 6. 50, so 'plebecula' Epp. 2. 1. 186.

66. **occupat**, 'surprises.'

67. **excusare**, with accus. of what is alleged as the excuse, as often in prose, 'valetudinem' Liv. 6. 22.

**mercenaria vincla**, the bonds of 'a mercenarius,' i. e. of a person paid for his work. He was not selling his own goods. Cp. Sat. 1. 6. 86 'si praeco parvas ... mercedes sequerer.'

68. **mane domum**, of the 'salutatio' or early morning visit; a recognized compliment to a patron or great man; see inf. v. 75 and on Sat. 1. 6. 101.

69. **providisset**, seen him first. Ter. Andr. 1. 2. 12 'Herus est, neque provideram,' Plaut. Asin. 2. 4. 44 'non hercle te provideram: quaeso, ne vitio vortas.'

**sic ... si**, 'on the sole condition that'; Liv. 1. 17 'ut cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset si patres auctores fierent.'

Me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.' 'Ut libet.' 'Ergo
Post nonam venies; nunc i, rem strenuus auge.'
Ut ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus
Tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic ubi saepe
Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
Mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur
Rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
Impositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum
Non cessat laudare. Videt ridetque Philippus,
Et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,
Dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem
Promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur. Ne te longis ambagibus ultra
Quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque

70. **ut libet**, 'as you please,' a formula of careless assent; so in v. 19. It is frequent in Terence as Ad. 2. 2. 38.

72. **dicenda tacenda**, 'on every topic wise and foolish'; the expression is probably from the Greek proverbial *ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα* (as in Dem. de Cor. § 157, Soph. O. C. 1001). Persius 4. 5 imitates the phrase, but describes the opposite character, 'dicenda tacendaque calles,' 'you know well what should be said and what not.'

74. **piscis**, 'as a fish'; for the figure cp. Sat. 2. 5. 25.

**visus**, sub. 'est.'

75. **mane cliens**: see on v. 68.

**certus**, 'a constant daily guest.'

76. **rura** has the constr. of 'rus' without the preposition, as 'domos' has of 'domum' in Liv. 22. 22; see Madv. § 233.

**indictis Latinis.** The 'feriae Latinae' were 'conceptivae,' that is, the time of their observance was fixed for the year by the consuls. This is the meaning of 'indicere.' They were marked by a 'iustitium,' so that the courts being closed, Philippus would be able to take a short holiday. Cicero makes the 'feriae Latinae' the time of the discussion 'De Republica,' at the garden of Scipio (De Rep. 1. 9).

**comes.** For the practice of the great cp. Sat. 1. 6. 102 'ducendus et unus Et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve Exirem.' So Sat. 2. 6. 42, Epp. 1. 17. 52.

77. **impositus mannis**, 'mounted in the pony-carriage'; Virg. Aen. 12. 736 'conscendebat equos.' G. 3. 358 'invectus equis.' For 'mannis' cp. Od. 3. 27. 7, Epod. 4. 14.

**arvum caelumque Sabinum . . . laudare**, the delight of the townsman at country sights and sensations; possibly also, as Orelli thinks, his ignorance, for a Sabine farm would not be valued highly. He quotes Catull. 44. 1–4.

79. **sibi requiem.** Orelli interprets 'oblectationem et recreationem a forensibus negotiis,' and this is the usual rendering; but it is doubtful whether 'requiem' could by itself have this force. It is helped however by the contrast implied in the 'sibi,' emphasized as that is by its position both in its own clause 'per chiasmum' with 'undique.' The person whose case he thought of was not his client but himself, even as what he cared for was a laugh, not for the quarter in which he sought it. Ribbeck (followed by Schütz) explains it as 'rest from Menas' chatter' ('non cessat laudare'), but this is not Philippus' view: he is amused at the chatter, 'videt ridetque.'

**dum . . . dum . . . dum.** There is a conversational roughness in the substitution of 'dum' in the first two cases for causal clauses, in the third for a gerundial one.

81. **persuadet**, 'tries to persuade.'

83. **ex nitido**, 'from a spruce townsman.'

Sulcos et vineta crepat mera; praeparat ulmos,
Immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.
Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae,
Spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,
Offensus damnis media de nocte caballum
Arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedes.
Quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus,
'Durus,' ait, 'Voltei, nimis attentusque videris
Esse mihi.' 'Pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
Si velles,' inquit, 'verum mihi ponere nomen!
Quod te per Genium dextramque deosque Penates
Obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori.'
Qui semel aspexit quantum dimissa petitis
Praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta.
Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

84. **crepat**, has always on his tongue; see on Od. 1. 18. 5.

**mera**: Cic. ad Att. 9. 13 'mera scelera loquuntur.'

**praeparat ulmos**, i. e. for the vines to climb on; see on Epod. 2. 10, and cp. Od. 2. 15. 4.

85. **immoritur . . . senescit**, 'kills himself,' 'grows old before his time,' hyperbolical descriptions of his eager industry. For 'senescit' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 82.

87. **spem mentita**. Cp. Od. 3. 1. 30 'fundus mendax' and the opposite 'segetis certa fides' 3. 16. 30.

88. **media de nocte**: see note on Sat. 2. 8. 3 'de medio die.'

90. **scabrum intonsumque**. Contrast 'ex nitido' v. 83 and the picture in vv. 50, 51.

91. **durus**: see Epp. 1. 16. 70, and cp. the epithets in Sat. 2. 6. 82 'asper et attentus quaesitis.' For **attentus** also cp. Epp. 2. 1. 172.

94. **quod**: cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 141 'Quod te per superos . . . oro,' id. 6. 323, Lucr. 1. 221. It is the same use as in 'quod si,' 'whereas, if.'

**per Genium**, sc. 'tuum.' For 'Genius' see on Od. 3. 17. 14, Epp. 2. 2. 187. It was a common adjuration, though the word has been at times confused with 'ingenium,' as in Ter. Andr. 1. 5. 54 'Quod te ego per dextram hanc oro et Genium tuum,' where see Bentley's note.

96–98. Horace's comment on the story.

96. **semel**. Recent edd. are unanimous in accepting this reading against 'simul' which is found in all good MSS., and was found by Cruq. in his Bland. The mistake arose from the copyist's eye or memory carrying him back to v. 90 'quem simul aspexit.' 'Semel' and 'simul' are confused in other places, as Sat. 2. 8. 24 n.

**dimissa**, 'what he has let go.'

98. **suo modulo ac pede**. The figure is explained by Sat. 2. 3. 308, where Horace accuses himself of the folly of aping his betters, 'Aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo Ad summum moduli bipedalis.' Cp. also for the metaph. use of 'modulus' Sat. 1. 3. 77 'cur non Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur.'

**pede**, the foot measure. A pigmy's 'foot' is a different 'foot' from that of a giant.

**verum est**: Sat. 2. 3. 312 'An quodcunque facit Maecenas te quoque verum est?' cp. Epp. 1. 1. 11, 1. 12. 23.

# EPISTLE VIII.

## TO CELSUS ALBINOVANUS.

'GREET Celsus for me, my Muse, the friend and secretary of Tiberius. If he asks after me, say that I am in my old way—with more intentions than performances, well enough in estate and body, not so well in soul; unwilling to learn, or take advice, unable to profit by experience or keep a purpose. Ask him how he is, how he stands in favour with prince and staff. If he says "well," first wish him joy, and then in his private ear whisper that he must not let his head be turned by his fortune.'

We can hardly be wrong in thinking the last verse the gist of the Epistle. Horace's half ironical confessions lead up to it. 'You may say worse of me than I wish to suggest of you. I do not listen to my friends; so I cannot complain if you do not listen to me.' We may compare the art with which a more tender reproof is conveyed to Virgil in Odes 1. 24 (see introd.).

Weichert (poetae Latini, p. 382) would distinguish the 'Celsus Albinovanus' of this Epistle from the 'Celsus' of 1. 3. 15 f.; but he is driven to do so by his view that those lines are meant harshly and contemptuously. In default of proof they have too many points in common to be separated.

CELSO gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.
Si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem
Vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
Contuderit vites oleamque momorderit aestus,
Nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;

1. **Albinovano.** It is the cognomen also of C. Pedo Albinovanus, the friend of Ovid.

2. **rogata,** 'as I pray you.'

**refer**: deliver as your message. It is followed by 'gaudere et bene rem gerere,' 'greeting and good wishes.' Orelli says 'subaud. "me eum iubere."' Compare the use of χαίρειν in beginning letters. 'Refer' is a proper equivalent to 'nuntia'; the Muse is to carry to Celsus the wishes of Horace. It is not therefore necessary to take it with Orelli as = 'carry back,' as though the letter were an answer to a letter from Celsus. It may be so, but there is nothing to indicate it.

**Neronis**: see on Epp. 1. 3. 2 and cp. Epp. 2. 2. 1.

3. **minantem**: cp., both for the verb and for the description of himself, Sat. 2. 3. 9 'voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis.'

4. **nec recte nec suaviter.** As Schütz says, 'neither to the Stoic's standard nor to the Epicurean's.' For 'recte vivere' see on Epp. 1. 2. 41.

**haud quia,** etc. My troubles are not those of the rich proprietor of vineyards and oliveyards (cp. Od. 3. 1. 29–32) or of herds who are driven as the season changes from pasturage to pasturage (cp. Epod. 1. 27, 28).

5. **momorderit,** 'have nipped or blighted.' 'Mordere' is used of the effect of cold in Sat. 2. 6. 45; of rough wind, by Martial 8. 14. 2 'mordeat et tenerum fortior aura nemus.'

Sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
Nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum ;
Fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno ;
Quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam ;
Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
Post haec ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se,
Ut placeat iuveni percontare, utque cohorti.
Si dicet, 'Recte,' primum gaudere, subinde
Praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento :
Ut tu fortunam sic nos te, Celse, feremus.

7. **mente minus validus quam corpore toto.** Cp. the prayer in Od. 1. 31. 18.

8. **audire . . . discere**: Epp. 1. 1. 48.

10. **cur properent.** The question which in his anger he asks. See note on Od. 1. 33. 3, and cp. the constr. of Sat. 2. 2. 124 'venerata . . . ita surgeret.'

12. **ventosus.** Some good MSS. (incl. the Bland.) had 'venturus,' a possible reading and one of some antiquity. It is given by Porph. in a note on Sat. 2. 7. 28. 'Ventosus' was interpreted by the Comm. Cruq. 'inconstans, instabilis.' Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 37 'ventosae plebis.' Note that when Horace is writing with another purpose he says just the opposite of himself, Epp. 1. 14. 16.

14. **iuveni**, a complimentary, not a familiar, term : Od. 1. 2. 41, Virg. Ecl. 1. 43.

**cohorti** : Sat. 1. 7. 23, Epp. 1. 3. 6.

15. **gaudere**, sc. 'eum iubere.' The ellipsis is like that in v. 1, but it is here helped by the following 'instillare memento.' Some more colourless infinitive may be substituted for 'instillare.'

**subinde**, 'presently.' It is used in another sense in Sat. 2. 5. 103.

# EPISTLE IX.

## TO TIBERIUS.

'SEPTIMIUS presses me to introduce him to you. He knows, you see, better, and rates higher, than I do, my influence with you. I would fain have excused myself; but having to choose between the appearance to him of a selfish mock-modesty or to you of a brazen impudence, I chose the less fault. If you can approve of boldness assumed in a friend's behalf, admit Septimius to your circle and believe all good things of him.'

This Epistle is addressed to the young Tiberius himself. The tact and grace of it have commanded universal admiration.

Septimius is doubtless the friend of Od. 2. 6 'Septimi Gades aditure mecum.' See introd. to that Ode and cp. note on Epp. I. 3. 9 for the apparently erroneous identification of him by the Comm. Cruq. with the Titius of that Epistle.

SEPTIMIUS, Claudi, nimirum intelligit unus
Quanti me facias. Nam cum rogat et prece cogit
Scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis,
Munere cum fungi propioris censet amici,
Quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
Multa quidem dixi cur excusatus abirem;
Sed timui mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
Dissimulator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.
Sic ego maioris fugiens opprobria culpae
Frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. Quodsi

1. **Claudi**: see on Epp. I. 3. 2 'Claudius, Augusti privignus'; and cp. Od. 4. 14. 29.

**nimirum**: see note on Sat. 2. 3. 120.

**unus**, 'as no one else'; Sat. 2. 3. 24.

3. **scilicet**. Calling attention in irony to what is going to be said, as though it were something specially absurd. 'Mark you!' 'think of it!' Sat. 2. 2. 36, 2. 3. 185, 240; Epp. I. 15. 36.

**tradere**, 'to introduce'; Sat. I. 9. 47, Epp. I. 18. 78.

4. **dignum**, 'as one worthy.'

**mente**, of the intellectual standard, as the following words are of the moral standard.

**Neronis**: 'a Nero'; see on Od. 4. 4. 29. It is the name which recalls the character of his ancestry.

**honesta**, 'all that is honourable.' The neuter makes the characteristic more general than the masc. Cp. Sat. I. 6. 63 'turpi secernis honestum.'

5. The subj. of **fungi** is 'me' subaud.

7. **multa cur**, 'many reasons why.'

9. **dissimulator**. 'Dissimulatio' is Cicero's equivalent for Aristotle's *εἰρωνεία*, the habit of one who *δοκεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν* Eth. Nic. 4. 3.

**opis**, 'power'; Virg. Aen. I. 601 'non opis est nostrae.'

11. **frontis urbanae**, 'town-bred assurance,' opp. Cicero's 'pudor subrusticus' ad Fam. 5. 12. I.

**descendi ad praemia**, rather 'have lowered myself to [claim] the privileges' than 'have entered for the prize.' The parallel to 'descendi ad' is

Depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem,
Scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

to be found in such phrases as Cic. Rep. 1. 43 'senes ad ludum adolescentium descendant,' not in such as 'descendat in campum' Od. 3. 1. 11.

13. **tui gregis.** As Cicero uses 'grex amicorum' ad Att. 1. 18. 1, 'gregales' = 'comrades,' ad Fam. 7. 33. 1. For the partitive gen. cp. Od. 3. 13. 13 'fies nobilium tu quoque fontium.'

**fortem bonumque.** It is a common conjunction in Cicero, as Mil. 2. 4; cp. 'iustum et fortem' Sat. 2. 1. 16. The words imply high praise, for they are used in Od. 4. 4. 29 of Tiberius himself.

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# EPISTLE X.

## TO ARISTIUS FUSCUS.

Verses 1–7. HAIL to Fuscus, brother of my soul! parted from me by no single difference, but that he loves the town while I love the country.

8–11. I will tell you why this is—I have lost my taste for town delights; I care now for the bread, not for the honey-cakes.

12–21. If nature is to be our standard of life, and that means first, of choosing a site for living, what town site can beat the country—sheltered winters, cool summers, fragrant groves and flowers, fresh water!

22–25. When you build a town house you try to reproduce these things; you plant trees in the peristyle, and choose a site with a country view. Nature re-asserts herself in spite of your efforts to get rid of her.

26–34. There are spurious imitations in life as well as in upholstery, and a mistake about them is more mischievous. Such is setting our admiration on wealth. We prepare for ourselves disappointments. A humble life may be happier than a grand one.

35–41. The man who increases his desires is like the horse who called in the man to help him against the stag—he has surrendered his freedom.

42, 43. Circumstances are like shoes—if they don't fit, they hurt us.

44–48. You, Aristius, will find true philosophy in contentment, and will expect your friend to do the same. Wealth should be our servant, not our master.

49, 50. I am writing on my Sabine estate behind the temple of Vacuna.

Aristius Fuscus, like Septimius in the last Epistle, is one of Horace's older friends. See Sat. 1. 9. 61, 1. 10. 83; Od. 1. 22 'Integer vitae' is addressed to him. See the introd. to that Ode for the continuity of tone between it and this Epistle.

URBIS amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus
Ruris amatores, hac in re scilicet una

1. **salvere iubemus**: Epp. 1. 7. 66. It is a formula of greeting in letters as well as by word of mouth, Cic. ad Att. 4. 14. 2. The plural, which in such cases often alternates with the sing., is what Dräger (Hist. Syntax 1. § 9) calls the 'pluralis modestiae.' Cp. Od. 1. 32. 1.

2–6. 'Lovers of the country; for in this one point you must know we differ

Multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli—
Fraternis animis quicquid negat alter et alter—
Annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi.
Tu nidum servas; ego laudo ruris amoeni
Rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
Quid quaeris? Vivo et regno simul ista reliqui
Quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo:
Utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso;
Pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.
Vivere naturae si convenienter oportet,
Ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,

much, but in all else nearly twin brethren with brotherly hearts (when one says "no," the other says "no" too), we nod in time like two old familiar doves.' The punctuation of these lines has been the subject of great difference. I follow Dill[r]. and (in the main point) Orelli. Bentley has induced many modern editors (including Munro, Ritter, Keller) to put a strong stop at 'amatores' and another at 'pariter,' leaving 'vetuli notique columbi' to begin a new sentence. But the figure of the two old doves on a perch has grown out of the description of the two old friends, 'gemelli,' 'fraternis animis,' with the picture—suggesting 'annuimus pariter.' The metaphor is carried on by a fresh departure in 'tu nidum servas,' etc.; but there would be little point in the epithet 'noti vetulique,' if the doves belonged wholly to vv. 6, 7. In any punctuation and rendering there is something harsh in the change in the meaning of the plural first person from 'I' in v. 2 to 'you and I' in v. 5.

2. **scilicet** is used particularly by Horace (see esp. Od. 1. 37. 30, 2. 14. 9, 4. 8. 5) as in our view it is used here, with adjectives (or participles) to call special attention, whether in irony or not, to the relation between the adj. and the main statement.

6. One is a stay-at-home, the other ranges far afield for things to admire.

7. **circumlita**: perhaps a word of the painter's art, of rocks 'touched,' 'coloured,' with patches of moss or lichen. Cp. 'oblitus' Epp. 2. 1. 104, 'illinet' Epp. 1. 7. 10.

8. **quid quaeris**? a colloquial phrase implying 'ask no more,' used either after an explanation, usually a laconic one, has been given, or to bespeak attention to one which is to be given and which must be sufficient. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 14. 7, 1. 16. 4, and 2. 16. 1, with Watson's notes.

**vivo**: 'it is real life'; *βιὸς βιωτός*.

**regno**, 'rex sum'; 'my mind to me a kingdom is.' Cp. infr. v. 33.

9. **vos**: 'you, and those who think with you; you townfolk.'

**effertis**: the reading of V (supported by σ (St. Gallen)) against the majority of MSS. Both phrases are found elsewhere ('efferte ad caelum' Cic. ad Fam. 9. 14. 1), though 'ferre' is the more common, Sall. Cat. 53. 1, Jug. 53. 8, Cic. Fam. 10. 26. 2, Lucr. 6. 8.

**rumore secundo**, 'amid favouring voices,' 'with general assent.' See Conington on Virg. Aen. 8. 90 'iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.'

10, 11. The 'pleasures' of town are to me what sweet cakes are to the slave who has run away from a priest's household—the very things which I am tired of and want to change for more simple and wholesome fare.

10. **liba**. Defined by Servius on Virg. Aen. 7. 109 as 'placentae de farre, melle, et oleo, sacris aptae.'

12. **naturae convenienter**. 'Quod summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur convenienter naturae vivere' Cic. de Off. 3. 3. 13, *ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει*.

'If the Stoic principle for living is to be applied to the first preliminary for living—namely, choosing a place to live in.' There is perhaps a reference to some proverbial order in the needs of life. Cp. Hesiod's *οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα, κ.τ.λ.* Ἔ. *καὶ* Ἡ. 405.

13. **ponendae domo**. The Bland. MSS. had 'ponenda,' but we cannot say whether by a mistake or by a correction

Novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
Est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura
Leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,
Cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum?
Est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum
Quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
Laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
Naturam expelles furca tamen usque recurret,

due to the unusual form 'domo' for 'domui.' The abl. might be taken as an abl. absol. 'in placing a house,' but the sense is not so good. The only other instance quoted of 'domo' dat. is Cato, R. R. 134.

14. **beato**, 'the charms of the country are allowed. Do you know any town house where they can be bettered?'

15. **tepeant hiemes.** Horace has primarily in mind his own Sabine retreat, for which, in Sat. 2. 3. 10, he claims this merit 'Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.' Elsewhere he tells us that in the cold of winter he went to the sea, Epp. 1. 7. 10. 'The contrast here is only between town and country. You can't find more means of keeping yourself warm in town than in the country.'

16. **momenta.** Probably as in Epp. 1. 6. 4 'movements'; 'the Lion when he comes round.' It has been also taken as in Sat. 1. 1. 8 for a short space of time, 'the Lion's hour,' or for 'influence.'

17. **furibundus**: Od. 3. 29. 19 'stella vesani Leonis.' The adj. is predicative, going closely with **accepit.** It is the sun's heat that causes the madness.

19. **Libycis lapillis**, tessellated pavement of Numidian marble.

**olet**: perhaps with reference to the practice of sprinkling the floors with perfumes.

20. **tendit rumpere**: our momentary sympathy is bespoken for the imprisoned water as though it were a violation of nature. The water brought to Rome by the aqueducts was distributed over the city by pipes of lead or earthenware.

22. **nempe**: for the use of 'nempe' where the speaker after asking a question answers it himself with some irony see on Sat. 2. 7. 80. 'I will answer the questions'—you are so far from thinking the gifts of the country worse than those of the town, that your aim in building a town house is to make it as much like a country house as you can.

**inter columnas**, 'within the peristyle'; but with the suggestion that for all the varied tints of the marble columns the eye desired some of nature's columns, some green trees.

**nutritur**, i.e. 'is grown with care and effort.' For the practice see note on Od. 3. 10. 5, and cp. Tibull. 3. 3. 15 'nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos;' see Mayor on Juv. S. 4. 6.

23. **domus**, 'a town house with a wide country view.' Cp. the view from Maecenas' house on the Esquiline as described in Od. 3. 29. 6–8.

24. **expelles**: this is the reading of all the best MSS. including all the Bland., and it is given accordingly by most recent edd. Orelli keeps to 'expellas' which had general possession of the text before Bentley. With the subjunctive the constr. will be as in Od. 4. 4. 65 'Luctere: multa proruet integrum Cum laude victorem.' 'Turn out (or "try to turn out"), if you will,' etc. With the future it seems an instance of the omission of the conditional particle: see on Sat. 1. 1. 45. This use is more common with the fut. perfect (as there) than with the future simple. 'Furca expellere' is a proverbial expression. Cic. ad Att. 16. 2. 4 'quoniam furcilla extrudimus,' Catull. 105. 2 'Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt.' So in Greek δικράνοις ὠθεῖν Lucian, Tim. 12. Cp. Arist. Pax 637 δικροῖς ὠθεῖν [κεκράγμασιν].

Et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
Non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum
Certius accipiet damnum propiusque medullis,
Quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,
Mutatae quatient. Si quid mirabere pones
Invitus. Fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
Reges et regnum vita praecurrere amicos.
Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
Pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
Imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste
Non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.

25. **fastidia.** Cp. the use of 'fastidiosus' in Od. 3. 1. 37, 3. 29. 9; Epod. 17. 73 of disgusts and cravings that are against nature. V had 'vestigia,' which must be a mistake. The Comm. Cruq. interprets 'fastidia' by 'superbiam.' Some good MSS. have the intermediate reading 'fastigia,' which being meaningless (though Torrentius explains it of nature shut out from the doors returning obstinately ('mala') over the 'rooftops') would be wrongly corrected to 'vestigia.'

26 foll. The preference of town to country has been brought round to seem a hollow and illogical fancy, belied even by those who gratify it. 'Yet,' Horace goes on, 'in matters of life we need the power of distinguishing shams from realities more than we do in buying purple stuffs.'

26. **contendere callidus**, 'to compare skilfully,' i.e. so as to distinguish them. Cp. the use of 'callidus' Sat. 2. 3. 23 'as a connoisseur.' We do not know from other sources anything of this manufacture of purple at Aquinum.

28. **propius medullis**: as Eur. Hipp. 255 πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν φρενῶν: of that which touches us deeply.

30, 31. Two instances to show that false judgments in matters of life are followed with immediate and inevitable penalties.

30. **plus nimio**: see note on Od. 1. 18. 15.

31. **quatient.** In the same sense as Od. 3. 3. 4 'mente quatit solida.'

**si quid mirabere.** The doctrine of Epp. 1. 6. 1, etc.

**pones** = 'depones' Sat. 2. 3. 16.

32. **fuge magna.** The over-estimation of 'grandeur' (cp. the thought in Od. 3. 29. 9–16) is clearly connected by Horace with the preference of town life to country life.

33. **reges**, as types, conventionally, of grand and happy living. 'Persarum vigui rege beatior' Od. 3. 9. 4, 'Regum aequabat opes animis' Virg. G. 4. 132.

34. **cervus equum.** This is the fable told at length by Aristotle (Rhet. 2. 20) as an illustration of the term λόγος or 'fable.' It is attributed by him to the poet Stesichorus, who is said to have addressed it to the people of Himera in order to dissuade them from putting Phalaris into supreme power. It is given with some variations by Phaedrus 4. 4, a boar being substituted for the stag.

37. **victor violens.** This is the reading of all the MSS. except that E reverses the order, 'violens victor.' Bentley suspected a corruption, and Haupt's ingenious suggestion, 'victo ridens,' has seemed to several recent editors (incl. Munro and Wilkins) sufficiently probable to be adopted into the text. Keller and Schütz adhere to the MSS. If we keep 'violens' it is not an epithet of 'victor' but a separate predicative qualification. It answers to 'improbus' in the application of the fable. The horse was 'violens,' 'forceful,' 'for carrying things by force.' He was successful in doing so, but found he had sacrificed what was more valuable.

Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
Libertate caret, dominum vehit improbus atque
Serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
Si pede maior erit subvertet, si minor uret.
Laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
Nec me dimittes incastigatum ubi plura
Cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
Tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
Excepto quod non simul esses cetera laetus.

39. **metallis**: prob. like 'lamna' in Od. 2. 2. 4, the word is meant to emphasize the purely material conception of wealth.

40. **improbus**: see the note on 'violens' in v. 37; ἀναιδής, for his unconscionable greed.

41. **nesciet**: the time corresponds to **serviet**. The two pictures are two sides of the same thing. He will always be a slave because he will never be contented.

42, 43. Circumstances are like shoes —they must be fitted to the person, not the person to them—otherwise they are sure to give trouble.

42. **olim**: Sat. 1. 1. 25, Epod. 3. 1 'adverbium usitatum in fabellis et exemplis' Orell. It may refer to some actual fable of an ill-fitting shoe.

43. **uret**, 'gall.'

44. 'You, Aristius, I know, will be content, and so will live like a philosopher.'

46. **cessare**, 'to take holidays'; Epp. 1. 7. 57, 2. 2. 183. For 'ac non' see on Sat. 2. 3. 135.

48. The purport of the metaphor is clear; but the source of it is uncertain. It has been taken of an animal dragged by a rope, of a barge, of a school-boys' 'tug of war.' In all of these 'tortum' is (as in Virg. Aen. 4. 575 'Festinare fugam, tortosque incidere funes') an epithet without special force. Its emphatic position is perhaps against this and in favour of the view (supported by Schütz) that the reference is to a windlass or pulley (cp. Od. 3. 10. 10, which seems to refer to a similar machine); 'tortum' will then refer to the turning of the rope in the process of hauling, and go with 'sequi,' not with 'ducere,' 'to be at the command of the machine and follow the rope when it turns on the pulley, not command it and draw the rope from it as it will.'

49. **dictabam**: the Epistolary imperfect, Madv. § 341.

**post fanum putre Vacunae.** From all the evidence we judge (1) that Vacuna was the name of a Sabine goddess; (2) that the Romans were very doubtful with which of their deities to identify her; (3) that one identification was with Victoria, and that this was adopted by Vespasian, the emperor of Sabine origin, who, as an inscription shows, rebuilt a ruined temple to Victoria at the village now called Rocca Giovane, close to Horace's farm; (4) that the name was often connected by the Romans with 'vacare,' 'vacuus,' and played upon as meaning the goddess of 'holiday' or 'laziness.' Fea quotes Auson. Epist. 4. 99 'Totam trado tibi simul Vacunam,' and an inscr. 'Qui legis haec divae bona verba precare Vacunae Nunc saltem vacuo donet ut esse mihi.' The words have been used as a chief argument for placing the site of Horace's villa where there is some old terracing immediately above the village of Rocca Giovane, instead of in the place previously pointed out somewhat further up the valley. It is doubtful, however, whether they prove anything. See additional note to Epp. 1. 16. 'Post' may be used loosely and mean only that in going to the villa you passed the temple, and the main object probably is not to give a topographical definition but (as in the quotations just given) a play on the name of Vacuna, 'in holiday-land.'

# EPISTLE XI.

## TO BULLATIUS.

Verses 1–10. You have been visiting all the famous and beautiful places on the coast of Asia. Well, what do you think of them? Do you think Rome beats them all? or have you a hankering for one of the towns of Attalus' old kingdom? or have you an enthusiasm for even Lebedus as an alternative to further travelling on the sea?

11–20. But travelling is not the business of life. It is good for those who are sick, in mind or body. Those who are not do not need it, and should be content to praise the sights of foreign lands but spend their lives at home.

21–30. Enjoy what you have. Our modern restlessness does not diminish care. What we need is a well-balanced mind.

The occasion is a visit of Bullatius to places of interest on the coast of Asia Minor, places of which Horace speaks with the air of one who has himself seen them (see on Sat. 1. 7). Bullatius is apparently to be thought of as still in the East (see on v. 21), perhaps as having written a letter, to which this is an answer, with some traveller's raptures on the beautiful places he is visiting. The substance of the Epistle is an indictment of foreign travel as a form of the restlessness of the age. The feeling which finds definite expression here is to be traced in many passages of the Odes. It is part of the motive of Od. 1. 3—Horace wishes Virgil a happy voyage, but 'non invidet, miratur magis:' of Od. 1. 7—he agrees with Plancus that Rhodes and Mytilene do not make up for banishment from Tibur, even though he preaches for the occasion patience under it: of Od. 2. 6—'Septimius' friendship would stand the strain of any travel, but may it not be put to such a strain! "Sit modus lasso maris et viarum." It is more plainly put in Od. 2. 16. 18 foll., which should be specially compared with this Epistle.

Nothing is known of Bullatius. It is possible that he visited the East in the train of Tiberius: see introd. to Epp. 1. 3.

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,
Quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis,
Smyrna quid et Colophon, maiora minorave fama?

1. **Quid tibi visa Chios.** ~~The phrase~~ 'What thought you of Chios?' so Cicero, 'quid tibi videor' ad Div. 9. 21. 2; so in Greek τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ νεάνισκος; Plat. Charm. 4, etc. Cp. also 'Lebedus quid sit,' infr. v. 7.

2. **concinna,** 'trim,' 'pretty.' It must be meant of the city rather than the island.

**Sardis** represents the Greek Σάρδεις (the form is noted as a plural by Priscian, 7. 17. 85): **regia** is therefore in apposition—'Croesus' royal home.'

3. **maiora minorave fama.** For the difficulties of text and interpretation which encompass these words see note at the end of the Epistle. With our reading and punctuation they are perhaps best taken as the qualification, in the first place, of 'Smyrna et Colophon,' 'places greater, or it may be less, than the world thinks them,' but as intended to be carried back in sense to the places characterized before, and to convey a hint of depreciation—the tone of a traveller who has himself outgrown some

Cunctane prae Campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?
An venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una,
An Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?
'Scis Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem,
Oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem.'
Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit imbre lutoque
Aspersus volet in caupona vivere; nec qui

illusions. They lead the way, therefore, in feeling to the question of v. 4, even if they are not to be connected with it grammatically as by Orelli and Dillr.

4. **sordent prae** seems to mean 'pale before,' 'in comparison with'; Epp. 1. 18. 18.

5. **venit in votum**: see note on 'esse in votis' Sat. 2. 6. 1.

**Attalicis urbibus.** The splendid legacy of the last of the Attali (see on Od. 1. 1. 12, 2. 18. 4) had so struck the imagination of Horace, if not of his countrymen generally, that 'Attalicus' carries with it here, besides having its proper sense of 'belonging to the old kingdom of the Attali' (in other words, to the Roman province of Asia) the additional idea of princely wealth and luxury.

6. **Lebedum.** Lebedus, fifteen miles N.W. of Colophon on the Caystrius Sinus, had been one of the twelve cities of Ionia, but about B.C. 300 was nearly desolated by Lysimachus, who transferred the population to Ephesus. It seems to stand here for some place in which only a tired traveller's caprice could find attraction.

**odio maris atque viarum**: as Od. 2. 6. 7 'lasso maris et viarum.'

7–10. These lines seem to be rightly treated by the Scholiasts as an imagined apology of Bullatius for his strange preference: 'I do not deny that it is a very dull place, but I could live there for ever rather than go to sea again.' It has been said that such a fragment of unexpected dialogue belongs rather to the style of the Satires than that of the Epistles, but any harshness is much lessened by noticing that the lines are a dramatic illustration of the words that precede, 'odio maris atque viarum.' Perhaps we may compare Epp. 1. 15. 11 where 'Quo tendis,' etc., is an illustrative expansion of 'praeteragendus equus.' Cp. also Epp. 1. 16. 31 and 41, A. P. 9.

7. **Gabiis . . . atque Fidenis.** The two names stand together in Virg. Aen. 6. 773 among the list of Latin towns. In Juv. S. 10. 100 they stand, after Horace, as representatives of places which have come down in the world. Cp. the epithet 'simplicibus Gabiis' Juv. S. 3. 192. In Epp. 1. 15. 9 Gabii is spoken of as an unfashionable watering-place. Cp. Juv. S. 7. 4.

9. Imitated by Pope 'Eloisa to Abelard,' 206 'The world forgetting, by the world forgot.'

10. Bullatius is meant to recall the famous Epicurean pleasure described by Lucr. 2. 1 'Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis E terra alterius magnum spectare laborem.' If Lebedus can give no other pleasure it can give that.

11. **sed neque.** This is Horace's reply, 'What you describe is very well as a passing feeling—the result of circumstances of the moment—it is not a principle to build your life on.'

**neque . . . nec . . . nec** perhaps are meant to recall some formula of the schools (cp. Plin. Epp. 2. 20 'sufficiunt duae fabulae, an scholastica lege tertiam poscis?') which required three instances —but the third instance is so like the actual case proposed that the construction resembles Od. 3. 5. 27 foll. 'neque amissos colores Lana refert medicata fuco, Nec vera virtus, quum semel excidit, Curat reponi deterioribus,' where see note.

**imbre lutoque aspersus**, 'drenched with rain and bespattered with mud.'

12. **caupona**: the inn is relatively comfortable; but it is not home.

**vivere**, 'to spend his life.'

Frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat
Ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam.
Nec si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,
Idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.
Incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit quod
Paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
Per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
Dum licet ac voltum servat Fortuna benignum,
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.
Tu quamcunque deus tibi fortunaverit horam
Grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum,
Ut quocunque loco fueris vixisse libenter

13. **frigus collegit**: so 'sitim colligere' Ov. Met. 5. 446; cp. Virg. G. 3. 327. Possibly a poetical variation of the prose use of 'contrahere'; 'has got chilled through.'

**furnos et balnea**: he would like to warm himself, but he does not therefore place the sum of happiness in having access to ovens (as a baker), or hot water (as a bathman). For 'furnos' see on Sat. 1. 4. 37.

15. **nec**: 'so neither,' etc.

16. **vendas**, i.e. with the idea of staying there for your life.

17. **incolumi.** Editors question whether this means sound in health or in sense: 'mentis sanae' Schol. Surely no exact interpretation is to be given. It answers to and applies in the widest sense to the drenching of v. 11, the chill of v. 13, the tossing of v. 15. Remedies are for the sick. If you want to travel, there is unsoundness *somewhere.* No doubt in the end the disease is to be traced to the mind.

**Rhodos et Mytilene**: an echo of Od. 1. 7. 1. They stand here for foreign travel generally.

**facit quod**: does the same service as, no more service than.

18. **paenula**: a woollen cloak worn in rainy weather, see Mayor on Juv. S. 5. 79 'multo stillaret paenula nimbo.'

**solstitio,** 'midsummer,' as in Virg. E. 7. 47, G. 1. 100.

**campestre.** For the adj. cp. A. P. 379 'campestribus armis.' The neut. sing. was used of a light apron or drawers worn in exercises of the Campus Martius.

19. **Tiberis**, i.e. for bathing.

**Sextili**: see on Epp. 1. 7. 2.

**caminus**: Sat. 1. 5. 81.

20. **dum licet**: with a glance at the chances of Roman life. 'The time may come when you may have no choice.' The banished Ovid imitates the line, Trist. 1. 5. 27 'Dum iuvat et voltu ridet Fortuna sereno.'

21. **Romae laudetur.** The emphasis on 'laudetur' is the same as on Virgil's (G. 2. 413) 'Laudato ingentia rura: exiguum colito.' Cp. also the force put upon 'contemplere' in Od. 3. 29. 7, 'look [wistfully] at, without going to them.' 'Romae' might mean 'stay at Rome and praise,' etc., or 'come back to Rome and praise,' etc. The latter is probably the sense: see introduction to the Epistle. Notice that the three places have all been named in the Epistle, so that this is the summing up.

**absens**: as an epithet of the place from which one is absent; see Sat. 2. 7. 28.

22. **tu**, as always, the note of entreaty: Od. 1. 9. 16, 1. 11. 1; Sat. 1. 4. 85; Epp. 1. 2. 63.

**quamcunque . . . horam.** The tone of Od. 3. 8. 27 'Dona praesentis rape laetus horae' and 3. 29. 29. As in Od. 2. 16. 18–25 he identifies the restlessness which makes men travel for pleasure with the vice which he is always assailing of not making the most of pleasures which they have.

23. **dulcia**: your pleasant things, i.e. the enjoyment of them.

**in annum**: see Epp. 1. 2. 39.

24. **libenter**: 'as though life were

Te dicas; nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
Non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,
Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.
Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

worth living,' as 'cenare libenter,' 'to dine with appetite'; cp. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 19. 1. It is possible however that 'libenter' is to be taken with 'dicas' and 'vixisse' absolutely, 'that you have really lived,' as in Od. 3. 29. 43.

26. **effusi late maris**: 'a broad surface of sea.'

**arbiter.** Cp. Epod. 5. 50; Od. 3. 20. 11, 1. 3. 15, 2. 7. 25. These passages give the stages in the use of 'arbiter.' (1) 'The witness,' as frequently in Cicero; (2) the impartial bystander acting as umpire; (3) the judge with power to pronounce effective sentence, 'ponere seu tollere.' The present use is perhaps nearest to (2), the image being of sitting on high and overlooking the sea with its tumults. There is a reference, no doubt, back to v. 10, Bullatius' defence of Lebedus, so that a stormy sea is specially in view.

27. See on Od. 2. 16. 19 (cp. also Epp. 1. 14. 12, 13). Horace had perhaps in mind Aesch. in Ctes. 78 *οὐ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν*, or Cic. pro Quintio 3. 12 'fit magna mutatio loci non ingenii.'

28. **strenua nos exercet inertia**: travelling is 'working hard at doing nothing.'

**navibus atque quadrigis**: to be taken literally; 'by means of locomotion.'

29. **bene vivere**: a happy life, the ideal of life; Epp. 1. 6. 56.

30. **Ulubris**: a town near the Pomptine marshes. Juvenal (S. 10. 101) calls it 'vacuae,' classing it with Gabii and Fidenae, in reminiscence therefore of this Satire. Cicero jests about it in a letter to Trebatius (ad Fam. 7. 18), calling its citizens 'little frogs.'

**animus aequus**: Epp. 1. 18. 112.

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## Additional Note on Verse 3.

**Maiora minorave fama.** Doubt hangs over both the reading and the meaning. The earliest editors, followed by Bentley without comment, gave 'minorane.' This is not found in any tenth cent. MSS. Holder gives 'ne' as the reading of Regin., but this has 'ue' as has been verified. E has 'minoraque.' Holder in the edition of the text (1869) gave 'ne,' but his colleague Keller in the Epilegomena (1869) has returned to 've' as the original and right reading. It is given by Orell., Dill^r^., Ritter, Munro, Schütz, Wilkins. If 'ne' were read we must point the verse as containing two questions: 'What of Symrna and Colophon? Are they greater or less than their repute?' It is doubtful however (apart from external evidence for the reading) whether the intrusion of a fresh question does not injure the sense. The meaning of the four times repeated 'quid [tibi visa]?' is given in the three alternative questions of vv. 4, 5, 6. Horace's interest is not in the new light which a traveller has to throw on places he has visited, but in the traveller's own frame of mind: 'Has he had the good sense to feel that home was the best place after all? or has he, for one or another of a traveller's reasons, been fascinated by any of them?' If we read 've,' some uncertainty is left as to the punctuation and sense. (1) It would be possible (if the consideration just alleged does not bar it) still to put the two notes of interrogation and translate, not 'are they

greater or less,' etc., as though 've' could be used in alternative interrogation, but 'are they either greater or less?' i. e. 'are they just what the world says, or either greater or ("ve") less?' (2) Keller with the same punctuation understands a repeated 'Quid': 'what of Smyrna and Colophon? [what] of towns greater or less in repute?' 'fama' being in this rendering an abl. not of comparison but of the 'part concerned.' (3) Orelli and Dill^r. remove the stop at 'fama,' connecting the words 'maiora,' etc. with the following line: 'Be they greater or less than their repute, do all alike pale before the Campus and Tiber stream?' In this interpretation also 'fama' may be taken for 'in repute,' instead of 'than their repute.' (4) Schütz removes the question at 'Colophon,' retains it at 'fama?' The words 'maiora . . . fama' then become the qualification grammatically of 'Smyrna et Colophon,' answering to the more special epithets which have been given to Chios and Lesbos, Samos and Sardis. 'What of Smyrna and Colophon, greater places or (it may be) smaller than the world thinks them?' This is the view, substantially, taken in the note.

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# EPISTLE XII.

## TO ICCIUS.

THIS Epistle brings together the Iccius of Od. 1. 29 and the Pompeius Grosphus of Od. 2. 16. The purpose is in the first instance personal—to introduce Grosphus to Iccius, who is acting as 'procurator' in charge of Agrippa's Sicilian estates. It is to be noticed that Grosphus seems when the Ode (see vv. 33–37) was written to have been a wealthy proprietor in Sicily. He is now returning to the island, and is in a position, we know not how, in which Iccius may be able to help him.

The Epistle also implies that Iccius has complained (either in a letter to Horace or otherwise) that he is managing the estate of another rather than an independent property of his own. The poet rallies him gently for this (vv. 1–16), turning his remonstrance into compliments on the simple life which no increase of wealth would affect (vv. 7–11), and the maintenance of high philosophical interests in a post where there was so much to foster a greed of gain (vv. 12–20). From this he passes lightly (v. 21) to the introduction and commendation of Grosphus (vv. 22–24). The Epistle ends with some lines (vv. 25–29), of which the professed purpose is to give the news from Rome, but which, if we suppose such an Epistle to be written for a larger circle of readers, associate with it the names, in a climax, of Agrippa, Tiberius, Augustus, and flood the picture as with the light of a returning golden age.

The last lines should also incidentally fix the date of the Epistle. With respect to the difficulty caused by the reference to Agrippa's conquest of the Cantabri see general Introd. to the Epistles, p. 208.

FRUCTIBUS Agrippae Siculis quos colligis, Icci,
Si recte frueris, non est ut copia maior
Ab Iove donari possit tibi. Tolle querelas;
Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
Divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.
Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
Vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus, ut te
Confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret;

1. **Fructibus quos colligis.** 'Fructus' is used for 'produce' of all sorts. Iccius is a 'procurator' (see Cic. de Or. 1. 58. 249 with Wilkins' note) or manager of the estate of a non-resident proprietor, with a 'vilicus' or 'vilici' under him. Agrippa (see on Od. 1. 6 introd.) has estates in Sicily, acquired possibly (as Ritter suggests) either after the battle of Naulochus on the Sicilian coast, when he defeated Sextus Pompeius, or in B.C. 21, when Augustus summoned him to Sicily and gave him the hand of Julia, Dion C. 54. 6.

2. **si recte frueris.** It is assumed that one who collected the produce lived on the produce. There is probably a play on 'fructibus . . . frueris,' 'if you enjoy what is meant to be enjoyed'; 'recte,' 'as you should,' possibly in the literal sense 'as the law allows you,' certainly in the moral sense, 'as philosophy bids you.'

**non est ut**: Od. 3. 1. 9 'est ut.'

3. **tolle**: 'away with,' 'a truce to' (Conington). Epod. 16. 39 'muliebrem tollite luctum.'

4. **cui rerum suppetit usus**: 'who has the full use of property.' Horace is thinking all through of the juridical term 'ususfructus' (see vv. 1, 2), 'If you enjoy as you should what by its very name tells you it was meant to be enjoyed, it is a true "ususfructus," and that, as any lawyer will tell you, is as good as possession.' Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 160 'Qui te pascit ager, tuus est,' etc., a philosophical view which there he reinforces by the legal principle that 'usus' for a certain term actually conveyed possession. Cp. also Sat. 2. 2. 134.

5. **si ventri**, etc. Horace is perhaps thinking of Solon's apophthegm, fr. 24 *ἰσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι | καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πέδια,| ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστι | γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῆς καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν.*

For **lateri** cp. Sat. 1. 9. 32, 2. 3. 163; Epp. 1. 6. 28.

**pedibus**: i. e. if you are free from the gout.

7–9. The compliments to Iccius begin with a certain archness (conveyed by the hypothetical form 'si forte,' 'if to put a case,' and by the hyperbolical 'herbis et urtica')—as though they were half jest; then the tone becomes graver and unmistakeably sincere. They are lightened again in vv. 19–21 by the half bantering spirit always roused in Horace by the differences and paradoxes of philosophers.

7. **in medio positorum abstemius.** Lambinus seems to have been the first to suggest the interpretation which has thenceforth been usually given to these words, viz. 'temperate in respect of the simplest luxuries,' 'abstemius' being constructed with the gen. as 'abstinens' in Od. 4. 9. 37. 'In medio posita' is an habitual phrase (Sat. 1. 2. 108 'Transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat') for 'things accessible to all': cp. 'ex medio' Epp. 2. 1. 168 n.

8. **urtica**: the common nettle. So Persius, perh. remembering this passage, 'mihi festa luce coquatur Urtica' 6. 69. Pliny (N. H. 21. 55) speaks of the young shoots in spring as pleasant eating.

**sic vives protinus**, 'you will continue so to live.' For 'protinus' see Virg. Aen. 9. 339 'felix si protinus illum Aequasset nocti ludum.'

**ut**, 'even supposing that'; see on Epod. 1. 21.

9. **confestim**: 'in a moment.'

**Fortunae rivus.** Fortune is looked on as a Pactolus ('Tibique Pactolus

Vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
Vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
Miramur si Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox;
Cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri
Nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures:
Quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum,
Stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent,
Quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem,

fluat' Epod. 15. 20) which 'culta . . . irrigat auro' Virg. Aen. 10. 142. 'Inauro' is used figuratively of a person in Cic. ad Fam. 7. 13. 1 'te malle a Caesare consuli quam inaurari.'

10. **vel . . . vel.** Iccius may take his choice between the reasons. Both apply to him. His simplicity of taste belongs both to his nature and to his ideal of life.

**naturam**: a man's nature. Cp. Epod. 4. 6 'Fortuna non mutat genus.'

11. **una**: Epp. 1. 7. 30; contrasted with 'cuncta.' Everything else in one scale, virtue in the other.

12–14 foll. **miramur . . . cum tu**, 'we marvel . . . and that though you,' etc. Iccius is a greater marvel than Democritus. The latter lost himself to his own concerns in his philosophical dreaming. The former has kept all his philosophical interest though immersed in business and its temptations. Democritus, the Eleatic philosopher, of Abdera. Epp. 2. 1. 194, A. P. 297. He is in Cicero a stock instance of absorption in philosophy, de Fin. 5. 29. 87 'ut quam minime animus a cogitationibus abduceretur patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos.' Cp. D. Tusc. 5. 39. 114, 115.

13. **peregre est**, 'is on its travels.' Cp. Od. 1. 28. 5 'animoque rotundum Percurrisse polum,' and Plato's picture (Theaetet. p. 173 E.) of the philosopher whose body only ἐν τῇ πόλει κεῖται καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ, ἡ δὲ διάνοια . . . πανταχῇ φέρεται.

**velox**: of the swiftness of thought; cp. Od. 3. 25. 3.

14. **scabiem et contagia**, as the Comm. Cruq. says = 'scabiem contagiosam'; **lucri** goes with the two subst. together. Cicero uses 'scabies' of the easily excited desire of pleasure, Legg. 1. 17. 47. 'Among so many itching palms.'

15. **nil parvum sapias.** It is difficult to find an exact parallel for this use. Is it 'act the "sapiens," philosophize, on lofty themes,' a coloured synonym for 'cogites' with reference to the uses of φρονεῖν, ἐπινοεῖν, etc.? Or can it mean 'have no mean tastes?' There are uses that come near this. Cp. A. P. 212 'Indoctus quid enim saperet!' and Cicero's play on the word 'cui cor sapiat, ei non sapiat palatum' Fin. 2. 8. 24. For 'nil parvum' cp. Od. 2. 25. 17.

**adhuc**: 'as you did in old days.' Cp. Od. 1. 29, introd. and vv. 13, 14.

**sublimia cures**: not without reference to the phrase used seriously as well as in jest of Greek physical philosophers, τὰ μετέωρα φροντίζειν. See Riddell on Plat. Apol. 18 B. With the physical problems which follow cp. Virg. G. 2. 475 foll., Prop. 3. 5. 25 foll.

16. **quae mare compescant causae.** Virg. l. c. v. 479 'qua vi maria alta tumescant Obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant.'

**temperet**: Od. 1. 12. 15.

17. **sponte sua iussaene.** A poetical statement (resembling that in Od. 1. 34) of the question at issue between the Stoics and Epicureans, as to the presence or absence of Divine Will as a factor in the universe.

**vagentur et errent**: this combination is common in Cicero in the sense of 'wandering at large'; cp. de Or. 1. 48. 209 'ne vagari et errare cogatur oratio,' Acad. Prior. 2. 20. 66 'eo fit ut eorum et vagar latius,' and in the same connection as this (of the planets) de Rep. 1. 14. 22 'stellarum quae errantes et quasi vagae nominarentur.'

18. **obscurum**, predicatively with

Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors,
Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.
Verum seu pisces seu porrum et caepe trucidas
Utere Pompeio Grospho, et si quid petet ultro
Defer; nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
Vilis amicorum est annona bonis ubi quid dĕest.
Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res:
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis

**premat** 'hides in darkness.' It is probably of the monthly changes of the moon (Prop. l. c. v. 27 'unde coactis Cornibus in plenam menstrua luna redit') rather than of eclipses.

19. **quid velit et possit**, 'the purpose and effects.'

**concordia discors**, 'harmony in discord.' The reference is to the two *κινήσεως ἀρχαί, νεῖκος καὶ φιλία,* to which Empedocles (Arist. Metaphys. 1. 4) traced the origin of things. Cp. Cic. de Am. 7. 24 'quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam' with Dr. Reid's notes. For the oxymoron cp. 'strenua inertia' in the last Epistle. The phrase recurs in later writers as Ov. Met. 1. 433 'discors concordia foetibus apta est.'

20. **Empedocles**, of Agrigentum, A. P. 465. He wrote a long poem in hexameters on Nature, fragments of which remain. Lucretius speaks of it with enthusiasm (1. 717 foll.) and looked on it as his model.

**Stertinium acumen.** For the adjectival use of the gentile name, 'Stertinium' = 'Stertinianum,' cp. 'Sulpiciis horreis' Od. 4. 12. 18. It is an extension of the practice in prose, which is limited (acc. to Madv. § 189), when the name is used of an individual, to public and official relations and undertakings, 'leges Iuliae,' 'via Appia' and the like. Cp. the similar liberty taken with tribal names, 'Marsus aper' and individual names 'Romula gens' see on Od. 1. 15. 10. For Stertinius see introd. to Sat. 2. 3. Like the 'sapientum octavus' of that Satire (v. 296) this treatment of him as the representative of Stoicism is in jest.

**deliret**: Epp. 1. 2. 14. This strong word is used prob. in reference to the charges of madness flung about so freely by Stoic teachers on which that Satire turns, 'or whether it is the philosopher who calls us all crazed who is crazed himself.'

21. The tone of banter begun in the last line is continued in this.

**verum**, *σὺ δ' οὖν*, 'to turn to the practical matter.' 'Whatever be your position in philosophy or the principles which you draw from it for your table (referring back to vv. 7, 8), whether it allows you as a Stoic to eat fish, or, as a true Pythagorean, makes you feel it almost murder to eat a vegetable . . .'

**pisces.** It is doubtful whether fish are named as a luxury (this was perhaps the Scholiast's understanding of it; 'seu laute sive parce vivis') or as specially forbidden to Pythagoreans; Athenaeus, p. 161 *οἱ πυθαγορίζοντες γὰρ ὡς ἀκούομεν | οὔτ' ὄψον ἐσθίουσιν, οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἓν | ἔμψυχον.*

**porrum et caepe trucidas**, imitated by Juv. S. 15. 9 'Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.' For Horace's jests on the vegetarianism of Pythagoreans see on Sat. 2. 6. 63.

22. **utere**, as in Epp. 1. 17. 2 and 14, sc. 'familiariter'; 'make a friend of.'

**Pompeio Grospho**: see introd. to Od. 2. 15.

**ultro**, 'readily,' as though you had thought of it first.

23. **verum**: Epp. 1. 7. 98, as Schütz suggests, perhaps here as a touch of philosophical jargon, the word that Iccius himself might be supposed to use.

24. 'Friends are cheap in the market when good men are lacking something,' i. e. to do a service (as you may now do) to a good man is an easy way of gaining a friend. It is a rendering of Socrates' saying (Xen. Mem. 2. 10. 4) *οἱ μέντοι ἀγαθοὶ οἰκονόμοι, ὅταν τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον μικροῦ ἐξῇ πρίασθαι τότε φασὶ δεῖν ὠνεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι.*

Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.

26. For the first defeat of the Cantabri by Agrippa see Dion C. 54. 11, Introd. to Odes B. I–III. 1. § 6; cp. Od. 14. 41. For the question of the date here implied, as between B. C. 20 and 19, see Introd. to the Epistles, p. 208.

**Claudi Neronis**, sc. Tiberius: Epp. 1. 3. 2 n. For the event referred to see introd. to that Epistle.

27. **ius imperiumque accepit**, 'has submitted to Caesar's imperial rule.' With the phrase cp. 'dat iura' Virg. G. 4. 562, 'in ius ac ditionem recipere' Liv. 21. 61, 'in ditionem imperiumque concedere' id. 29. 29, 'imperia accipere' id. 25. 9.

28. **genibus minor**: lit. 'humbled in respect of his knees,' humbled to the point of kneeling, 'genibus supplex positis' Ov. Met. 3. 240. Orelli, Düntzer and Dillr. prefer to take 'genibus' with 'Caesaris,' making the phrase = 'submissus ad genua Caesaris.' The event thus described is the restoration by the Parthians of the standards of Charrae, which was another incident of Tiberius' progress into Armenia, Suet. Tib. 9. 'The line of Horace Epp. 1. 12. 28 alludes to coins struck at this period in which we see the figure of a trousered Parthian presenting the Emperor with a standard or in some cases a bow' Merivale, vol. iv. p. 173. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 56, Od. 4. 15. 6, and Tacitus' words Ann. 2. 1 'Phraates cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat' with Furneaux's note.

**aurea**. Cp. Od. 4. 2. 40. A good harvest is the occasion of the poetical suggestion of a return of the golden age of peace and plenty. Cp. Od. 4. 15. 5, C. S. 60.

29. **defundit**: the reading of 'omn. Bland.' as against 'defudit.' The present seems to date the letter in harvest time.

**Copia cornu**: Od. 1. 17. 16, C. S. 60.

# EPISTLE XIII.

## TO VINIUS ASINA.

THIS professes to be a letter addressed to one Vinius Asina who is conveying some poems of Horace to the Emperor: the letter is supposed to be sent after the messenger to reiterate instructions already given as to the care and tact to be observed in discharging his commission.

It seems obvious that it is an 'Epistle' in form only: being analogous in this respect to Epp. 1. 20, for it is intended primarily for Augustus, to whom it offers a jesting apology for any untimeliness in the poet's presentation of his poems. It is a dramatic rendering of the caution in approaching Caesar which he recognizes as necessary in Sat. 2. 1. 18–20, and of the apologetic tone with which he addresses the Emperor directly in Epp. 2. 1. 1–4. Much of the point and of the imagery of the Epistle lies in the play on the family name of the messenger, a play in which the Romans delighted, and which seems not to have been necessarily offensive to those who bore the name.

For further questions as to personality of Vinius, the nature of the 'carmina' of v. 17, and of the circumstances imagined, see the additional note at the end of the Epistle.

The Epistle should be compared with the poem (5. 6) in which Martial begs Parthenius to introduce his book unobtrusively to Domitian's notice.

1–5. 'Let me repeat the orders I gave you on starting. You are to give Augustus my poems at the right moment, not bore him with them.

6–9. Refuse the commission at once rather than discharge it so as to recall your family name of Asina.

10–15. An ass's strength by all means in overcoming the difficulties of the errand; but once arrived you have still to watch your opportunity for presenting the book, and for that you want grace and tact.

16–19. Don't tell any one your errand. Now away with you, and have a care of stumbling.'

UT proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,
Si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
Ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis

2. **reddes**: a usual word of delivering a letter, a message, etc. Cp. Od. 1. 3. 7. The fut. for the imperative, Madv. § 384, obs.

**signata**, i.e. without breaking the seal; they are for Augustus' eye alone.

3. **si validus, si laetus.** Cp. the dangers described in Epp. 2. 1. 220 'cum tibi librum Sollicito damus aut fesso.' Augustus had the habits and fancies of a valetudinarian: Suet. Aug. 80–83, Merivale, 4. p. 358 note.

**si poscet**: cp. Mart. l. c. v. 16 foll. 'Nec porrexeris ista, sed teneto Sic tanquam nihil offeras agasque. Si novi dominum novem sororum Ultro purpureum petet libellum.'

4. **ne pecces**: the negative purpose of the restrictive conditions; 'then and then only, lest,' etc.

Sedulus importes opera vehemente minister.
Si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
Abicito potius quam quo perferre iuberis
Clitellas ferus impingas, Asinaeque paternum
Cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas.
Victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
Sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
Fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum,
Ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrrhia lanae,

5. **sedulus**: so 'sedulitas' Epp. 2. 1. 260. 'Opera vehemente' and 'sedulus minister' = 'sedulo ministerio,' are to be taken in close conjunction. They add, under different grammatical forms, two descriptions of the manner in which the verb **importes** operates; 'excessive zeal' and 'officious service.'

6. **uret**: Epp. 1. 10. 43.

7. **abicito**, 'fling it away on the road rather than dash it down in ill-temper at your journey's end,' i. e. throw up your commission at once rather than discharge it unwillingly and awkwardly.

8. **Asinae**: see introd. and additional note. The ass with Horace is always the type of clownishness and ill-temper, Sat. 1. 1. 90, 1. 9. 20; Epp. 1. 20. 15, 2. 1. 199.

9. **fabula fias**; 'fabula quanta fui' Epod. 11. 8.

10. **viribus uteris**. 'There is a place for energy; namely, on the way; when you come into the presence what is needed is grace and tact.' The figure is still that of the ass.

**lamas**, 'pools,' 'sloughs.' 'Lacunas maiores continentes aquam caelestem: Ennius: Silvarum saltus latebras lamasque lutosas' Acr. The word is noticed by Festus s. v. 'lacuna,' but is otherwise unknown in Latin.

11. **victor propositi**, 'when you have won your purpose.' Cp. 'voti compos' A. P. 76, and the Greek use of ἐγκρατής with gen.

**illuc**, 'to your journey's end.' It is vaguely designated, as in v. 7 'quo perferre iuberis.'

12. **sic ne**: A. P. 151, 152.

**positum**, usually taken, as by Orelli, closely with **servabis**, as though it were 'sic pones et servabis,' as beginning the description of the way in which the books are to be held in the Emperor's presence. If this were so it is hard to see why the word 'onus' should be used, and changed immediately to 'fasciculum librorum.' Is it not better to look on 'sic positum servabis onus' as the words in which, addressing Vinius in his proper person, he resumes, and passes from, the preceding image, which then wholly vanishes? We must not have any suspicion of an ass carrying a parcel 'sub ala.' 'Sic' goes with 'servabis': 'positum' is 'laid aside.' 'When you have landed your burden your task is not done, you will then keep charge of it, not in the awkward way in which a man holds a parcel when he doesn't quite know what to do with it.'

13–15. **ut . . . ut . . . ut**. These three illustrations (see on Epp. 1. 11. 11) are from familiar sights that have moved to laughter in real life or on the stage, but they seem to touch different grounds of awkwardness—as though what you carried was hard to hold; as though you were ashamed of it, trying uselessly to hide it; as though you were yourself a clown going into company above you.

14. **glomus**, 'a ball of wool'; see Lach. and Munro on Lucr. on 1. 360. The word occurs there with a long penultima. Bentley restored it to the text here as against 'glomos.'

**Pyrrhia**. According to the Scholiast she was a character in a play of Titinius. The form of the name is very possibly corrupt, as Lachmann (on Lucr. 6. 971) points out that it is not a proper female name either in Greek or Latin. The MSS. of Porph. have 'Purria,' and K. and H. quote from an inscription 'Purreius' as a Roman name.

Ut cum pilleolo soleas conviva tribulis.
Ne vulgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
Carmina, quae possint oculos auresque morari
Caesaris, oratus multa prece nitere porro.
Vade, vale, cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.

As Titinius is said to have written 'togatae,' a Roman name would be more suitable than a Greek one. Ribbeck conj. 'Proclia' (for 'Procilia').

15. **conviva tribulis**, i. e. one going to be entertained as a tribesman, not as an equal, but as a humbler member of the tribe whom the rich man patronizes. He is to be seen going to the great house, not in a litter, nor even with a slave, but carrying himself his felt cap for his return at night, and the slippers (see on Sat. 2. 8. 77) which he will put on when he enters the house and takes off his sandals.

16. **ne narres.** There is some question as to the constr. It is perhaps best (with Schütz) to make 'ne' dependent on 'oratus.' 'Push steadily on your journey, remembering my earnest request (cp. 'rogata' in Epp. 1. 8. 2) that you will not tell all the world,' etc. Others (as Orelli, Dillr.) make 'ne narres' a separate imperative (see on Sat. 2. 5. 17) and explain 'oratus' 'though pressed [by people to tell them].'

17. **morari** : A. P. 321.

19. **cave** : see on Sat. 2. 3. 38.

**titubes . . . frangas.** There seems to be a return to something of the figure of v. 9 foll., and there is a jest on the brittle goods which were entrusted to Vinius. 'Push on, nor stop for questions. Now goodbye. But pray don't trip and smash the poetry.' Conington.

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## Additional Note.

We may suppose that Horace has given us as much light on the circumstances of the poem as was sufficient in his judgment for its proper appreciation. If we would push further, several points are uncertain :

(1) The person of the messenger. Horace calls him Vinius (or 'Vinnius'; the MSS. of Horace are in favour of the latter; the MSS. of Tacitus and inscriptions in favour of the former as the Roman gentile name) and speaks of 'Asina' as his father's 'cognomen.' The Pseudo-Acron and Comm. Cruq. call him 'C. ('Caninius' some MSS. give) Vinnius Fronto'; Porph. 'Vinnius Asella.' The heading of the Epistle in the MSS. is more often 'ad Vinnium Asellam' (or 'Asellum') than 'Asinam.'

Both 'Asina' and 'Asellus' were well-known 'cognomina'; the former in the family of the Scipiones (see the story in Macrob. Sat. 1. 6. 28), the latter in the Annia and the Claudia gens. The jest on the name was a time-honoured one, for Cicero (de Or. 2. 64. 258) quotes it as having been made by Scipio Africanus Min. against Ti. Claudius Asellus. There is nothing else to connect the cognomen either of Asina or Asellus with the gens Vinia, of which the first member who became famous is the T. Vinius of Tac. Hist. 1 passim.

What relation are we to imagine Vinius as holding to Horace or to the Emperor? The notion that he was a 'tabellarius' or slave courier is excluded by v. 8, which

implies that he had a 'pater' and was therefore 'ingenuus.' Others have thought of him as one of Horace's neighbours, employed by him to carry his parcel from his country house to Rome. Is the Emperor however to be supposed to be in Rome? If so, it has been suggested that the Sosii (Epp. 1. 20. 2) who would have prepared the copy, would be the more natural agents in its delivery; also that the imagery of a journey 'per clivos, flumina, lamas,' even if it be in part at least metaphorical, seems less appropriate to such a short and well-beaten road as that from Tibur to Rome. If the Emperor was abroad, as we know him to have been from B.C. 22 to 19, Vinius may have been anyone in Rome who was going to Sicily, Samos, or some other place where the Court at the moment was.

(2) The nature of the 'carmina' of v. 17. What was Horace sending or professing to send? The usual answer has been, *the first three books of the Odes*; and there is much probability to be alleged for it, in respect of the importance of the occasion supposed, of Horace's usual employment of the term 'carmina' when applied to his own writings*, of the plural 'libellis' v. 4 (contrast 'libello' of the first book of Satires, Sat. 1. 10. 92), 'fasciculum librorum' v. 13, and *generally* of the date to which the Epistle is then referred. If, however, any more particular date is sought, difficulties arise. The Odes, we have every reason to believe, were given to the world in B.C. 23. Augustus did not leave Rome for Sicily and the East before the middle of B.C. 22. Are we to imagine, then, that Horace's Odes were unknown to him for some months after their publication? or are we to look upon this as a formal presentation of a book which the poet already knew to be approved of? Must we fall back on the theory of a mission from the Sabine villa to Rome? or should we remember how fragmentary is our knowledge of the Emperor's movements, whether in Italy or outside of it?

* 'Carmina' is Horace's word for his Odes when contrasted with the 'Iambi' and 'Sermones,' Epp. 2. 2. 59; cp. Epp. 2. 1. 250, 258. At the same time 'carmen' is used (Sat. 1. 10. 66 and 75, 2. 1. 63) of Lucilius' Satires, and therefore might presumably be used of Horace's own. Its use in Sat. 2. 6. 22 is part of the mock-heroic language adopted for the moment.

# EPISTLE XIV.

## TO HIS 'VILICUS.'

THE Epistle professes to be addressed to his 'vilicus' or slave-bailiff, whom he had promoted from his town household to the charge of his country house and farm with its eight slaves (Sat. 2. 7. 118), but who hankers still after city life.

Under cover of a comparison between his own tastes and the bailiff's, he justifies his love of country life (cp. Sat. 2. 6, Epp. 1. 16, etc.), and preaches his habitual sermon against restlessness and the desire of change.

Verses 1–5. Bailiff of the farm which I love and you despise, let us see whether my moralizing is as good as your farming.

6–10. I am longing to get into the country, as much as you to get away from it to town.

11, 12. That on the face of it is folly on both sides.

14–17. There is however this difference, that you change continually, always disliking what you have. My preference is constant.

18–30. The fact is our tastes are different. What you think unredeemed barrenness, I think beauty. You complain that you miss all the pleasures of the city, and yet have constant work.

31. What is the dividing line between us?

32–39. It is true that I also loved and became town life, but times have changed, and I have recognized this. The true inconsistency would have been not to do so. In the country I am free from envy and ill-will, so busy at my fieldwork that my neighbours are amused.

40–42. You are seeking to go back to a lot which a city drudge is sharp enough to see to be much worse than your present one.

43, 44. Ox would wear horse's trappings, horse do ox's work. My advice is, let each keep to that which he understands.

VILICE silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
Quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et

1. **Vilice.** The duties of a 'vilicus' are described in Cato, de R. R. 5. 1; a slave whose heart was in town pleasures would not have satisfied them: 'Ne sit ambulator, sobrius siet semper, ad cenam ne quo eat, familiam exerceat, consideret quae dominus imperaverit fiant. Ne plus censeat sapere se quam dominum,' etc. Columella 1. 8. 1 warns a landowner against selecting one whose accomplishments and tastes are of the city.

**silvarum**: Od. 3. 16. 29, Sat. 2. 6. 3.

**mihi me reddentis**, 'which makes me feel myself again' Con. Cp. 'vivo et regno,' etc., Epp. 1. 10. 8, 'Me quotiens reficit . . . Digentia' Epp. 1. 18. 104.

**agelli**: a favourite word with Horace, sometimes in a depreciatory sense (as Sat. 1. 6. 71). Here it carries the double feeling—at once the 'snug domain' (cp. Sat. 2. 6. 9) as it is to the poet, and the 'poor little farm' as the bailiff contemptuously calls it.

2. **habitatum quinque focis.** The Scholiasts all treat 'habitatum' as a proper past participle (' aliquando' Acr., 'olim' Porph.) and explain it as de-

Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
Certemus spinas animone ego fortius an tu
Evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius an res.
Me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur
Fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
Insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
Fert et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.

scribing the occupation of Horace's domain before it came into his hands—'though it has been the dwelling-place of five households,' etc. They explain 'patres' in the next line by 'senatores,' meaning probably 'decuriones' or members of the municipal council of Varia. This view is espoused fully by Dill[r]. Ritter and Obbar follow it in respect of the time of 'habitatum.' On the other hand Orelli takes 'habitatum' as a quasi-present part. ('though it is the dwelling-place'), explaining 'patres' by 'patres-familiarum,' and supposing them to have been 'fortes mercede coloni' (Sat. 2. 2. 115), free tenants working parts of Horace's estate and sharing the produce with him or paying rent. The eight slaves of Sat. 2. 6. 118 must then have been occupied with what we might call the 'home farm.' The strongest arguments in favour of Orelli's view is the omission of the temporal adverb which the Scholiasts supply, and which seems needed for clearness. Against it may be said (1) that it makes the estate 'habitatum quinque focis,' something different from the estate otherwise spoken of, for which the 'vilicus' is responsible: 'agelli quem fastidis habitatum' becomes 'the little farm which you despise, though [part of] it is the dwelling-place of five households.' (2) That there is more appriateness in Horace's telling the 'vilicus' a piece of the earlier history of the land now in his occupation, than a fact which was as well known to one as to the other.

3. **Variam**: hod. Vico Varo, in the valley of the Anio, where the Licenza joins it. If the 'patres' are 'heads of households,' not 'decuriones,' they may be supposed to visit Varia as their market town.

4. **certemus**. Notice that the challenge gives a playful air to the Epistle —also that it implies a compliment to the bailiff's energy in farming. Surely Orelli misreads it in thinking that the suggestion is that he is lazy in weeding.

**spinas**: for the metaphor cp. Epp. 2. 2. 212, also Sat. 1. 3. 35. For the position of **ne** cp. Epp. 2. 2. 65.

5. **melior**, 'in better condition.'

**res**, 'his property.' There are to be two comparisons, between the energy of their respective work and its success.

6. For Lamia see introd. to Odes 1. 26 and 3. 17. There is nothing to prove or disprove their identity.

**moratur**, 'keeps me awhile in town.' The feeling of this reference to Lamia's sorrow and Horace's sympathy, though it would be rather incongruous in a letter actually intended for the 'vilicus,' is natural and appropriate if we look on the Epistle as intended rather for the eyes of the poet's friends *.

8. **istuc**, 'to where you are,' sc. to the country; so 'istic' in v. 37.

**mens animusque**: the accumulation seems to mean 'every impulse of my soul.' Cp. the frequent phrase 'animus fert;' and so 'mens tulit' Stat. Theb. 4. 753; cp. 'mens' = inclination, Epp. 1. 1. 4.

9. **amat**: see on Od. 2. 3. 15.

**spatiis obstantia claustra**, 'the doors that bar its course'; 'claustra' = 'carceres'; see Sat. 1. 1. 114.

* Dr. Verrall, in his 'Studies in Horace,' has an ingenious chapter in which he argues that the Lamia of this Epistle and the two Odes is none other than the 'vilicus' himself, the name being here substituted for the personal pronoun, as 'Horatius' for 'ego' in the preceding line. It follows that 'moratur' and 'istuc fert' must mean 'hinders me from' and 'drives me to' the discussion to follow. This is in itself an objection to the view. The words are singularly unlike Horace's usual ironical way of entering upon a philosophical lecture. There is also the same difficulty which weighs against the reading 'Pulliae' in Od. 3. 4. 10, the unlikelihood of such a personal detail in the poet's life having escaped notice in early times. It also makes the 'vilicus' a much more important person in the Epistle than on our theory he is.

Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.
Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique:
In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.
Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
Nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas;
Me constare mihi scis, et discedere tristem
Quandocunque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
Non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter
Meque et te: nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua
Credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit
Quae tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi et uncta popina
Incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
Angulus iste feret piper et thus ocius uva,
Nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
Quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius

11. **nimirum**, 'of course.' 'The philosophical account of the matter is perfectly clear. We are both "stulti"; the fault does not lie in the place.' Horace puts himself on a level with the bailiff, but proceeds immediately to point out the difference between them.

13. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 19.

**animus**: cp. v. 4. This is one of the 'spinae.'

14. **mediastinus**, 'a common drudge.' The Scholiasts made it a hybrid word, as though from 'medius' and ἄστυ ('astu' is found in Terence, etc.) in order to find in it the idea of 'in the city' which the place seemed to require —but the word does not convey this in itself. In Lucilius 15. 30 it is used of a 'vilicus.' Here the contrast with 'vilicus' and the nature of the two wishes give the necessary sense.

**tacita**, 'which you did not dare utter.'

16. See note on Epp. 1. 8. 12.

17. **invisa negotia**: cp. the picture in Sat. 2. 6. 20–59.

18. **non eadem miramur**, 'we have different ideals.' See the use of 'mirari' in Epp. 1. 6.

**disconvenit**: Epp. 1. 1. 99. It is here impersonal.

19. **inhospita tesqua**. A quotation from Lucilius (2. 31); 'tesqua' is interpreted by Porph. 'loca aspera et silvestria,' by Acr. 'loca deserta ac difficilia,' and said by the latter to have been a Sabine word.

20. **amoena vocat**: 'Hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae,' of his farm, Epp. 1. 16. 15.

21. **uncta**. It is doubtful whether this means 'greasy,' as in Sat. 2. 4. 78 ('manus') and 2. 2. 68 ('aqua')—or 'savoury,' as in Epp. 1. 15. 44, A. P. 422.

22. **incutiunt**, 'cause you a thrill' of desire. It is used generally of terror and other painful emotions; see on Sat. 2. 1. 39.

**video**: parenthetically, 'I understand,' 'I read your motives'; so Sat. 1. 9. 15, 2. 2. 35.

**et quod**, 'and the fact that'; adding further subjects to 'incutiunt.'

23. **angulus iste**. The words seem to be an imagined quotation of what the 'vilicus' himself has said: and either 'angulus' is used here in a depreciatory sense (contrast Od. 2. 6. 14), 'this out-of-the-way place,' or else it is an answer supposed to have been given to Horace, 'the corner you speak of—some sunny corner which had been pointed out as fit to try vines in—will grow pepper and spices as soon as the grape.'

24. **taberna**, the farm lay too far off a high road.

Ad strepitum salias terrae gravis: et tamen urges
Iampridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque
Disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus exples;
Addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
Multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.
Nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat audi.
Quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
Quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
Quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
Cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba.
Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
Limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat;

26. **terrae**: the dative after **gravis**.

**et tamen**. These words are best taken as a continuation of the supposed complaints of the bailiff. He has none of the pleasures often found even in the country, 'and yet' he has plenty of work. This view gives more meaning to 'iampridem non tacta'; we need not look too carefully for justificatory reasons—it is part of his grumbling—'the ground seems as if it had not been dug for years.' Note also, possibly, with Schütz that a slight verbal play is carried on from 'terrae gravis' to 'urges arva': you can't make the ground feel in one way (cp. the feeling of the rustic taking out his revenge in Od. 3. 18. 15 'Gaudet invisam pepulisse terram Ter pede fossor'), but you have to make it feel, at your own cost in another. The verses have also been taken (by Conington) as though Horace were commenting on his tasks (ironically) as a set-off to his dulness, 'and yet time need not hang heavy on your hands.' This does not lead as well to the change in v. 31.

28. **disiunctum**. The bailiff's labours do not even cease when the ox is unyoked; cp. the feeling of Od. 3. 6. 38–44.

**strictis frondibus**: Virg. E. 9. 60 'agricolae stringunt frondes'; cp. Epp. 1. 16. 9, 10.

29. **pigro**, 'if you feel lazy.' The rain which brings a holiday from other farming work (Virg. G. 1. 259, cp. Sat. 2. 2. 119) brings you fresh toils. The verse shows that Horace had some meadow land reaching down to the 'Digentia.' For the metaphor of **docendus** cp. A. P. 68.

31. **nunc age**: a Lucretian formula of transition; see on Epp. 2. 1. 214. This fresh start suits very well with the view that we have been listening since v. 19 to the bailiff's views.

**concentum dividat**, prevents our singing the same tune.

32. **tenues**: contrast 'toga quamvis crassa' Sat. 1. 3. 15.

**nitidi capilli**: Od. 2. 7. 7.

33. **immunem**, 'though empty-handed'; Od. 4. 12. 23, and see on Od. 3. 23. 17.

**Cinarae**: Epp. 1. 7. 28 n. The contrast between the epithets in these two passages and Od. 4. 1. 4 possibly imply that she died in the interval; see App. 1. to vol. 1 'On the unknown names in the Odes.'

34. **liquidi**, 'well cleared'; Od. 1. 11. 6, Sat. 2. 4. 55.

**media de luce**: see on Sat. 2. 8. 3.

35. **cena brevis**: cp. 'mensae brevis' A. P. 198.

36. **lusisse**: for the sense of 'ludere' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 56, 142, 214. The statement is general; the shame is not in having played, but in not putting a limit to the play. For 'incidere' cp. Virg. E. 9. 14 'novas incidere lites.'

37. **istic**: as 'istuc' in v. 8.

38. **limat**, lit. 'files down.' Cp. the somewhat similar metaphor of 'deterere' Od. 1. 6. 12. Lachmann (on Lucret. 3. 11) suggested that there is a play on 'limi oculi' (see Sat. 2. 5. 73), 'sidelong glances.'

Rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem.
Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis:
Horum tu in numerum voto ruis; invidet usum
Lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.
Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus;
Quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.

**morsu**: Od. 4. 3. 16 'dente minus mordeor invido.'

**venenat**, the 'tooth' of envy 'poisons' what it nibbles; so 'atro dente' Epod. 6. 15.

39. **rident**, 'smile at.' The emphasis is not on their laughter but on the energy in his new occupations which is measured by it. 'I dig and gather stones till my neighbours are quite amused.' The essence is 'I am thoroughly contented with the change of life.'

40. As Porph. says 'Tu vero' must be supplied. Its absence is compensated for by the 'tu' of the next line. Cp. the omission of 'ego' in Epp. 1. 17. 21.

**urbana diaria**: the measured rations of city slaves (cp. Sat. 1. 5. 68) are compared with the free use of field and garden produce which the bailiff enjoys.

**rodere**, of tough morsels.

41. **horum**: emphatic, as was 'cum servis.' 'This is the company into whose number your prayers bear you amain.'

**voto**: cp. 'prece' in v. 14.

42. **calo argutus**. For 'calo' see on Sat 1. 6. 103. For 'argutus' on Sat. 1. 10. 40.

43. One of Horace's fables compressed into a sentence.

**piger** is best taken (as Bentl.) with **caballus**. There is no point in making the motive the same in both cases. Human restlessness has many. If laziness were at the bottom of the ox's desire of change the 'trappings' would hardly be the point named in the horse's condition as that which attracts him.

44. Horace is thinking of the Greek proverb *ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην* (Arist. Vesp. 1431) or of Cicero's rendering of it, Tusc. D. 1. 18. 41 'bene illo Graecorum proverbio praecipitur: quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat.'

**libens**: pred. 'ply his own trade and be happy withal.'

**censebo**, 'if ox and horse refer the matter to my arbitration I shall answer them with the proverb.'

# EPISTLE XV.

## TO VALA.

THIS is one of the Epistles which carry on their face more of the occasion and purpose of a true letter. Horace writes to Vala as one well acquainted with the coast in that part of Italy to ask about Velia and Salernum as winter resorts; explaining by the way why he is not going as usual to Baiae: 'It is not my fault, but that of Antonius Musa, who has put me on the cold water treatment: yet, no doubt, I am looked upon at Baiae as a traitor and renegade.' The questions which he asks (with this interpolated explanation in vv. 2-13) last until v. 25. The remainder of the Epistle is occupied with an ironical apology for the inconsistency between these particular enquiries as to the luxuries to be had at the southern watering-places and the tone of contented Stoicism with which his friends at this time were familiar. 'You see after all I am like Maenius, a philosopher when I must be so, a bon-vivant when I can' (vv. 26–46). This turn of the Epistle has been prepared for by the parenthesis (vv. 16–21), in which he explains that he asks about the water rather than the wine of the country, not that he means to drink water, but because, although at home at his farm he can drink anything, at the seaside he wants something better than 'vin du pays.'

Missing the connection of thought, some of the best MSS. divide the Epistle, beginning a new one at v. 26 (see introd. to Ode I. 7).

Of the Vala of this Epistle, called Numonius Vala in the heading given in several MSS., we know nothing certainly. The name of Q. Numonius Vala has been found in an inscription* at Paestum—half-way, that is, between Salernum and Velia. We gather from the Epistle that he was well acquainted with both places, and from v. 46, probably, that he had a handsome country house in the neighbourhood. One Numonius Vala met an inglorious death in the German campaign of A.D. 9 under Varus, but there is nothing to identify the two.

We may note in the Epistle the recurrence to the topic of his own inconsistency, especially in respect of his love of simplicity and pretensions to philosophy. He is conscious that such charges are made against him, and he meets them sometimes with denial, sometimes with playful and half-ironical confessions. We must not be misled by these, or suppose that he really attributes to himself the same motives as to Maenius. His true answer is little more than 'there is a time for everything.' In the last Epistle he preached that inconsistency was sometimes the truest consistency.

QUAE sit hiems Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,
Quorum hominum regio et qualis via, (nam mihi Baias

1. **hiems**: for Horace's practice of spending the autumn at his farm and going to the sea for the winter see Epp. I. 7. 10. Probably Epp. I. 10. 15 implies that this was not invariable.

**Veliae**, the Greek Ἐλέα, on the coast some twenty-five miles south of Paestum, as Salernum (now Salerno) is some twenty-five miles north of it. The latter was within the borders of Campania, the former was in Lucania (see v. 21).

2. **qualis via**, 'what the road is like'; a question always of interest in Horace.

* Corpus Inscr., vol. x. no. 481.

Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
Per medium frigus. Sane murteta relinqui,
Dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
Sulphura contemni, vicus gemit, invidus aegris,
Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.
Mutandus locus est et deversoria nota
Praeteragendus equus. 'Quo tendis? Non mihi Cumas
Est iter aut Baias,' laeva stomachosus habena

**nam** introduces a long parenthesis, the indirect questions being resumed at v. 14. There is a similar parenthesis introduced by 'nam' in vv. 16–21.

3. **Musa Antonius.** The freedman-physician who cured Augustus in B.C. 23 of an illness by the cold water treatment, Suet. Aug. 59 and 81, Dion C. 53. 30. This proves nothing as to the date of Horace's adopting a like treatment, but it suits well with the date which is otherwise assigned to the Epistles of this book. For the order of the two names see on Od. 2. 2. 3.

**supervacuas.** Baiae was resorted to for its sulphur vapour baths. Horace being put on cold water would find no use in it beyond other watering places.

**et tamen,** 'and yet,' i. e. though it is the doctor's fiat, not my fancy, and though I am told that their specialty is of no use for my case. The passage well hits off the way that the whole population of a health-resort, officials and visitors alike, espouse its cause as a point of personal honour, and look on any one who undervalues its treatment or goes elsewhere as guilty of a grave delinquency.

5. **sane,** 'really.' The word which the champions of Baiae would use in beginning their indignant outburst; cp. its use in Epp. 1. 7. 61, A. P. 418.

**murteta.** Celsus 2. 17 describes the treatment; the myrtle woods are the locality: 'naturalium sudationum ubi a terra profusus vapor aedificio includitur, sicut super Baias in murtetis.'

6. **nervis elidere.** 'Elidere' seems to have been a technical medical word, for the 'dislodgement' of a malady, Cels. 2. 15. The malady seems to be rheumatism.

9. **Clusinis,** of, or near, Clusium in Etruria. There is no other allusion to them nor any trace of medicinal springs there. It has been thought that the reference is to some baths twelve miles south of Clusium, at a place now called S. Casciano di Bagni.

**Gabiosque**: see on Epp. 1. 11. 7, with the quotation from Juv. S. 10. 100 'Balneolum Gabiis.' We learn from this place that it was a place of cold bathing. It is to be noted that Horace does not say nor even imply that he went himself to Clusium or Gabii. They are named as specimens of the rival establishments whose names stunk in the nostrils of the votaries of Baiae. He had 'frigida rura' in his Sabine hills, and cold water which he pronounces medicinal for head and stomach; see Epp. 1. 16. 14.

10. **mutandus locus est,** pursues the explanation which was broken off in v. 5 to picture the annoyance of the people of Baiae. The result of Musa's advice is that I must change my destination, not take as usual the turning to Baiae, but continue the road toward Salernum.

**deversoria nota**: 'the inns he (i. e. the horse) knows,' acc. after 'praeteragendus.' They are the inns on the road between Baiae and the place where the Appian Way was left; the horse associates the turning with the baiting-places to which it led.

11. **quo tendis?** part of the impatient rider's address to the horse who from old habit is turning off to the right.

Dicet eques; sed equi frenato est auris in ore).
Maior utrum populum frumenti copia pascat;
Collectosne bibant imbres puteosne perennes
Iugis aquae; (nam vina nihil moror illius orae;
Rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique;
Ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro,
Quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
In venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret,
Quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae).
Tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros,
Utra magis pisces et echinos aequora celent,
Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti,
Scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par est.
Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
Fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi,

13. **sed equi**, 'but it is the tug of the rein, not the words, that the horse understands.' 'Equis' which Bentley (followed by Munro and Wilkins) adopts against the best MSS., makes this a general statement, and so loses point.

14. Horace begins his catechism with necessaries, bread and water, and passes on to luxuries. Note that bread and water were the two things about which he was most particular in his picture of the journey to Brundisium, Sat. 1. 5. 7 and 88–91.

**frumenti copia** will imply cheapness and choice.

15. **perennes**, wells fed by springs, opposed to the intermittent supply of tanks of rainwater.

16. **iugis.** V had 'dulcis,' as have a few other MSS. But we want an epithet which will point the contrast with 'collectos imbres,' as 'dulcis' does not. Keller suggests that the reading was due to a reminiscence of Virg. G. 2. 243.

**nihil moror.** 'I do not stop to ask about'; with obj. acc. as here Epp. 2. 1. 264, with obj. clause Sat. 1. 4. 13. He does not trouble to ask the relative value of the native wines of the district; none had any name. His practice at the sea is to bring or buy better wines.

17. **quidvis**: more general and so more forcible than 'quodvis,' sc. 'vinum.'

**perferre patique**: perhaps the strength of the expression implies that it requires some philosophy even in Sabine air.

18. Perhaps this seaside regime is implied in the 'sibi parcet' of Epp. 1. 7. 11. Note the contrast between his mode of life, Epp. 1. 7. 12 'contractus leget,' and Epp. 1. 14. 39 'glebas et saxa moventem.'

With the description of what he looks for from the more generous wine cp. Epp. 1. 5. 16 foll.

20. **venas**: see note on Od. 2. 2. 14.

21. **Lucanae**: so he is thinking chiefly of Velia; see on v. 1.

**iuvenem**, predicative; 'make me young and give me grace in the eyes,' etc.

22. **apros**: cp. 'Lucanus aper' Sat. 2. 8. 7.

23. **echinos**: Sat. 2. 4. 33.

24. **Phaeax.** One of the 'Alcinoi iuventus' of Epp. 1. 2. 28. It is this apparent recantation of so much of his philosophy which leads directly to the ironical apology of the remainder of the Epistle. As the Scholiast puts it, 'quia de se ut luxurioso locutus erat subicit de Maenio fabulam.'

25. **accredere**, 'to give full credence to.'

26. **Maenius**: Sat. 1. 3. 21.

27. **fortiter**, 'gallantly,' 'with spirit'; said ironically.

**urbanus**: Catull. 22. 2 'dicax et urbanus,' 'a wit.'

Scurra vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret,
Impransus non qui civem dinosceret hoste,
Quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,
Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
Quicquid quaesierat ventri donabat avaro.
Hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil
Aut paulum abstulerat, patinas cenabat omasi
Vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset;
Scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
Diceret urendos, correctus Bestius. Idem

28. 'A parasite at large, not one to keep to one crib, not one when he wanted a dinner to distinguish between countryman and foeman.' For the order of **non qui** cp. Sat. 1. 5. 33.

**praesepe**: the metaphor is an old one of a parasite, Plaut. Curc. 2. 1. 13, as though he were an animal looking only for a belly full.

29. **impransus**: Sat. 2. 2. 7, 2. 3. 257.

**civem hoste**: not to be taken in too literal a sense; all distinctions were obliterated, even that which to a Roman would last longest.

**dinosceret**, with abl., as Epp. 2. 2. 44.

30. **fingere saevus**: App. 2. to vol. 1.

31. He swept the market clean like a hurricane, swallowed its contents like a bottomless pit. The accumulated figures are abundantly illustrated from the comic poets, as Plaut. Capt. 4. 3. 3 'Quanta pernis pestis veniet, quanta labes larido,' Alexis apud Athen. 8. 21 *ἐκνεφίας καταιγίσας . . . | εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὔψον πριάμενος οἴχεται | φέρων ἅπαν τὸ ληφθέν.* Plaut. Curc. 1. 2. 28 'Age effunde haec cito in barathrum.'

32. **donabat.** Of the two readings offered by the MSS., this and 'donarat,' this, which is the reading of the majority, is the most pleasing; but it is quite possible that Bentley was right in thinking that 'donarat' of the Bland. MSS. was a mistake for 'donaret,' and that this was the original reading: the sentence is then continuous, 'donaret' being in the same constr. as 'teneret,' 'dinosceret' after 'qui,' and the apodosis beginning with v. 33, the subject being repeated in 'hic' because of the length of the protasis.

33. 'Those who encouraged his wicked wit, or feared it.' It is not necessary to this sense that **timidis** should be taken as partly governing the gen. as Dill[r]., quoting A. P. 28 'timidus procellae.'

34. **paulum abstulerat**, 'had got little spoil.'

**patinas**, 'plate after plate.'

**omasi**: Sat. 2. 5. 40.

35. **agninae.** Lamb is seldom spoken of as an article of food, never, it seems, as a delicacy. In the passage quoted by the edd. from Plaut. Capt. 4. 2. 38 Ergastulus is speaking of the frauds of the market, of selling stale fish for fresh, etc., and he charges the butchers with selling the meat of an old ram as though it were young wether mutton, and so (apparently) of passing off lamb at twice its proper price as mutton, 'dupla agninam danunt.'

**vilis** seems to go with both substantives.

36. **scilicet ut.** For the force of 'scilicet' before the consecutive 'ut,' calling attention to the length to which his change of tone was carried, see on Epp. 1. 9. 3.

**lamna candente.** For 'lamna' see on Od. 2. 2. 2. Red-hot plates of metal are mentioned frequently as instruments of torture, as Lucr. 3. 1017, Cic. in Verr. 5. 16. 163 'ardentes laminae, ceterique cruciatus.'

**nepotum**, i. e. of those who wasted money on gluttony.

37. **correctus Bestius.** The explanation of the words, whether we keep to the text of the MSS. which only give the choice of 'correctus' or 'correptus,' or accept the emendation of Lambinus, 'corrector,' must equally be a matter of conjecture: for the clue to the reference to Bestius is lost. Very possibly he was

Quicquid erat nactus praedae maioris ubi omne
Verterat in fumum et cinerem, 'Non hercule miror,'
Aiebat, 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso
Nil melius turdo, nil volva pulchrius ampla.'
Nimirum hic ego sum; nam tuta et parvula laudo
Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis;
Verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
Vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

a character in Lucilius. If we keep 'correctus' it may mean either 'like a reformed Bestius,' Bestius being supposed to be a glutton or spendthrift who changed his tone, or 'a very Bestius now that he is reformed,' Bestius being as Acr. suggested a man of stern frugality. If we accept 'corrector' it will mean 'a very Bestius in his zeal for reform'; but we have still to supply from our imagination, what there is no evidence of, that Bestius was a preacher of good morals in actual life or in some Satire or play. Bentley shows that 'corrector' was a common term, and was used both with a gen. as in Epp. 2. 1. 129, and absol. as in Ter. Adelph. 4. 7. 24, but we cannot say that 'correctus' or 'correptus' (cp. Sat. 2. 3. 257 of just such a reformed character 'correptus voce magistri') is impossible. Persius' use of the name (6. 37 'Bestius urguet Doctores Graios') apparently for a general censor would suit the reading 'corrector' very well, but the language which is likened to that of Bestius is censorious enough to explain the reference without his being actually called 'corrector.'

38. **quicquid**: here equivalent to 'si quid.'

39. **in fumum**: the words must be metaphorical; 'any plunder he got was treated as the plunder of a captured city.' Nothing was kept, everything devastated; cp. the metaphor of v. 31. Such metaphors are not very clearly realized, and there may be a half conscious suggestion of the kitchen altar on which his gains were consumed.

40. **comedunt**, 'put down their throats.' Cic. has the word with the same mixture of literal and metaphorical meaning, 'utrum ego tibi patrimonium eripui, Gelli, an tu comedisti?' pro Sest. 52. 111.

**obeso turdo.** A fieldfare is the titbit to be sent to the rich man by the legacy-hunter, Sat. 2. 5. 10. Cp. the 'macros turdos' of Sat. 1. 5. 72.

41. **volva**, sc. 'suilla.' Juv. S. 11. 81 'calidae sapiat quid volva popinae.'

**melius . . . pulchrius**: words which in his short-lived reformation he learnt to use of moral excellencies: for 'pulcher' in that sense see Epp. 1. 2. 3 and 30.

42. **nimirum**: the particle emphasizes the explanation of this long parable, but, as often, it has in it a suggestion of irony.

**hic**, 'the man so pictured'; see Epp. 1. 6. 40.

**tuta et parvula**: cp. Od. 2. 10. 6 and the context, and the spirit of Od. 2. 18; 3. 16; Sat. 2. 2. The question (as Orelli points out) is widened beyond the matter of eating and drinking. Horace is giving a playful account of his alternation of Epicureanism and Stoicism.

43. **fortis**: in the sense of Sat. 2. 2. 115 and 135, 136.

44. **melius et unctius.** The table recurs, but here rather as a figure. Cp. 'impransi mecum disquirite' with the context Sat. 2. 2. 7. For 'unctius' see on Ep. 1. 14. 21, and cp. Epp. 1. 17. 12.

45. 'That you are the only philosophers, and alone have the secret of life.'

**bene vivere**: cp. Epp. 1. 6. 56, 1. 11. 29.

46. **fundata.** A metaphorical use, but with a half literal sense given to it by its conjunction with 'villis,' 'with a solid foundation in trim country houses.' It seems clear that there is an implied contrast between the smartness of Vala's country house in south Italy and the roughness of the poet's own humble quarters in the Sabine valley.

# EPISTLE XVI.

## TO QUINTIUS.

Verses 1-16. You ask about the produce of my farm, but seem hardly to understand its nature. It is in the heart of the hills, but for such a situation it has all possible advantages—a sunny aspect, good climate, surprising richness of woodland fruit, and foliage, fresh water.

It is to me a paradise of beauty and safety even in September.

17-24. And now of yourself. I hope you too have found the secret of life. We are all congratulating you on your good fortune—and rightly; provided you are taking your measure of your happiness not from our words, but from your own feelings and from philosophy.

True happiness belongs only to the wise and good. Are you that?

25-31. If the world tells you so, do not believe it at once, any more than you would if it told you that you were a second Augustus.

31-40. No doubt all feel pleasure in being called good and wise.

But we must remember that those who give titles can take them away. Are we to feel pain when they destroy our character? Such pleasure and such pain are alike proofs that we are not yet good and wise.

40. For what, to go back, do you mean by a 'good man'?

41-43. The stock answer is 'the man of respectability, who breaks no law, whose word is a bond, whose testimony is trusted.'

44, 45. Nay, that is outside only. He may be a villain underneath.

46-49. Negatives do not constitute goodness, even in a slave.

The truly good man is good from love of virtue.

50-56. True goodness implies motive as well as act. The pretender to goodness is often kept straight by fear of punishment.

57 62. But his true desire is not to be good but to seem good, in order that he may the better gratify his love of gain.

63-68. There is the true motive, and that makes the man who feels it a slave.

69-72. You may make a useful shepherd of him, or ploughman, or trader, but not a philosopher.

73-79. The truly wise and good man is like Dionysus in the play. He fears no one, wants nothing, can never lose his liberty, for he has in his own hands the key of liberty.

It is characteristic of Horace's irony that an Epistle in which, more than in most, he assumes the tone of a Stoic and mounts the professor's pulpit, follows one in which he has described himself as a second Maenius.

Who Quintius was, and to what extent he was meant to take home the lecture, we cannot tell. It may be the 'Quintius Hirpinus,' to whom Horace addresses counsels in a very different vein in Od. 2. 11. It is to be said however that the total ignorance which is presumed in him of the poet's country house does not point to a friend of long standing, and that the tone of v. 17 foll, if it does not require, certainly suits well with, a friend young in years towards whom congratulations on some early success may not unbecomingly be followed up, by an elder, with some good advice. We need not imitate some editors in drawing out in

detail defects of Quintius' character to suit the turns of the poet's lecture. Its personal bearing is probably satisfied with 'we are all calling you happy, only remember what the Stoics tell us happiness really means.' We have seen in Epp. 1. 1 that Horace passes from a personal address to professorial argument with an imagined interlocutor without indicating the point of transition (see note on vv. 41-43 of this Epistle). It is to be noticed that in the present Epistle he touches in succession on many current Stoic doctrines, and with sympathy, not putting in front, as is usual with him, their paradoxical form. See notes on vv. 33, 55, 65, 79.

The connection between the description of the Sabine farm and the discussion on standards of happiness and goodness which follows is not strongly marked. We are meant probably to feel something of the easy inconsequence of a letter, the early part finding its immediate explanation in some questions that Quintius may be supposed to have asked. The point of actual connection is made in v. 17 by 'Tu recte vivis?' which implies that the sum of the picture given in the preceding lines has been 'ego recte vivo.' The retirement and simple pleasures in which he paints himself as finding health and contentment are a fitting introduction to the remainder of the letter in which he is to argue that happiness cannot be separated from goodness, and that they both are to be sought within us, not without us.

NE perconteris fundus meus, optime Quinti,
Arvo pascat herum an bacis opulentet olivae,
Pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
Continui montes, ni dissocientur opaca

1. **Ne perconteris**, 'to forestall your asking.' See on Epp. 1. 1. 13, Od. 1. 33. 1. 'Perconteris' means 'ask particularly,' 'repeatedly'; the tone is as though Quintius has asked.

2. **opulentet**, a word not found elsewhere. It is equivalent to 'bacarum copia donet' rather than 'bacis divitem reddat'; so that although 'pascat' is specially suitable to corn-growing land we are not to think of a climax, as though oliveyards were spoken of as making rich, while cornland only finds a maintenance for its owner. 'Opulentet,' or some verb more colourless still, understood for it, has to do duty with the ablatives of the following line. It is to be noticed (with Wilkins) that the alternatives are not mutually exclusive. Where vines were grown as now in Italy on trees corn would be sown between them.

3. **an pratis**. The MSS. are divided between 'an' and 'et,' which Orelli gives. The sense is rather for 'an.' There is no reason that a farm should not be divided between orchard and meadow; but the two are not so near akin as would be implied by coupling them in the question.

**amicta vitibus ulmo**: the process described by the more poetical metaphor of the marriage of vine and elm in Od. 2. 15. 4, 4. 5. 30; Epod. 2. 9. Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 84.

4. **forma** seems to have been a technical word (Varro, R. R. 1. 6) for the character of an estate, the general lie of the ground, whether arable, pasture-land, woodland, etc.

**loquaciter**, i. e. with all an owner's fond garrulity. Obbar compares Pliny's words of his Tusculan estate (Epp. 5. 6) 'accipe temperiem caeli, regionis situm, villae amoenitatem, quae et tibi auditu et mihi relatu iucunda erunt.'

5. **continui montes, ni dissocientur**. With 'continui montes' we understand 'sunt' rather than 'sint.' It is one of the cases that come under Madv. § 348 b. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 108 'ultro si taceas laudant.' 'Imagine a mass of hills unbroken, were it not parted by a valley.'

**opaca**, 'shaded,' probably by trees, as in Od. 3. 4. 51, for the following line excludes the idea that the sides of the valley shut the sun out.

Valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
Laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benigni
Corna vepres et pruna ferant? si quercus et ilex
Multa fruge pecus multa dominum iuvet umbra?
Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae,
Incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.

6. **sed ut**, etc.: a qualification not of 'opaca,' which is not an epithet which would seem to convey blame and need explaining away, but of the whole somewhat unpromising description. It is a valley buried among the hills, *but* one so favourably placed as to catch the earliest and the latest sunshine. As the valley runs from N. to S. it is clear that if it was in the sunshine in the morning and evening *a fortiori* would it be so during the day. This consideration has been lost sight of by many commentators.

**dextrum . . . laevum**: the right and left as you look down the valley. Keller accepts, on the authority of few MSS., the reading in v. 5 'si' instead of 'ni.' This would alter the framework of the sentence. 'Continui montes si dissocientur opaca valle' then becomes the protasis, 'temperiem laudes' the apodosis. The result is an awkwardly balanced and un-Horatian sentence. And, though Keller dissents, the Scholiasts' notes show them all to have read 'ni.'

7. **curru fugiente.** Cp. Od. 3. 6. 44.

**vaporet** either merely 'warms,' a sense it has in Columella 2. 15. 6 'glebae solibus aestivis vaporatae,' or of the flickering mist caused by heat. In either case cp. the use of 'vapor' in Epod. 3. 15.

8. **temperiem**: the tempering of the air, high and yet warm. Cp. 'Utrumque rege temperante caelitum' Epod. 16. 56.

**si ferant.** 'Supposing they were to bear,' i.e. supposing you were to find that they do bear.

11. **dicas**: not the direct apodosis to 'si ferant,' for that is contained in 'quid.' 'Why, you would say that the rich vegetation of S. Italy had been brought to our doors.'

12. **fons**: Od. 3. 16. 29, Sat. 2. 6. 2. On the question whether this is the 'Fons Bandusiae' see introd. to Od. 3. 13.

**dare nomen idoneus**: for the inf. see App. 2. vol. I. 'Idoneus dare' does not necessarily imply that it did give its name to a river. If that were the case it must have been named 'Digentia.' In any case it was a confluent. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 104 'gelidus Digentia rivus.'

**ut**, in such a way that (i.e. with the additional qualification) that it is as cool and as pure as the Hebrus. For the use cp. A. P. 3.

13. **ambiat**: not quite properly used of a river which does not flow round but through. It is meant to describe a winding course. The Hebrus ('hiemis sodalis' Od. 1. 25. 11, 'nivali compede vinctus' Epp. 1. 3. 3), the river of the Bacchants (Od. 3. 25. 10), of Orpheus (Virg. G. 4. 524), is idealized here, and the comparison gives to the Sabine farm the associations of a poetic dreamland.

14. **capiti . . . alvo**: cp. Epp. 1. 15. 8 'Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent.' He is speaking of cold 'douches.'

15. **dulces . . . amoenae**, 'attractive to me,' 'lovely in themselves.' 'Amoenus' is used by Horace of 'Baiae' Epp. 1. 1. 83, of 'Surrentum' Epp. 1. 17. 52, in the mouths of admirers of those places, of the airs and streams of Elysium Od. 3. 4. 7, of places idealized by poetic fancy A. P. 17, or by affection as Epp. 1. 14. 20 and here.

16. **tibi.** Notice how the touch of

Tu recte vivis si curas esse quod audis.
Iactamus iampridem omnis te Roma beatum;
Sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
Neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum,
Neu si te populus sanum recteque valentem
Dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
Dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
Si quis bella tibi terra pugnata marique
Dicat et his verbis vacuas permulceat aures,

feeling in this 'ethical dative' softens the transition to the question of Quintius' own life. It is not so much 'This is how I live; how do you?' as though Horace held up his own example broadly to Quintius, as rather 'So I live, and so, what I know you care for very much, my health and happiness are secured. What of your own?'

**Septembribus horis**: the unhealthy season; Sat. 2. 6. 19, Epp. 1. 7. 5.

17. **recte vivis**: a phrase of Stoic import which gives the keynote of what follows. It includes the having found the true ideal and the following it, and it implies happiness, Epp. 1. 2. 41, 1. 6. 29, 1. 8. 4, 2. 2. 213.

**esse quod audis**, 'to be what you are said to be.' For the sense of 'audis' cp. Sat. 2. 6. 20, 2. 7. 101; Epp. 1. 7. 38. Horace is of course referring to the contrast of δοκεῖν and εἶναι, 'esse' and 'videri' or 'haberi,' which was a commonplace with philosophers (as Cic. Off. 2. 12. 43, Xen. Mem. 2. 6. 39), and in what follows he will make that his text, but at present his standing-point is what the world is actually saying of Quintius, 'we are calling you a happy man. This is indeed to fulfil the ideal of life, if you are taking care to be what we call you. But see that you do not only take our word for it, and remember that happiness presupposes wisdom and goodness.'

18. **iactamus**, 'have on our lips.'

**iampridem**: happiness is one step on the road to 'recte vivere,' and that step has been already taken.

20. **alium sapiente**: the abl. with 'alium,' as Epp. 2. 1. 240 'alius Lysippo,' and, if 'veris' be read there, Sat. 2. 3. 208.

21. **neu si populus**, etc., the third fear is put figuratively; 'or be taking the popular voice for your happiness against your own consciousness, which would be as absurd as to take it on the question whether you have a fever or not, and so go to a feast only to find the ague-shaking come on you in the middle of it.'

**sanum recteque valentem**: Epp. 1. 7. 3.

**si dictitet**: 'if they say it often enough.'

22. **occultam**: pred. with 'dissimules'; 'hide and pretend not to feel it.'

23. **unctis**, 'already in the dish.' This reminds us that the Romans ate with their fingers. Ov. A. A. 3. 755 'Carpe cibos digitis; est quidam gestus edendi: Ora nec immunda tota perunge manu.'

24. **stultorum**, the emphatic word, the opposite of 'sapiente' in v. 20. 'And that is not at all like a philosopher, to hide your sores instead of getting them cured.'

**pudor malus**: cp. 'pudens prave' A. P. 88; 'false shame,' i.e. shame which mistakes its object.

25–31. 'You would detect the falseness at once if people used language of you in military and political matters which would be applicable only to an Augustus; why not when in moral ones they use language which is applicable only to the ideal sage?'

25. **tibi**: it is doubted whether the dat. is to be taken with **pugnata** or with **dicat**. Either is possible and makes good sense, the former is perhaps best.

26. **vacuas**: at leisure, when you attend to him. Lucr. 1. 45 'vacuas aures . . . adhibe.'

'Tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu,
Servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi
Iuppiter,' Augusti laudes agnoscere possis:
Cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,
Respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? 'Nempe
Vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'
Qui dedit hoc hodie cras, si volet, auferet, ut si
Detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem.
'Pone, meum est:' inquit. Pono tristisque recedo.
Idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,

27. The Scholiasts tell us that this is a quotation from the 'Panegyricus in Caesarem Augustum' of the poet Varius; see on Od. 1. 6. 1. It will be noticed how skilfully Horace introduces by the way, in a letter which is to be published, a compliment to Augustus.

30. **pateris sapiens vocari**; for constr. see on Epp. 1. 5. 15.

**sapiens emendatusque**: 'the flawless wise man'; the 'que' is due only to the Latin usage, which does not generally allow adjectives to be accumulated without a copulative conjunction. Madv. § 300, obs. 5.

31. **respondesne tuo nomine.** 'When you allow yourself to be called so, do you virtually claim the title?' This must be the sense. The phrase is possibly suggested from the 'respondere ad nomina' of a Roman levy (Liv. 3. 41, etc.). If so, the technical phrase is slightly varied according to Horace's wont (see on Od. 2. 4. 24, etc.). But 'respondere vocatus' is a recognized phrase, with no such special references (see Cic. de Or. 3. 49. 191) and 'tuo nomine,' 'on your account,' 'as though the name belonged to you,' may be an addition modelled on such phrases as 'mihi tuo nomine gratulabantur' Cic. Phil. 1. 12. 30. This is one of the instances sometimes alleged of 'ne' for 'nonne'; i. e. where the answer expected is 'yes'; but see on Epp. 1. 17. 38. There is here, as there, an ironical effect in the more indefinite form of interrogation. For 'sodes' see Sat. 1. 9. 41, Epp. 1. 1. 62.

**nempe**, a supposed reply, assenting, but putting the statement in a way that explains and justifies it, and with a touch of irony.

32. **vir bonus et prudens** seems a synonym for the 'vir bonus et sapiens' of v. 73; cp. Epp. 1. 7. 22 with A. P. 445.

**dici delector**: to be added to the instances of the extended use of the complementary infinitive in Append. 2 to vol. 1.

**ego ac tu**, 'I as well as you.' We are all alike in this respect.

33. **qui**, sc. 'populus.' This is Horace's rejoinder. 'Those who give can take away.' He has perhaps in view the paradox in which the Stoic clothed his assertion of the inalienable dignity of virtue, 'the wise man is always king,' and the Roman version which he so often gives to it, 'the wise man holds an office not bestowed or taken away "arbitrio popularis aurae"'; see on Od. 3. 2. 17, 4. 9. 39. Orelli is also doubtless right in suggesting that Horace has in mind Lucr. 3. 995 'Sisyphus in vita quoque nobis ante oculos est, Qui petere a populo fasces saevasque secures Imbibit et semper victus tristisque recedit.'

34. **detrahet**: a comparison of Od. 3. 2. 17 shows that we need not ask with some editors whether Horace is referring to that rarely exercised power of 'abrogatio imperii.' He is speaking popularly, and 'detrahet' is sufficiently explained of his being rejected for the next office sought or even of not being elected at all. Cp. Epp. 1. 6. 53 'eripietque curule Cui volet importunus ebur.'

35. **pone, meum est**: 'pone' = 'depone.' Bentley pointed out that the object is not 'fasces,' which would raise difficulties as to 'meum,' but the same as 'hoc' of v. 33, viz. the name of 'good and wise.'

36. 'If it was to go further, and not only refuse a good name but give a bad

Contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum;
Mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
Falsus honor iuvat et mendax infamia terret
Quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? Vir bonus est quis?
'Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
Quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites,
Quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.'
Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota

one.' 'Idem' is best taken of the same subject as before, viz. 'populus.' Bentley put a slightly different turn on the sentence by changing the question at the end of v. 38 to a fullstop and making 'idem' = 'ego.'

**clamet**: 'should raise the hue and cry.' 'Me esse' has to be understood with **furem**.

37. 'To strangle your father' is with Horace a proverb for crime of the deepest dye, Od. 2. 13. 5, Epod. 3. 1.

38. **colores**. Bentl. explains of going red and then white, and compares Prop. 1. 15. 39 'multos pallere colores,' 'to turn white of different shades.' Some MSS. have 'colorem,' which Schütz adopts.

40. **mendosum**: with definite reference back to 'emendatus' in v. 30.

**medicandum**: 'in need of treatment.' For the metaphor cp. vv. 21–24, which are perhaps actually in view. Cp. also Epp. 1. 8. 7–10. A false reading 'mendacem,' corrected by Bentl., had crept into some good MSS., and was given by the earlier edd.

**vir bonus est quis**? The argument takes a fresh start. Dependence on the world's praise has been deprecated on the ground that if you accept its praise you must accept its blame—the one may be as false as the other. He now attacks it on another ground. 'It is based on appearance only. What do they mean by a "vir bonus"? The answer only covers outward respectability. The man whom the world calls "bonus" may be known in his home and even in his neighbourhood as a rogue.'

41–43. This, like vv. 31, 32, is the answer of the person whom Horace is addressing. On the face of the Epistle this is Quintius, but the personal reference to himself has passed away, and though the second person is still used it indicates only an imaginary interlocutor. For Horace's practice in the matter see the note on Epp. 1. 1. 28.

'Bonus' was used in many conventional senses, as e. g. by Cicero for 'men of our side,' 'sound politicians,' and lent itself easily to ironical applications. Cp. Cic. Att. 9. 12. 3 'Praetores ius dicunt, aediles ludos parant, viri boni usuras perscribunt.' Horace is not throwing any doubt on the reality of goodness, but pointing out the limited senses in which the term is popularly used.

We may compare on the whole Cic. de Off. 3. 19. 77 for the story of Fimbria's refusal to arbitrate on the question whether M. Lutatius Spinther was a 'vir bonus' on the ground that this turned on matters beyond observation.

41. The whole line means one who keeps within the four corners of law in all its forms and aspects. 'Patrum consulta' is variation of the technical 'senatus consulta.' For **leges iuraque** see on Sat. 1. 1. 9.

42. **quo iudice secantur**, i. e. such a person as, whether by the agreement of the two parties or by appointment of the 'praetor,' will be set to decide grave civil suits. 'Secantur' is a popular or a poetical, not a technical term, Sat. 1. 10. 15.

43. Money is safe when he is the security, a cause when he is the witness. There is some zeugma in the use of **tenentur**, which is an habitual phrase for winning a cause, as Cic. pro Caec. 24. 67 'Scaevolam dixisti causam apud centumviros non tenuisse.'

The reading **quo res sponsore** rests solely on V as quoted by Cruquius, all extant MSS. having 'responsore.' It has been accepted by all recent editors except Ritter. K. and H. give it, but, in accordance with their depreciating view of V, prefer to consider it a conjectural emendation of Cruquius.

44. **vicinia**: Sat. 2. 5. 106, Epp. 1. 17. 62.

Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.
'Nec furtum feci nec fugi,' si mihi dicat
Servus, 'Habes pretium, loris non ureris,' aio.
'Non hominem occidi.' 'Non pasces in cruce corvos.'
'Sum bonus et frugi.' Renuit negitatque Sabellus:
Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque
Suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
Sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.
Nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum,
Damnum est non facinus mihi pacto lenius isto.
Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,
Quandocunque deos vel porco vel bove placat,
Iane pater! clare, clare cum dixit, Apollo!

45. **speciosum pelle decora**: see on Sat. 2. 1. 64, where many of the words recur.

46–49. 'Freedom from some gross faults is not moral perfection.'

46. **dicat**. The great majority of MSS. have the subj., Regin. nearly alone the ind., which Bentl. and Munro follow. It is however impossible to clear away these irregular hypothetical correspondences from Horace. Cp. Od. 3. 3. 7 'illabatur . . . ferient.' Epp. 2. 1. 108 'si taceas, laudant.' 'Aio,' 'my answer is,' is substituted for 'my answer would be.' See Madv. § 348. b.

47. **ureris**: cp. 'peruste funibus' Epod. 4. 3.

49. **frugi**: 'the proper virtue of a slave'; Sat. 2. 7. 3.

**negitatque**: rightly restored to the text by Bentl. from V. It is really the reading of the best MSS., though many have 'negat atque.' The frequentative has its proper force, 'shakes his head and says no! no! no!'

**Sabellus**, 'one of us Sabines,' i. e. 'a farmer of the plain, hard-headed sort.'

50, 51. 'Such a man is only like beasts and birds of prey and greedy fishes, checked not by conscience but by fear of unseen snares.' Notice that, in Horace's manner (see on Od. 4. 9. 29 f.), the words necessary to the full idea, 'cautus,' 'suspectos,' 'opertum,' are distributed between the clauses.

51. **miluus**: a trisyll. See on Epod. 16. 32.

53. **tu**: see above on vv. 41–43.

**admittes in te**. 'Ea in te admisisti quae,' etc. Cic. Phil. 2. 19. 47.

54. **miscebis sacra profanis**, i. e. 'you will know no distinction of right and wrong.' Cp. A. P. 396, where it is said to have been the work of wisdom 'secernere sacra profanis.'

55. **nam** justifies not what has been said but the implied thought, 'and what good is such limitation of your wrong-doing? Wickedness is a matter of quality not quantity.' Horace is falling into the language with which a Stoic would support the paradox ('that all offences are equal') in which he expressed this truth. Whether he has the paradox actually in view is doubtful. The figure used is suggested by the dialogue with a slave in vv. 46–49.

**fabae**: the sing. as a collective noun: so in Ennius, Ann. 545 'perque fabam repunt.'

57. **vir bonus**, etc. This 'good man' of vv. 41–43, the ideal of respectability to all who see him offering surety at the bankers or giving evidence before the praetor's chair.

58. **placat**: see on Od. 1. 36. 2.

**vel porco vel bove**: 'whether with a smaller or a larger offering.'

59. Compare with this passage the imitation in Persius S. 2. 8. For **Iane pater** cp. Sat. 2. 6. 20.

Labra movet metuens audiri: 'Pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri,
Noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem.'
Qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus,
In triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
Non video; nam qui cupiet metuet quoque; porro,
Qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit unquam.
Perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui
Semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
Vendere cum possis captivum occidere noli;
Serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque,
Naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis;
Annonae prosit; portet frumenta penusque.
Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere: 'Pentheu,

60. **Laverna**: the goddess of thieves and impostors.

61. **iusto sanctoque videri**, restored to the text by Bentley for 'iustum sanctumque,' found in many MSS. V had the dative. For the constr. cp. Sat. I. I. 19, Madv. § 393.

63 foll. The connection is through the motive suggested for the secret wrong-doing in vv. 60-62, 'Laverna,' 'fraudibus.' 'This man a "vir bonus"! why he is a slave to the vulgarest of desires and fears.'

64. Imitated by Persius 5. 111 'Inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum.' The Scholiast there explains that it was a trick of Roman boys to fasten a coin to the pavement in order to see who would stoop to pick it up. If this is doubted we must take **fixum** in the sense of 'sticking,' i. e. in the mud, which is more possible with 'in luto' than with 'in triviis.'

65. **qui cupiet metuet quoque.** Cp. Epp. I. 6. 9. foll.; also Epp. I. 2. 51, 2. 2. 156. We are handling here commonplaces of Stoic teaching.

66. **mihi**, 'in my judgment.'

67. **perdidit arma.** He is a *ῥίψασπις*.

**locum virtutis deseruit.** The gen. gives the matter of the allegory. He was a soldier in virtue's army; but not (as the true 'vir bonus') a good soldier, but one who deserted his post. 'Locum' as Virgil's 'loca iussa tenere' Aen. 10. 238. Orelli quotes Dem. Olynth. 3. § 36 *παραχωρεῖν . . . τῆς τάξεως . . . τῆς ἀρετῆς*.

68. **obruitur**: a Ciceronian figure 'obruimur ambitione et foro' de Or. I. 21. 94, 'obrui tanquam fluctu in magnitudine negotii' ad Qu. Fr. I. I. 3. For **in re augenda** cp. Epp. I. 7. 71.

69-73. Horace, following up the figure of the runaway soldier, apostrophizes his imagined captor. 'He is a born slave — keep him—set him to shepherd or to plough, or do your bidding on the sea.' In plain language, 'of such stuff are made not "viri boni" or philosophers, but those who pursue the menial and money-making professions.' The 'mercator,' as usual, is the type of eager pursuit of wealth; see especially Od. 3. 24. 40 n. and Epp. I. I. 45 foll. Note the philosophical contempt for industrial life.

70. **durus.** Cp. Epp. I. 7. 91. It answers in its own clause to 'mediis hiemet in undis' in the next—'the man will shrink from no toil.'

72. **annonae prosit**, 'help to cheapen corn' by taking part in its importation. It is a contemptuous allowance that the trader is of some benefit to the community.

**penus**: defined by Cic. de N. D. 2. 27. 68 'est enim omne quo vescuntur homines penus.' Horace's use of the word as a neuter is noticed by Priscian. Virgil makes it masc. in Aen. I. 703.

73. **vir bonus et sapiens.** We

Rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
Indignum coges?' 'Adimam bona.' 'Nempe pecus, rem,
Lectos, argentum: tollas licet.' 'In manicis et
Compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.'
'Ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.' Opinor
Hoc sentit, 'Moriar.' Mors ultima linea rerum est.

have at last the serious answer to the question of v. 40; but it grows out of a direct comparison with the picture last given of the pretender to goodness with his real heart in riches as a *slave*. 'The true "vir bonus" is the man independent of favour or disfavour—of wealth or poverty—able to command freedom even in a prison.' With the spirit of the description cp. Od. 3. 3. 1–8.

This is thrown into the form of a paraphrase of the dialogue between Dionysus and Pentheus in Euripides, Bacch. 492 foll.

ΔΙ. *εἴφ' ὅτι παθεῖν δεῖ· τί με τὸ δεινὸν ἐργάσει;*
ΠΕ. *πρῶτον μὲν ἁβρὸν βόστρυχον τεμῶ σέθεν.*
ΔΙ. *ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος· τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.*
ΠΕ. *ἔπειτα θύρσον τόνδε παράδος ἐκ χεροῖν.*
ΔΙ. *αὐτός μ' ἀφαιροῦ· τόνδε Διονύσου φορῶ.*
ΠΕ. *εἱρκταῖσί τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν.*
ΔΙ. *λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτὸς ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω, κ.τ.λ.*

The feeling of the god's replies is well kept in Horace's lines, but there is much freedom in the reproduction, especially in the substitution for the 'lock of hair' and the 'thyrsus' of the luxuries which the Roman man of wealth values, the closing of the dialogue with the answer of Dionysus, that he can have his release at will, and the turn which Horace gives to this answer (see note on v. 78). We notice here, as in Epp. 1. 2, how Horace read the Greek poets with the inclination to give allegorical and moral applications to their legends.

74. **rector Thebarum**: an addition to the Greek. The feeling is 'for all your greatness.' Cp. in Od. 3. 3. 3 (the passage cited as parallel in general sense to this) 'voltus instantis tyranni.'

For **perferre patique** cp. Epp. 1. 15. 17.

75. **nempe**, 'to wit,' 'I understand,' introducing an ironical completion of the interlocutor's sentence. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 207 'placavi sanguine divos.' 'Nempe tuo.'

76. **lectos**: couches of costly material and make. In Juvenal's time they were made of tortoise-shell (Juv. S. 11. 94) and precious metals.

**argentum**: Epp. 1. 16. 17, Sat. 1. 4. 28 n.

78. **opinor**. Cp. 'credo,' in an interpretation,' Sat. 2. 2. 90. Horace has stopped the dialogue at the place that suits him, and the interpretation which he puts on the words is also arbitrary, and one which could hardly suit the actual speeches. Dionysus' freedom is recovered in the play by his exercise of divine power.

79. **mors ultima linea rerum est.** Horace's comment (not Dionysus').

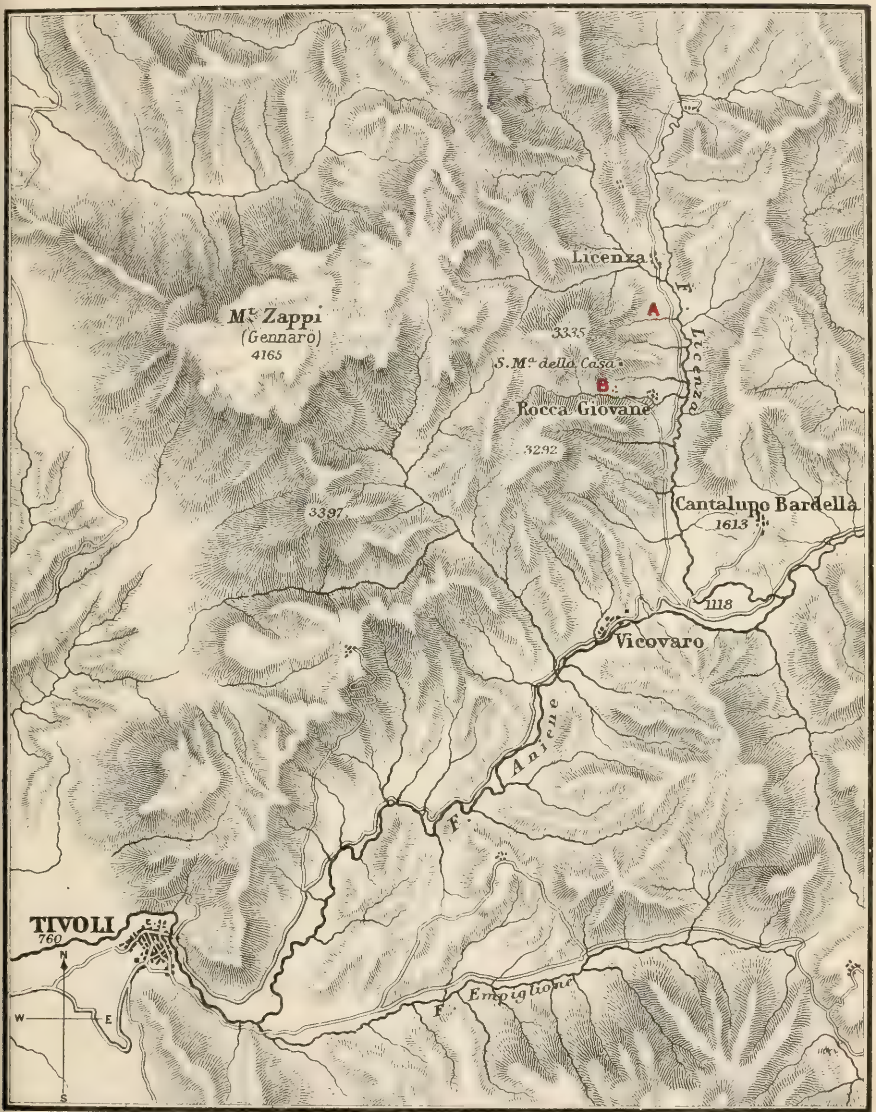
**linea**, probably from the figure of a racecourse, to which life is constantly compared. Cp. Cic. Tusc. D. 1. 18. 15 'nunc video calcem ad quam cum sit decursum nihil sit praeterea pertimescendum,' also the use of *γραμμὴ κακῶν* Eur. Fr. 174, *βίου* id. Electr. 945. Notice how the Stoic teaching as to suicide is here sanctioned.

# NOTE ON THE SITE OF HORACE'S 'VILLA[1].'

The 'Sabine valley' in which Horace's estate lay can be certainly identified, though the exact spot on which his house stood is still doubtful.

Seven miles above Tivoli in the Anio valley, on the road to Subiaco (i.e. on the ancient 'via Valeria,' a few miles before the point at which the 'via Sublacensis' diverged from it), stands the little town of Vico Varo, the Varia of Epp. I. 14. 3. Here there opens from the left a side valley, running directly from north to south. In this valley, near its junction with that of the Anio and beyond the stream, is seen at some height the village of Cantalupo-Bardella, or, as it is called in the Italian Staff Map, Mandela, for it has been conclusively identified with Horace's Mandela 'rugosus frigore pagus' (Epp. I. 18. 104). The valley is that of the Digentia (Epp. I. 18. 104), a name which survives in the form of Licenza, and is given both to a village which did not exist in Horace's day, or his 'vilicus' would have found the tavern life which he so much missed (Epp. I. 14. 24), and to the stream in its lower course: higher up it is known as the Maricella. At Vico Varo a road turns off up the Licenza valley, keeping at some height on the western side, and in three miles reaches the little village of Rocca Giovane. It was here that a few years ago an inscription was found recording the restoration by Vespasian of a temple of Victory. This is held with great probability to have been the 'fanum putre Vacunae' of Epp. I. 10. 49. Vespasian was of Sabine origin, having been born at Reate, and it is natural that he should have restored the temples of Sabine deities, and especially

[1] The chief references to the villa in Horace are Od. I. 17. 1–12, 3. I. 47, 3. 16. 25–37, (possibly 3. 13); Sat. 2. 6. 1–3; Epp. I. 10. 49, I. 14 passim, I. 16. 1–16, I. 18. 104–110. Recent discussions of the site will be found in a letter of G. Dennis in Milman's Horace, in the introduction to Didot's Horace (Paris, 1855) and in Burn's Rome and the Campagna, pp. 430, 431.




SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES.

0 1 2 3 4

Oxford University Press.

*The heights are given in English feet above Sea level.*

of one who, as we learn, was worshipped at Reate and who, as Acron tells us from Varro, was according to one view identified with the Roman 'Victoria.' Of the other names which we have in Horace 'Ustica cubans' (Od. 1. 17. 11) possibly still survives in the name La Rustica, said to be given to some part of the valley; but peasants are so willing to recognize names which travellers suggest that such discoveries are to be received with caution. Two names are given of hills or forests, 'Lucretilis' Od. 1. 17. 1, 'Haedilia' ibid. 9. The latter has left no discoverable trace. The former is possibly found in an altered form in the Liber Pontificalis, in a record of a donation by the Emperor Constantine to a church on the via Labicana, where an estate is described as 'possessio in territorio Sabinensi quae cognominatur "ad duas Casas" sub monte Lucretio.' The name 'ad duas Casas' is supposed to survive in the chapel of the Madonna della Casa on the hill side beyond Rocca Giovane. The Mons Lucretius or Lucretilis will be the high ground behind it, but it still may be either some minor point immediately at its back or the whole mass of hills between the valley and the Campagna, of which the highest point is called in some maps Gennaro, in others Monte Zappi. This point is 4165 English feet above the sea, and is visible to a great distance. The nearer tops are from 600 to 800 feet lower. When the valley was identified, about the middle of the 18th century[1], the site selected as that of Horace's villa was that marked A in the annexed plan. There are some remains of an ancient dwelling-house, 'a scattered fragment or two of columns of travertine or a small piece of mosaic,' and it is said that the floors of six chambers were uncovered, but covered again with the earth, as nothing of value was found[2]. All subsequent visitors and topographers took this for the site till the question was reopened (1855) by M. Noel des Vergers and Cavaliere Rosa, the Roman explorer, who examined the valley together and put forward the claims of a rival site (that marked B) just behind Rocca Giovane, where some terracing is noticed. Their arguments for this situation are (1) that it answers more exactly the description of 'post fanum putre Vacunae.' But any place higher up the valley than the temple might fairly be so described, especially as the purpose of the expression is pretty certainly not topographical, but humorous, being equivalent to 'in holiday land' (see note on Epp.

[1] The arguments for the valley and the special site are given in books printed at Rome by the abbé Domenico de Sanctis, 1761, and by the abbé Capmartin de Chaupy, 1769.

[2] Mr. Dennis' letter.

1. 10. 49); (2) that it is in close proximity to a spring of water which they held to be the Bandusian Fountain (see introd to Od. 3. 13) and the 'iugis aquae fons' of Sat. 2. 6. 2. The distance however is greater than the account recognizes. I visited the valley some years ago and walked from Rocca Giovane to the older site, passing the spring, and I could not satisfy myself that there was much difference between its distance from one site and the other.

# EPISTLE XVII.

## TO SCAEVA.

Verses 1–5. YOU do not need the advice of such a humble and inexperienced person as I am as to the way to live with the great, but take it for what it is worth.

6–12. If it be true that quiet and freedom are what you care for, the question will not arise—you will give up 'society' once and for all. There is something to be said for that course; but if you have hungry relations and like a good dinner yourself, it is natural to make up to the great. Nor is that wrong.

13–17. The Cynic gibes at the Cyrenaic; but the Cyrenaic has his answer.

17–32. Neither is wholly independent, but the view of Diogenes is the narrower and least practical of the two.

33–36. The great glories of life are for the chosen few. To win the favour of these chiefs of mankind is another grade of distinction, and it is not for every-one any more than the first.

37–42. Some are deterred from trying by fear of failure. But here, as elsewhere, it is not true virtue (i. e. manliness) to give up for want of trying. Only remember, when you have found your patron, two golden rules.

43–51. 1. Never ask; you will get more and rouse less envy.

52–62. 2. Never grumble; your real troubles will gain more credence if you have not bored people with trifling ones.

Porph. treats Epp. 17 and 18 as one continuous Epistle, and all the Scholiasts make Scaeva and Lollius the same person. Both are evidently mistakes, but they mean that the early critics perceived that the two Epistles were meant to be read in close connection with each other. They deal with one subject, the reverse of that treated in Epp. 1. 7. That spoke of the relation of a patron to his *protégé*—these of the relation of the *protégé* to his patron. When the two Epistles are taken together they deal pretty fully with the subject. We see the matter from the patron's side, the greed and pushing of one dependent, the servility of another, the clumsy attempts of a third to assert independence by being rude and disobliging. We see also the natural shrinking of many men from a questionable and difficult position. We read between the lines Horace's advice on the whole about it: 'Keep out of it if you can—bear yourself naturally and with selfrespect while you are in it. Remember the higher ends and pleasures of life, and be content (as I have been) to make your escape early into a modest competence.'

But there are great differences between the two Epistles. The spirit of Ep. 17 seems at least half satirical. The humility of the beginning from such a master in the art of pleasing the great (Ep. 1. 20. 29) is overdone for complete seriousness; the motives suggested in vv. 11, 12 are too broadly put, the tone of 'aut virtusn omen inane est' (v. 41) recalls too nearly the irony of Ep. 6; the two golden rules which end the Epistle, as though they contained the whole art of which v. 2 promised to speak, are too like an intentional bathos.

Scaeva is an unknown person. Is he a young man with whom Horace is on friendly terms and in whose particular case the apparent satire has a playful turn beyond our guessing? Or is he a shadow? Is it really a Satire under the form

of an Epistle? In any case the literary effect is dramatically to represent a class of aspirants, irresolute at first and half ashamed of being patronized, yet driven to it by greediness and the importunity of relatives, and in danger when they enter on it of turning out beggars and grumblers?

QUAMVIS, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis, et scis
Quo tandem pacto deceat maioribus uti,
Disce, docendus adhuc, quae censet amiculus, ut si
Caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen aspice si quid
Et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur.
Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
Delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
Si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo.
Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
Nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit.
Si prodesse tuis pauloque benignius ipsum
Te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.

2. **tandem.** The particle often used in direct questions to give emphasis is here kept in the indirect question. With Orelli and Düntzer we may take it to imply that the question is a difficult one.

**maioribus**—'the great'—those greater than yourself, as in Sat. 2. 1. 61. They are called 'potentes amici' in Epp. 1. 18. 44, 'potentiores' in Epod. 2. 8.

**uti**, sc. 'familiariter,' as in vv. 13, 14; see on Epp. 1. 12. 22.

3. **docendus adhuc,** 'who still needs plenty of schooling himself.'

**amiculus**: the diminutive of depreciation, 'a humble friend.' Possibly there is reference to 'maioribus,' a friend who is not one of the great, but as small as yourself. But it is all ironical; see introd.

4. **tamen**: in spite of these drawbacks to the value of his advice.

5. **et nos,** 'even such as I.'

**cures,** 'you may take the trouble.'

**fecisse**: for the perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 51, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 59.

6. **primam in horam.** For one who has a patron to please must be up before daybreak to call at his house: 'sollicitus ne Tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem Sideribus dubiis' Juv. S. 5. 20, 'si curet nocte togatus Currere' ib. 3. 127. Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 68 and 75, 2. 1. 104, and Martial 4. 8. 1 'Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora.' For the meaning of 'prima hora' see on Sat. 1. 5. 23.

7. **pulvis strepitusque rotarum.** Obbar well compares the Nux Elegia 89 (of the walnut planted in the country) 'Non hominum strepitus audit, non illa rotarum: Non a vicina pulverulenta via est.'

8. **caupona**: i.e. the noise of taverns in the streets of Rome.

**Ferentinum**: i.e. a quiet country town. Two places of the name are known, one on the Via Latina, forty-eight miles from Rome, in the country of the Hernici, which the Comm. Cruq. understands to be meant, the other in Etruria.

The gist of the line is 'If you are sincere in saying that the claims of society bore you, shake them off, but do it thoroughly, go quite into the country.'

10. **vixit male**: the opp. of 'bene vivere' Epp. 1. 6. 56.

**natus moriensque fefellit**, 'has been born and died unknown': an imitation of the use of λανθάνειν with the part. Cp. Od. 3. 16. 20. Plutarch quotes as an Epicurean precept λάθε βιώσας. Cp. Ov. Trist. 3. 4. 25 'bene qui latuit, bene vixit,' and the 'fallentis semita vitae' of the next Epistle, v. 103.

11. **benignius ipsum tractare**: cp. 'tractari mollius' Sat. 2. 2. 85.

12. **siccus ad unctum.** The Scholiast gives, no doubt, the sense, 'sc. pauper ad opulentum,' and generally the figure employed is clear; but it is doubtful

'Si pranderet olus patienter, regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus.' 'Si sciret regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus qui me notat.' Utrius horum
Verba probes et facta doce, vel iunior audi
Cur sit Aristippi potior sententia; namque
Mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
'Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu; rectius hoc et
Splendidius multo est. Equus ut me portet, alat rex,
Officium facio: tu poscis vilia, verum
Dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.'
Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,

whether 'unctum' is neut. as in A. P. 422, 'as a hungry man to a savoury dinner,' or masc., the epithet being transferred from the fare to the person who partakes of it. 'Siccus' is most easily explained by Sat. 2. 2. 14. It is possible, however, that it is more closely related to 'unctum,' meaning one who lives on dry food, Cicero's 'aridus victus' Rosc. Am. 27. 75; cp. *ξηροφαγεῖν*.

13–15. The saying of Diogenes and the reply of Aristippus were traditional. Diog. Laert. 1. 68 *παριόντα ποτε αὐτὸν* (*Ἀρίστιππον*) *λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκωψε καί φησιν, Εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεσθαι οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες. Ὁ δέ, καὶ σύ, εἶπεν, εἴπερ ᾔδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες.* For Aristippus see on Epp. 1. 1. 18.

13. **pranderet**, with accus., as in Sat. 2. 3. 245: so 'cenare' Epp. 2. 2. 168, Sat. 2. 8. 27, etc.

**uti**: see above on v. 2.

15. **qui me notat**, 'my censor.' For the metaph. use see on Sat. 1. 3. 24.

16. **iunior**, 'as the younger': i. e. 'I take my privilege of age'; see introd.

18. **mordacem**, 'snappish,' as a cur; the usual play on the name 'Cynic.'

**ut aiunt** seems to imply that Horace is still following some well-known story of Aristippus; but his saying is freely paraphrased and adapted to the purpose of the moment. Porph. quotes a Greek proverb *ἵππος με φέρει, βασιλεύς με τρέφει*.

19. **scurror . . . mihi.** He begins with the offensive term for the profession (cp. 'scurrantis' Epp. 1. 18. 2) to be softened (as Porph. points out) to 'officium facio,' 'render my service,' in v. 21. 'We are both "scurrae," for we gain our sustenance by pleasing some one else; but in my case I am really pleasing myself, for by pleasing my patron I make him please me.'

**hoc**, 'my plan': see on Sat. 2. 2. 36.

21. **facio**: for the om. of 'ego' see on Epp. 1. 14. 40.

**verum.** The constr. is 'tu poscis vilia, verum [poscis] dante minor,' 'what you ask is worthless, but in asking it you humble yourself to the giver.' This (or 'verum es') is the reading of all MSS. of authority, including all the Bland. Horace frequently begins a clause or sentence with 'verum' at the end of a line and after a stop: Sat. 1. 2. 92; Epp. 1. 1. 80, 2. 2. 70, 106; A. P. 303. The alternative reading 'rerum' was introduced into the text by Lambinus from some of his MSS. It was accepted without comment by Bentl., and is given by Orelli, Dill[r]. and Munro. 'Vilia rerum' is then constructed as 'abdita rerum' A. P. 49, 'vanis rerum' Sat. 2. 2. 25, 'fictis rerum' Sat. 2. 8. 83. Ritter points out that 'rerum' is wrongly given for 'verum' by some MSS. in Epp. 2. 2. 45 and 70. He writes 'verums' for 'verum es.'

22. **dante minor.** 'However paltry the boon, you at once become the dependent of him who supplies it, for all your boast of independence.'

**nullius**: possibly best taken (with Orelli) as a masc. 'in need of no man,' as suiting 'dante minor.' It is neut. in A. P. 324.

23. **color**, as Sat. 2. 1. 60 'vitae color.'

Temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum.
Contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat,
Mirabor, vitae via si conversa decebit.
Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,
Quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet,
Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque;
Alter Mileti textam cane peius et angui
Vitabit chlamydem, morietur frigore si non
Rettuleris pannum. Refer et sine vivat ineptus.
Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes
Attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat:
Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.
Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
Sedit qui timuit ne non succederet. Esto!

24. **temptantem**: cp. v. 34; lifting his thoughts to.

**fere** with **aequum.** Either in the sense of 'tolerably' or of 'as a rule': see note on Sat. 1. 3. 96.

25. **panno** = *ῥάκει*, a contemptuous term for the *τρίβων* or coarse cloak of the philosophers.

**duplici**, because the Cynics wore no undergarment (*χιτών*) but doubled the cloak instead: so Juv. S. 13. 122 'Stoica dogmata . . . A Cynicis *tunica* distantia,' i.e. by the presence or absence of a tunic.

**patientia**: cp. 'patienter' in v. 13; 'endurance.' Cic. de Or. 3. 17 'ab Antisthene, qui patientiam et duritiam in Socratico sermone maxime adamaret, Cynici.'

27. **alter**, Aristippus. Horace is following the traditional picture of him, cp. Diog. Laert. 2. 60 *διό ποτε Στράτωνα, οἱ δὲ Πλάτωνα, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· Σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται καὶ χλαμύδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος.*

29. **inconcinnus**, 'awkwardly'; Epp. 1. 18. 6.

30. **Mileti textam**: cp. Virg. G. 3. 306 'quamvis Milesia magno Vellera mutentur Tyrios incocta rubores.'

**cane peius et angui**, 'a dog *or* snake': see on Od. 3. 11. 49. The expression is doubtless proverbial. Both dog and snake were of unlucky omen to meet; see Od. 3. 27. 2 and 5. 'Peius vitabit' seems, as Wilkins says, an extension of the use in 'peius timet' Od. 4. 9. 50. The MSS. vary between 'angui' and 'angue.' Priscian notices the use of 'angui' in this place.

32. **ineptus.** Notice how this word gives the final verdict on the impracticable Cynic and sets the writer free for his new approach to the subject.

33–42. For the general purport of these lines see the analysis. Some irony is no doubt to be felt in the heroic tone of the commencement, and in the apparent reference in vv. 37, 38 to Horace's doctrine (set out in Epp. 1. 6) that men are to be measured not so much by their ideals as by the thoroughness with which they pursue them.

33. **res gerere**, of warlike enterprises. The reference is to Augustus; his triumph B.C. 29 and the successes spoken of in Epp. 1. 12. 26 foll. Tiberius was associated in the latter, and it has been suggested that he is included in this reference, and that it is his favour especially which Scaeva is contemplated as seeking.

34. Compare the expression of Od. 3. 3. 10–12, 4. 2. 17, 18.

36. A Greek proverb *οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς*, is quoted by Acr. Several explanations are given of the danger originally intended, the prevalent one being that it meant 'Few have the long purse needed for the expensive vices of Corinth.' In any case the application here is quite general. 'There are pleasures and dignities which are not for everyone.'

37. The tone reminds us of the familiar story of Sir W. Raleigh: 'Fain

Quid, qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter? Atqui
Hic est aut nusquam quod quaerimus. Hic onus horret,
Ut parvis animis et parvo corpore maius:
Hic subit et perfert. Aut virtus nomen inane est,
Aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.
Coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes
Plus poscente ferent; distat sumasne pudenter
An rapias. Atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.
'Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
Et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus,'
Qui dicit, clamat, 'Victum date.' Succinit alter:

would I climb, but that I fear to fall.' 'If thy heart fail thee, do not climb at all.'

**ne non succederet**: the impersonal and absolute use, as Cic. Or. 28. 98 'si quando minus succedet.'

**esto**: 'Well.' 'Perhaps he is right.' It is, in short, a repetition of vv. 6–10.

38. 'Tell me, the man who has made his way there, in spite of the obstacles, think you, he has shown manly energy?' 'Sedit' (has stayed at home) and **pervenit** keep up the figure of v. 36.

**fecitne**; see on Epp. 1. 16. 31. Both passages may be added to the instances collected by Kühner on Cic. Tusc. D. 2. 11. 26 of 'ne?' used where we rather expect 'nonne?' He points out that it is sometimes used, in a similar way, for 'num'; the explanation in both cases being (as with ἆρα for ἆρ' οὖν) that the question is purposely put as if it were an open one, with the effect (as in other cases of ironical λιτότης) of giving stronger, not weaker, emphasis to the true nature of the answer expected. See also Heindorf on Sat. 2. 7. 61, and Mayor on Juv. S. 10. 28. Cp. also the use of 'ecquid sentis?' in Epp. 1. 18. 82.

39. **hic**, sc. 'in viriliter faciendo.'

**quod quaerimus.** He is speaking of the quest on which he supposes himself and the readers of his Epistles to be engaged (see Epp. 1. 1. 24–26, etc.), viz. for the true principle of life.

41. **aut virtus nomen**: cp. Epp. 1. 6. 31 'virtutem verba putas.' Horace seems to be arguing or playing on the etymology of 'virtus' as he does in other places. Cp. notes on Epod. 15. 11, 16. 39. 'What is "virtus" if it is not "viriliter facere," if it is not the quality of the "experiens vir"?'

42. **recte petit**, 'is rightly seeking,' deserving.

**experiens vir**, ὁ πειρώμενος (ἐς Τροίαν πειρώμενοι ἦνθον Ἀχαιοί Theoc. 15. 61); cp. Cic. Clu. 8. 23 'vir fortis et experiens'; enterprising. But there is an emphasis here on 'vir,' 'one who tries as a man should.' See note on v. 41.

43 foll. Horace turns abruptly to some practical precepts for keeping a patron's favour; the two chosen must be intended to contrast satirically with Scaeva's previously supposed scruples.

**rege suo.** For 'rex' of a patron cp. Epp. 1. 7. 37. Munro follows Bentl. in reading 'sua,' but on slight MS. authority.

45. **atqui**, etc. 'Yet this was the very fount and source of everything,' i.e. the very essence of the whole business with which we started was to get all you can.

**hoc** goes back to 'plus poscente ferent,' the intervening words being parenthetical.

**erat.** The impft. refers to the time when the motives of seeking a patron were considered, i.e. in vv. 11, 12. It is hardly idiomatic in the sense of the note on Od. 1. 37. 4.

46. **indotata.** The father is dead and the brother feels it a disgrace that he cannot provide a dower. The edd. quote Plaut. Trin. 3. 2. 63.

**paupercula**: the diminutive expresses pity, as 'misellus.'

47. A farm which we can neither sell nor live by. For **pascere firmus** see App. 2. vol. 1.

48. **clamat, 'Victum date,'** is like a common beggar; the thought is kept up in the next line.

'Et mihi!' Dividuo findetur munere quadra.
Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
Plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.
Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum,
Qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres,
Aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,
Nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,
Saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
Nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
Nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat
Fracto crure planum, licet illi plurima manet
Lacrima, per sanctum iuratus dicat Osirim:
'Credite non ludo; crudeles, tollite claudum.'
'Quaere peregrinum,' vicinia rauca reclamat.

49. **et mihi!** I have followed K. and H. and Schütz in their punctuation, which seems to have been that of both Acr. and Porph. If the whole line be made the cry of the second beggar there is a difficulty in the future tense, as there seems no point in the tone of command (cp. Epp. 1. 13. 2) which it conveys. With our reading, the interpretation of Acr. is substantially right, 'dimidium accipiet, dum impudenter petendo etiam alium ad eadem petitionem accendit.' 'The gift will be divided and you will get your share; but you might get more and that more pleasantly if you didn't ask.'

50. Possibly another reference (see Sat. 2. 5. 56 with note) to the fable of the Fox and the Raven, touching, as there, only the single point that the Raven by opening its mouth lost its prize; but it is possible also that Horace has in view, or is inventing for the occasion, a fable more completely apposite.

52. **Brundisium comes**, as Horace himself, Sat. 1. 5. As the port of embarkation for Greece and the East it would be a common object of expeditions.

**Surrentum.** Sorrento, at the southern extremity of the Bay of Naples. In the two following lines Horace touches the minor annoyances of each of the two journeys. For those of the road to Brundisium, which involved crossing the Appennines, see Sat. 1. 5. 80 n., 95, 96. A traveller to Surrentum could hardly complain of the road, but finds other grievances in the pilfering of his luggage.

55. **refert**, 'is repeating.' Porph. refers to Plaut. Truc. 1. 1. 31, where a lover complains of his mistress's greed and artifices.

**catellam**, 'catenulam,' a little chain, Liv. 29. 31. The same word is found in Mart. 14. 198. 1 as a fem. dim. of 'catulus,' a little puppy.

56. **periscelidem**, 'an anklet'; 'aureum cruris vinculum' Comm. Cruq.

59. **planum.** *πλάνον*, 'a vagabond,' or 'an impostor'; the word is found as naturalized even in prose Cic. Clu. 26. 72.

60. **dicat**: under the constr. of 'licet,' repeated in thought.

**Osirim.** Compare the oath of the perjurer in Juv. S. 13. 92 'Decernat quodcunque volet de corpore nostro Isis, et irato feriat mea lumina sistro.' The superstitious at Rome affected foreign and especially Egyptian cults, and such an oath would be more impressive than one of Roman habit. So Martial 8. 81. 1–4 'Non per mystica sacra Dindymenes, Nec per Niliacae bovem iuvencae, Nullos denique per deos deasque Iurat Gellia: sed per uniones.'

61. **tollite**: cp. the cry of the man who has fallen into a pitfall, A. P. 458.

62. **quaere peregrinum.** It seems, from Quintilian 6. 3. 98, that there was

a proverbial saying 'tollat qui non novit.'

**vicinia** (as in Sat. 2. 5. 106, Epp. 1. 16. 44) = 'vicini' the opposite of 'peregrinum'; those who know his tricks too well.

**rauca**, not, as the Comm. Cruq. (foll. by Orelli), 'ad ravim,' 'till they are hoarse,' which gives an unnecessarily ludicrous touch: but 'harshly,' 'roughly,' their tone expressing their absence of sympathy.

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# EPISTLE XVIII.

## TO LOLLIUS.

Verses 1–9. You are sure, Lollius, to avoid one extreme, that of the mere parasite. You will have to beware of the other, that of the man who shows his independence by rudeness.

10–14. The one flatters and echoes his patron.

15–20. The other quarrels about trifles, blusters about the most insignificant questions of gossip.

21–36. A patron hates and avoids a dependent who has extravagant tastes, who is greedy of money, who is not content with his station. If he does not hate him he reads him a lesson. 'Vice is a luxury permissible only to the rich. Dress modestly and don't imitate me.' It is good advice. Smart clothes have ruined many a man, as Eutrapelus knew.

37, 38. You will remember th t your patron's secrets are his own property. You will not pry into them; if he entrust you with one you will keep it sacredly.

39, 40. So in the matter of tastes. You will not flout his tastes in words, nor in practice show that you want to write verses when he wants to go hunting.

41–44. This is how Zethus and Amphion fell out, till Amphion put away his lyre.

44–57. Get up and go out with him. It is fine exercise, and you are an adept in manly exercises. You have begun early with some hard campaigning.

58–66. You are even fond of military sports at your own country house. If you meet his tastes he will meet yours.

67–71. For more particular advice; be cautious in talking of his affairs.

72–75. Don't set your heart on one of his slaves.

76–85. Be very careful whom you introduce, and if you make a mistake and introduce an unworthy man, be prompt to acknowledge it, that you may have the power to protect the worthy, when he is attacked, as you may be yourself, by the tongue of slander.

85–88. You see there are risks in cultivating a great friend. You must take care lest all your labour be wasted.

89–95. You must accommodate your moods to his; remember that shyness is sure to be misconstrued.

96–112. But through it all do not lose sight of the true ends of life. Think whether after all the peace of a private life is not the happiest thing. Think of me in my Sabine valley with my books, my modest competence, and my contented mind.

On the general subject of the Epistle and its relation to Ep. 17 see the introduction to that Epistle. The subject of a dependent's behaviour is continued, but in a different vein; this time in a letter which has, in part at least, close relations to the circumstances of Lollius. It is not a needy man making up to a patron for a dinner and for the benefit of his relations (Ep. 17. 21), but a man born in good position. The Epistle speaks (vv. 60–64) of his father's estate, and he is probably the Lollius of Ep. 2, and the son of the Lollius who was consul in B. C. 21 (Ep. 20. 28). He is thought of as entering the friendship not of some merely rich patron, but of a 'potens amicus,' a man high in the political world, with secrets of importance which his *protégé* must respect and keep (vv. 37, 38 and 68–70). The Epistle, however, is not free from difficulties. The dangers against which Lollius is warned in vv. 21–36 and 72–75 seem ill suited to the kind of character presumed in the rest of the poem; and, taking the Epistle as a whole, and supposing that Lollius had really attached himself to some one of high position in the Court circle, it is not easy to believe that its immediate publication can have been agreeable either to patron or *protégé*. This last supposition, however, is not necessary. The conditions of the case are satisfied if Lollius, a young literary friend of the poet, was contemplating the acceptance of such an office as that which Augustus himself offered to Horace, or that which Celsus holds in Ep. 8; and if Horace wrote to him, perhaps at his request, sketching the duties and dangers of a private secretary in a great house. Part of the lecture may have been evidently playful, and the issue of the Epistle may have been that Lollius declined the office.

It is to be noticed that any disrespect to Lollius is out of the question, supposing him to be the person we imagine. It seems also that the Epistle was written in B. C. 20 (see on v. 56 and introd. to the Epistles, p. 207), and published therefore within a few months.

SI bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
Scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum.
Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
Discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.
Est huic diversum vitio vitium prope maius,

1. **Si bene te novi.** 'I am sure from my knowledge of you.' An habitual phrase: Sat. 1. 9. 22 'si bene me novi,' Sen. Epp. 16. 6 'iam ab initio si bene te novi circumspicies.'

**metues**: Od. 2. 2. 7 n.

**liberrime Lolli,** 'my frankest Lollius.' Cp. 'liber amicus' Sat. 1. 4. 132; the epithet explains the 'si bene te novi.' Horace's fear for him is on the side, not of subservience, but of too 'brusque' independence.

2. **scurrantis**: see Epp. 1. 17. 19.

3. **dispar . . . atque discolor,** the difference of *tint*, i.e. tone (cp. 'vitae color' Sat. 2. 1. 60, Epp. 1. 7. 23), will correspond to difference of *kind* (cp. use of 'dispar' in Epod. 7. 12). Cp. the comparison of bought love and true affection in Od. 1. 35. 25–28.

4. **distabit,** with dat., as Od. 4. 9. 29, Epp. 1. 7. 23; cp. 'diversum huic vitio' in the following verse, and see Madv. 247 b, obs. 3.

5. **est,** ἔστι. 'There is something the very opposite of this vice, yet a vice also (the collocation "vitio vitium" implies "both are vices"; cp. "viro vir" Od. 3. 1. 5 n.), and perhaps (cp. use of "prope" in v. 28, Epp. 1. 6. 1, A. P. 432) a greater one.'

Asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,
Quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
Dum volt libertas dici mera veraque virtus.
Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.
Alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi
Derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret,
Sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,
Ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
Reddere vel partes mimum tractare secundas.
Alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina,

6. **inconcinna,** 'awkward'; Epp. 1. 17. 29, but cp. also the opposite 'concinnus' Sat. 1. 3. 50.

**gravis,** 'forbidding,' 'disagreeable.' So Cic. de Rep. 1. 43 'senes ad ludum adolescentium descendant ne sint iis odiosi ac graves.'

7. **tonsa cute**: perh. 'with skin like a stubble-field.' 'Tondere crinem' meant to clip or trim the hair, and was opposed to 'radere,' to shave the skin clean. 'Tondere cutem' (an equally permissible phrase, for they said 'tondere prata' (Virg. G. 1. 290), as well as 'segetes,' 'gramina') must imply close clipping, clipping as a field is shorn so as to leave mere stubble. Such close cropping of the hair belonged apparently to those who lived or affected to live roughly, slaves of the less refined class ('de grege sordidaque villa Tonsos, horridulos, rudes' Mart. 10. 98. 8), Stoic philosophers (though they wore the beard long) 'detonsa iuventus' Pers. 3. 54. Cp. note on Epp. 1. 7. 50 'adrasum.'

**dentibus atris**: another affected sign of neglect of appearances. Theophrastus gives among the characteristics of the *μικροφιλότιμος* that 'he has his hair cut frequently and keeps his teeth white.'

8. **dum volt,** 'desiring all the while.' This form is specially used by Horace in assigning motives for actions that are described. Epp. 1. 2. 21 'dum parat,' 1. 7. 79 'dum quaerit,' A. P. 250 'dum vitat,' 465 'dum cupit.'

9. The antithetical position 'virtus... virtus,' etc., gives the connection. 'It poses as virtue—whereas virtue lies no more in one extreme than in the other.'

**medium vitiorum.** The doctrine of Aristotle that virtue lies in a mean *μεσότης δύο κακιῶν τῆς μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, τῆς δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν* Eth. N. 2. 6. See on Sat. 1. 2. 24.

**utrimque reductum**: kept carefully back from both extremes. 'Utrimque remotum' is a phrase in Lucr. 5. 839, though in a different connection.

10. **alter,** sc. the 'scurra.'

**imi derisor lecti**: a jester to be found on the 'lowest' couch, i. e. acc. to Sat. 2. 8. 40 the couch on which the entertainer himself reclined with his own henchmen; 'derisor' is illustrated by Sat. 1. 4. 87, 88.

12. **verba cadentia tollit,** 'picks up every word he lets drop'; 'temere prolata suscipit pro mirandis' Acr. There is perhaps (as Schütz suggests) the metaphor felt of crumbs falling from the table and picked up by the dogs.

13. **saevo**: a master like Orbilius, Epp. 2. 1. 70, of whom he is afraid.

**dictata reddere**: an habitual phrase of repeating a lesson; 'ista quasi dictata redduntur' Cic. de N. D. 1. 26. 72; see on Epp. 1. 1. 55.

14. **partes mimum tractare secundas,** 'a mime-actor,' because his imitation is so exaggerated and theatrical; 'playing the second part,' because it was the duty of the *δευτεραγωνίστης* or actor 'secundarum partium' to play in every way to the lead of the first actor. This is a frequent source of metaphor and similitude, as in Cic Div. in Q. Caec. 15. 48 'ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat, sic faciet Alienus: tibi serviet, tibi lenocinabitur.'

15. **alter,** the client who affects independence.

Propugnat nugis armatus: 'Scilicet ut non
Sit mihi prima fides, et vere quod placet ut non
Acriter elatrem! Pretium aetas altera sordet.'
Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Dolichos plus;
Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.

**de lana caprina**: a proverbial expression for an absurd subject of argument, as the Greek *περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχεσθαι*, but the source of the proverb is not known. The Scholiasts agree that it is a proverb, but give various explanations. 'Something valueless,'—but goats' hair was not valueless; 'something nonexistent,'—a colour is given to this by the fact that one of Livy's prodigies is the birth of a 'capra lanata.' Porph. gives an alternative suggestion that the question fought over was the *name*, whether goats' hair could properly be called 'lana.'

16. **propugnat nugis armatus**, 'does battle for trifles in full armour.' It has been questioned whether 'nugis' is to be taken as abl. with 'armatus,' or with 'propugnat' (either as a dative, acc. to the use in later Latin, or as an abl. as though it were 'pugnat pro nugis'). There can be little doubt the latter is right. The illustrations given in the following lines are not (as they should be if 'nugis armatus' were the last words left on our ears) of futile arguments employed, but of the *spirit* of the strife, the triviality of subject being supposed. It is the emphasis on 'propugnat' and 'armatus,' substituted for the tame 'rixatur,' which forms the climax and justifies the asyndeton between vv. 15, 16; 'nugis' merely repeats the 'de lana caprina' of the line before in a less emphatic form, the emphasis being laid here on the spirit not the occasion of the fight.

**scilicet ut non sit.** The same constr. as Sat. 2. 5. 18 'utne tegam?' Madv. § 358 obs. 'Scilicet' adds irony to the indignant question. Note that, though not in this particular use, 'scilicet ut' is a frequent combination. Some editors, with less force, substitute a comma for a question at 'elatrem,' and construct 'ut sit' 'ut elatrem' after 'pretium,' 'is a mean price for my not being trusted,' etc.

18. **elatrem**: as we say of unrestrained speech, 'openmouthed.'

**aetas altera**: cp. 'ter aevo functus' Od. 2. 9. 13; 'life a second time over'; *εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίη θεὸς αὐτὸς | γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἡβώοντα* Hom. Il. 9. 445.

19. **sciat plus**, 'has the more skill'; the phrase suits the view that the pair are gladiators, better than that they are actors. The Scholiasts offer the two alternatives.

**Dolichos.** I follow Munro in retaining what became after Cruquius the usual text, though the evidence for it is not convincing. All Keller's good MSS. except ε (the Einsiedeln MS.) have 'Docilis,' and this is found in the text of all scholia. '3 of the Bland' (this probably does not mean V) had, as ε has, 'Dolicis,' and Cruquius found 'Dolichos' in three others of his MSS. The Greek name (*δολιχός* = 'longus') is rather the more likely in itself; and if we believe Cruquius' testimony as to the reading of his MSS. (Keller, as usual, doubts him), 'Dolichos' seems more likely to have been the original text than an emendation.

20. **Minuci via.** This cannot be identified with any certainty. The only other mention of a 'via Minucia' is in Cic. ad Att. 9. 6, where he describes six cohorts as moving by it from Alba to join Vibius Curius, Caesar's partisan. If this is the Alba by the Lacus Fucinus, as is generally thought, the 'via Minucia' would seem to be a part of the 'via Valeria,' which led across the Appennines from Tibur by Alba Fucentia and Corfinium to the Adriatic at the mouth of the Aternus. It would here strike into the coast road, and so a traveller might reach Brundisium; but the route is a strange one to take from Rome to that port. Mr. Bunbury (Dict. Geog. 2. p. 1289 a) suggests that Horace's 'via Minucia' was the road from Beneventum through Canusium to Brundisium, which Strabo describes as an alternative to the 'via Appia' proper, which went round by Tarentum (see introd. to Sat. 1. 5). This would suit the present passage perfectly, but there is no further evidence in its favour.

Quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
Gloria quem supra vires et vestit et ungit,
Quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
Quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
Saepe decem vitiis instructior, odit et horret:
Aut si non odit, regit ac veluti pia mater
Plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem
Volt, et ait prope vera: 'Meae (contendere noli)
Stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
Arta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum
Certare.' Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat

21 foll. We pass to another point, 'whatever his own habits a patron hates extravagance in his dependent.'

21. **damnosa**, as in Epp. 2. 1. 107; from the special use of 'damnum' for waste of money, Od. 3. 5. 27, Sat. 2. 2. 95.

**praeceps**: such an epithet does not bear too rigid and logical examination. It is appropriate in several senses; a poet feels the appropriateness, but does not analyze them and limit his meaning to one of them. Dicing is 'headlong' because it is a passion which makes men forget everything else, because it leads over a precipice of ruin, etc. Cp. 'periculosae aleae' Od. 2. 1. 6, though there the dice are metaphorical.

22. **gloria**, subjectively, as is usual in Horace, the love of glory—glory as a motive; and, as is also usual, in the meaner sense, vainglory, vanity, Od. 1. 18. 15; Sat. 1. 6. 23, 2. 3. 179; Epp. 2. 1. 177.

**supra vires vestit**, Juv. S. 3. 180, of the same subject, of extravagance of dress, 'supra vires habitus nitor.' Cp. his phrase ibid. 'ambitiosa paupertate,' 'pretentious poverty.'

23. **argenti**, in the more common sense of 'money,' not (as Schütz) 'silver-plate' as in Epp. 1. 6. 17, etc. Cp. 'auri sacra fames' Virg. Aen. 3. 57. Schütz complains of the tautology of the two lines if this sense is given to 'argenti'; but greed of money and the shamefaced dread of the appearance of narrow means are sufficiently distinct.

25. **decem vitiis instructior**, the abl. of measure, 'more accomplished by ten vices' than himself.

26. **regit**, i.e. 'corrigit,' 'schools,' 'lectures.'

28. **prope vera**. The rich man's words (Horace says with a cynical turn) are 'not very wide of the truth.' Vice is a luxury allowed only to the rich.

**contendere noli**, 'do not try to match me.' Cp. the fable of the Frog and the Ox in Sat. 2. 2. 312 foll.

30. **arta toga**: for a broad toga as a mark of ostentation see on Epod. 4. 8 'trium ulnarum toga,' and on Sat. 2. 3. 183.

**comitem**: when he is walking with his patron.

31–36. This is not, as Ritter, a continuation of the patron's speech, but Horace's comment upon it. 'It was good advice—especially the "arta toga" —Eutrapelus well knew that the best way to ruin a man was to give him a set of smart clothes.'

31. **Eutrapelus** has been usually supposed, since Lambinus suggested it, to be the Volumnius to whom Cicero addressed two letters, ad Fam. 7. 32 and 33, whom in ad Fam. 9. 26. 2 he calls 'Volumnius Eutrapelus,' and who is, as that epistle shows, the same as Eutrapelus the 'collusor' of M. Antonius, whose mistress Cytheris had been; Phil. 2. 8. 20, 24. 58, 13. 23. It is impossible to disprove the identification, but beyond the fact that Volumnius currently bore the name of Eutrapelus, and as the first of the letters referred to seems to imply from his wit, there is nothing to connect him with Horace's anecdote. There is an interesting history of the word *εὐτραπελία* in Trench's Synonyms of the New Test. pt. 1. from its treatment in Arist. Eth. N. 4. 8 as the excellent mean between *βωμολοχία* and *ἀγροικία*, 'wit that keeps the exact measure of refinement,' to its treatment by St.

Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: 'beatus enim iam
Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
Dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
Officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum
Thrax erit aut olitoris aget mercede caballum.'
Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius unquam,
Commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira;
Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes,
Nec cum venari volet ille, poëmata panges.
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque

Paul, Eph. 5. 4 as the companion of *αἰσχρότης καὶ μωρολογία* among *τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα*. The definition which comes nearest to the signification of Eutrapelus here is perhaps that of Aristotle, where he is describing the characteristics of the young in Rhet. 2. 12 *ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*, which seems to give room for practical joking. Cp. the conduct of Philippus to his *protégé* in Epp. 1. 7.

32. **dabat.** The story is told as of the last generation; so the impft. in Epp. 1. 15. 26 foll.

**beatus**, 'in his pride and delight.' The Scholiast rightly points out that these vv. 32–36 'beatus . . . caballum' give the thought of Eutrapelus. This explains the future following 'dabat.'

34. **dormiet in lucem**: Epp. 1. 17. 6.

35. **nummos alienos pascet.** The meaning seems fixed by Pers. S. 5. 149 'nummos quos hic quincunce modesto nutrieras,' 'your money which you had been nursing with a modest five per cent.' So here 'will feed the capital of others,' i. e. will borrow at heavy interest. For 'nummos' cp. Sat. 1. 3. 88. It has been otherwise taken as if 'nummos alienos' were the same as 'aes alienum,' 'will let his debts grow large.'

**ad imum**, 'at the end,' A. P. 196.

36. **Thrax**: Sat. 2. 6. 44 n.

**mercede**: so 'mercede colonum' Sat. 2. 2. 115.

37. **illius**, as 'ille' in v. 40, the 'patron.' It seems the certain reading, though 'ullius' is found in nearly all MSS., and had possession of printed texts till Bentley. The link between this precept and the next (vv. 39, 40) is that both are warnings against egotism.

**neque . . . que.** The particles imply that the two rules are on an equality: 'you will no more forget the first than the second.'

**tu** is emphatic, as contrasted with 'illius.' If the secret is his you will not on your side pry into it—just as if it is trusted to you you will keep it sacredly.

38. **vino tortus.** For the metaphor of 'vino tortus' cp. A. P. 435 and Od. 3. 21. 13.

**et ira**: the anger probably not (as Ritter) of those who wish to learn the secret and threaten angrily if it is withheld; but of the recipient of the secret, who is tempted by taunts or false stories to lose his balance and betray it.

39. **nec . . . nec**: as you will not be so egotistical as in words to praise your own pursuits and condemn everyone else's, so in practice you will not show your friend that you think your literary pursuits superior to his field sports.

40. **panges**: a word of Lucretius, 1. 25, 4. 8. It is used again in A. P. 416 'ego mira poemata pango.' In both places there is a touch of sarcasm in its use, as though it implied some affectation.

41. **gratia dissiluit**: cp. Epp. 1. 3. 32 'gratia . . . coit et rescinditur.' The story of the two brothers was told in the Antiope of Euripides, which was adapted by Pacuvius. Amphion the player on the lyre (Od. 3. 11. 1, A. P. 394) quarrelled with Zethus, the shepherd and huntsman, as to the value of music, but yielded for peace and hid his lyre. It will be noticed that there is a compliment in the comparison of Lollius to the more accomplished brother deferring to the rougher one.

Zethi, dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur
Moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
Lenibus imperiis, quotiensque educet in agros
Aetolis onerata plagis iumenta canesque,
Surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,
Cenes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta;
Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae
Vitaeque et membris, praesertim cum valeas et
Vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
Possis. Adde, virilia quod speciosius arma
Non est qui tractet: scis, quo clamore coronae
Proelia sustineas campestria; denique saevam
Militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti
Sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
Nunc, et si quid abest Italis adiudicat armis.

42. **suspecta severo.** The epithets quoted as used by Zethus in the Antiope are Μοῦσαν, ἄτοπον, ἀσύμφορον, ἀργήν, φίλοινον, χρημάτων ἀτημελῆ. Most of the complete lines quoted in editions as fragments from the play, are the result of conjectural piecing together of phrases quoted unmetrically in prose writers.

43. The words are carefully chosen and balanced. 'Amphion gave way (as we are given to believe) to the temper of a brother and equal. You may well yield to the commands so gently laid on you by a powerful friend' (cp. Sat. 1. 3. 3 'Caesar, qui cogere posset'). **putatur** (cp. 'fertur' Od. 3. 5. 41 with note) throws the responsibility for the story on the legend: 'poets would have us think so.'

46. **Aetolis.** An instance of what is constant in Virgil, a 'literary' epithet, not describing any characteristic of the nets which a Roman would use, but reminding the reader of the mythological boar-hunt of Meleager in Calydon. There is some appropriateness here in its use in addressing a man of letters. It seems to say 'there are precedents for such sports in your own poets.'

47. **surge**: sc. from your 'lectus lucubratorius'; cp. Sat. 1.4. 133, 1.6.122.

**senium**, 'moroseness'; Pers. S. 1. 26 'en pallor seniumque,' of a poet; see Conington's note. Cp. also 'senectus' Epod. 13. 5.

48. **pariter**, with the whole sentence, 'side by side with your friend.'

**pulmenta**, 'relishes,' as 'pulmentaria' in the similar expression, Sat. 2. 2. 20.

49. **Romanis sollemne viris opus**: an accus. in apposition to the action generally described in vv. 47, 48 of which the purport is 'go hunting.' For the sense cp. Od. 3. 24. 54 foll., Sat. 2. 2. 10 'Romana militia.' In 'Romanis viris' there is a suggestion that verse-writing is after all an effeminate pursuit, fitter for Greeks than Romans.

52. **virilia arma**: for 'arma' cp. Od. 1. 8. 10 n., A. P. 379, where also 'corona' for the ring of spectators occurs.

55. **Cantabrica bella**: as the next line shows, not the campaign of Agrippa in B.C. 20 (Epp. 1. 12. 6), but the expedition nominally headed by Augustus in B.C. 25; see introd. to Odes 1–3. 1. § 6, and cp. Od. 3. 14.

56. **refigit**, 'is taking down'; cp. 'signa Punicis adfixa delubris' Od. 3. 5. 18, and 'clipeo refixo' Od. 1. 28. 11. The reference is to the recovery from the Parthians of the standards taken at Charrae; see on Epp. 1. 12. 28, Od. 4. 15. 7.

57. **adiudicat**: a technical term it seems for adjudging land in dispute. Cic. Off. 1. 10. 33 'in medio relictum quod erat populo Romano adiudicavit.'

Ac, ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis,
Quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
Curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno;
Partitur lintres exercitus; Actia pugna
Te duce per pueros hostili more refertur;
Adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria, donec
Alterutrum velox Victoria fronde coronet.
Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te,
Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
Protinus ut moneam, si quid monitoris eges tu,
Quid, de quoque viro, et cui dicas saepe videto.

Augustus is adding to the empire any corner of the earth which is still outside of it; an hyperbolical phrase, but describing rather what seemed in progress than particular events which had actually occurred; but cp. Od. 4. 15. 13–16.

**Italis**, i. q. 'Romanis,' as ibid., and Epp. 2. 1. 2.

58–66. A last argument, and one which illustrates most clearly the strictly personal bearing of the Epistle. 'With all your refinement we have heard that you have a hobby of your own—the war-game in which Actium is fought over again on your father's lake. Be sure your patron will enter into your amusements, but you must let him feel that you enter into his.'

58. **ne te retrahas**: for the formula see on Od. 1. 33. 1; Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 16. 1.

**absis**, from the hunting-field.

59. **extra numerum modumque**, literally, 'out of time and tune.' The two words are used together in their literal sense in A. P. 211, in a metaphorical sense (as here) in Epp. 2. 2. 144 'verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae'; cp. $\pi\lambda\eta\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}s$, 'you, though such a purist in matters of propriety, have your own hobby in moments of relaxation.'

**curas fecisse**: Epp. 1. 17. 5, Od. 3. 4. 51 n.

60. **nugaris**: Sat. 2. 1. 73, Epp. 2. 1. 93.

61. Lollius is represented as imitating, on a domestic scale, the public 'naumachiae': one of these is described in Suet. Jul. Caes. 19, as having been given by Julius Caesar, who made an artificial piece of water for the purpose by the side of the Tiber. Augustus and several of the emperors are also said to have given these exhibitions, and they became part of the shows of the Circus.

**lintres**: the pleasure boats, we may suppose, on the piece of water in his father's estate.

**Actia**, the poetical form of 'Actiaca,' as in Virg. Aen. 3. 280.

62. **pueros**: doubtless, slaves.

64. **velox**, 'till victory hastes to crown.'

65. **consentire suis studiis**. These two lines refer of course immediately to those which precede: 'If you sympathize with his hobby, he will with yours'; but the words with which they begin refer back also to v. 39, and so serve to close the period.

66. **utroque pollice**. In Pliny's time we learn that 'premere pollices' had become a proverb for an expression of favour, N. H. 28. 5. Whether it was so in Horace's cannot be said. It was derived apparently from the usage of the amphitheatre, where the people, according to Juv. S. 3. 36, signified their pleasure as to the killing or sparing of a gladiator by turning the thumb one way or other.

67. **protinus ut moneam**, 'to go on with my lecture'; an apology.

68. 'What, and of whom, and to whom.' 'Tria dixit: quid dicas, de quo dicas, cui dicas' Porph. This punctuation and interpretation is strongly supported by Bentley, who quotes Cic. in Pis. 31. 75 'Tu quid, tu apud quos, tu de quo dicas, intelligis.' It makes it more clear that the warning is, not to speak rashly of your patron. If 'quoque' were taken as the abl. of 'quisque'

Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est,
Nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures,
Et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.
Non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve
Intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,
Ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae
Munere te parvo beet aut incommodus angat.
Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice, ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
Quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri,
Ut penitus notum, si temptent crimina, serves
Tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio: qui
Dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
Ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,
Et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.

the precept would seem rather wide of the special mark.

70. **patulae.** The metaphor is meant to convey the idea that like a large-mouthed vessel, as it is easy to pour into it, so it is easy to pour out again. Cp. the somewhat similar metaph. 'rimosa . . . aure' Sat. 2. 6. 46.

71. **emissum**: A. P. 390 'nescit vox missa reverti.' There is probably a reminiscence of Homer's *ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων* Il. 4. 350, etc.

72. **non ulceret.** For the substitution of 'non' with the potential for 'ne' with a jussive subj. see note on Sat. 2. 5. 91. Here notice that 'non' goes especially with 'ulla,' the separation of the two at the beginning and end of the clause emphasizes both.

73. **marmoreum venerandi.** The suggestion of the epithets is that it is like coveting what you see in a temple.

75. **beet**, in an ironical sense, 'make you a present of the slave and think he has made you a happy man,' as though he had given you all you could expect from him.

**incommodus**, if he is disobliging.

76. **commendes**, 'introduce.' Cp. Horace's own caution in this matter, Epp. 1. 9, 1. 12. For his introduction to Maecenas by Virgil and Varius see Sat. 1. 6. 54.

78. **quondam**, 'sometimes,' Od. 2. 10. 18, Sat. 2. 2. 82.

**tradimus**: Epp. 1. 9. 3.

80. **ut**: perhaps rightly taken by Orelli and Ritter and Schütz as final. 'Remember that we are liable to make mistakes. Be ready therefore to abandon one who proves unworthy *in order* that you may keep your power to protect one who is slanderously attacked.' Dillr. follows the Scholiasts in taking it for 'just as,' followed by a proper hypothetical sentence.

82. **dente Theonino**, evidently means the 'tongue of slander,' but nothing is known of the origin of the expression. Porph. says, 'Theon quidam illo tempore rabiosae dicacitatis fuit,' and the Scholiasts call him 'Luthienus (?) Theon, libertinus,' and tell a story of his offending his patron by the bitterness of his tongue, so that he was turned out of the house.

**circumroditur.** The metaphor is common, Od. 4. 3. 16; Sat. 1. 4. 81, 1. 6. 46; Epp. 1. 16. 38, 2. 1. 151.

**ecquid sentis**: cp. 'ecquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis' Liv. 4. 3, 'Have you *any* feeling?' 'surely you have some feeling,' 'for (the next line continues) you ought to have, your own safety is at stake when the fire has reached the wall that adjoins your house.'

Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici:
Expertus metuit. Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
Hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.
Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi,
Sedatum celeres, agilem navumque remissi;
†Potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni
Oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis
Nocturnos iures te formidare tepores.
Deme supercilio nubem; plerumque modestus
Occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.
Inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,

86. A reflection on the difficulties suggested in the preceding lines and leading to the exhortation which follows. In 'dulcis inexpertis . . . expertus metuet' has Horace in mind the end of Virg. Ecl. 3 'et quisquis amores Aut metuet dulces aut experietur amaros?'

87. **dum tua navis in alto est**, 'as you have embarked on this voyage.'

88. **hoc age**, 'give all your attention.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 152, Epp. 1. 6. 31.

89. Horace returns to the topic of vv. 40 foll. of the necessity of some harmony of humour and taste, showing where he thought Lollius likely to fail. In vv. 89, 90 he imagines two alternative grounds of difference; but v. 93 indicates that he expects Lollius to show unreasonable gloom, not unreasonable mirth.

91. This verse is of very doubtful origin. It is not found in the text of any of Keller's best MSS. except σ (St. Gall, put by him now in the 11th cent.). The Scholiasts give no sign of having read it, for the annotation in Comm. Cruq., 'Oderunt, potulenti,' means that 'Oderunt' stood in the text without a subject, and the annotator was suggesting the one which was to be understood. There is also the objection pointed out by Bentley that 'de nocte' is used not in the Horatian sense (Epp. 1. 7. 88: cp. 1. 2. 32 and Sat. 2. 8. 3, and see note on Epod. 13. 4) of something which begins before midnight, but in the unclassical sense of that which is prolonged to or past midnight. In the parallel line which Horace, or his interpolator, is recalling, Epp. 1. 14. 34, untimely drinking is described by 'de luce.' It must be allowed on the other hand that a subject is badly wanted for 'Oderunt' in v. 92. Keller would have us supply 'porrigentes pocula,' but such an ellipsis following the balanced phrases of vv. 89, 90 does not seem likely. It has been proposed to mend this by ejecting not the whole of v. 91, but from 'bibuli' to 'oderunt,' reading 'Potores porrecta negantem pocula.' This makes excellent sense, but it is then very hard to account for the double process of corruption, the substitution of a second 'Oderunt' for 'Potores,' and then the restoration of 'Potores' with the rest of the interpolated line. If the line be retained 'bibuli' must be taken as governing 'Falerni,' as in Epp. 1. 14. 34.

93. **tepores**: a word not found elsewhere until late Latin for 'feverishness.' Orelli would therefore with the authority of one MS. substitute 'vapores.'

94. **plerumque**, 'very often'; see on Sat. 1. 10. 15.

95. **occupat speciem**, 'puts on the guise,' is thought, though he has no claim to be so.

**obscuri**, 'dark,' 'designing'; 'non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, versuti potius, obscuri, astuti' Cic. Off. 3. 13. 57. Cp. the mis-reading of amiable qualities into vices, Sat. 1. 3. 55 foll.

96. **inter cuncta**, 'through all this.' 'After all, what we have been talking of touches the outside of life only; you will not forget, I am sure, the more important inside.'

**leges et percontabere**, sc. the dead and the living.

Qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum ;
Num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,
Num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes ;
Virtutem doctrina paret, naturane donet ;
Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum ;
Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.
Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus,
Quid sentire putas? quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus ; et mihi vivam

97. The general question of which the succeeding questions are the expansion.

**traducere** : a usual word in Cicero, as Tusc. D. 3. 11. 25 'hoc quod datum est vitae tranquille placideque traducere.'

98. **semper** may be taken either with 'inops,' 'desire always a beggar' (cp. 'semper avarus eget' Epp. 1. 2. 52 and 'magnas inter opes inops,' of the man who desires instead of enjoying, Od. 3. 16. 28), or with the verbs. In either case 'agitet' is probably (as Orelli) deliberative subj., although forming also the matter of an indirect question, 'whether desire must stir and harass,' etc. Lollius is sent to the philosopher, not to ask what he is, but what he ought to be.

99. **pavor.** It may be doubted whether this is 'fear,' the usual correlative in Horace of desire or hope (Epp. 1. 2. 51, 1. 6. 12, 1. 16. 65, etc.), or as in Epp. 1. 6. 10 'the flutter' of excitement, common to either passion.

**mediocriter utilium** : 'things far short of the "summum bonum."' The phrase describes external goods, which the Stoics classed among *ἀδιάφορα*, 'indifferentia' Cic. de Fin. 3. 15. 53.

100. 'If the philosophers answer "no" to the first question, then where is virtue, the alternative ideal, to be looked for?' The question is the one so often raised in Plato *ἆρα δίδακτον ἡ ἀρετή*.

101. 'And in any case what kind of external life is most conducive to internal peace, the philosophers' calm?'

**te tibi reddat amicum** : Epp. 1. 3. 29, *ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ὦμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς* Plat. Rep. p. 621.

102. **honos**, 'office'; 'the life of ambition.'

103. Notice the fuller description and the sympathetic touch of poetry in this line, indicating the poet's preference between the three lives. 'Dulce lucellum' is a satirical designation, the epithet and the affectionate diminutive describing the attitude of the lover of gain, not of the writer. For **fallentis** see on Epp. 1. 17. 10.

104. **me.** The reference to his own taste suggested in v. 103, is now emphasized and forms the conclusion of the Epistle.

**quotiens reficit.** There is a contrast between 'reficit' and the description of Mandela in the next line. 'Every time I visit my Sabine home which is to me new life (cp. "mihi me reddentis agelli" Epp. 1. 14. 1, and for Horace's use of the cold water, Epp. 1. 15. 4, 1. 16. 14), though some people might think it merely a bleak spot.'

The names Digentia and Mandela survive in the forms of Licenza and Bardella, the latter a village over-looking the Licenza valley. See additional note to Epp. 1. 16.

107. **etiam minus** : cp. Sat. 2. 6. 3 'auctius atque Di melius fecere.' Heaven has blest him beyond his prayers.

**et mihi vivam**, i. e. as my own master. Cp. the picture of the independence which he claims in Epp. 1. 7. 1–36. Many good MSS. have 'ut,' which Keller gives, as the reading of his class I and II, and as thinking that the words in Porph. 'dummodo vivam quemadmodum volo,' imply that he found 'ut.' It is possible, however, that they are only meant to give the sense, as in any

Quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volunt di;
Sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
Copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.
Sed satis est orare Iovem qui ponit et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes, aequum mi animum ipse parabo.

case they do rightly, and that 'ut' was an interpretative emendation. See a similar case in Od. I. 31. 10; 'et' was the reading of 'omn. Bland.'; it is retained by Orelli, Ritter, Munro, and Schütz.

111. **sed.** Horace feels that his prayers in both cases have gone beyond external things to matters which belong to and depend on himself, and he corrects himself. 'It is enough to pray Jove who gives them and takes them away, that he grant life and subsistence —a balanced mind I will assure to myself.' The MSS. are very evenly divided between **qui** and 'quae.' With the latter we understand 'ea' as a direct obj. of **orare.** There is also a question between **ponit** and 'donat.' The Bland. had 'ponit.' Keller prefers 'donat,' thinking 'ponit' an early corruption arising from the confusion of P with D, the intermediate 'ponat' being found in one MS. ($\pi$); on the other hand 'donat' is a likely gloss on 'ponit.' If 'ponit' is read, Dr. J. S. Reid (in Wilkins) suggests that the metaphor is of the banquet of life, 'puts before us and snatches from us.'

112. **aequum animum**: Epp. I. 11. 30.

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# EPISTLE XIX.

## TO MAECENAS.

### *Imitation, false and true.*

Verses 1–11. It is an immemorial commonplace that wine and poetry go fitly together. If I have repeated this, immediately the foolish crowd of would-be poets set to drinking deep night and day.

12–20. That is an example of external imitation, which is so easy and which leads into such follies.

21–25. My imitation has been of a different kind. It has been original in its choice of models, and in its choice between what should and what should not be imitated in them. I was the first Latin poet to follow Archilochus, but it was his measures and his spirit, not his subject or his abuse of his power.

26–31. If you think me slavish in taking his metres, remember that even Sappho did the same, and Alcaeus, though he departed so far from his subjects and tone.

32–34. It is Alcaeus that I am proudest of having popularized in Latin. I am proud of the audience I have found.

35–36. Do you ask why though men read and like my poems in the study, they yet cry me down out of doors?

37–40. It is because I will not stoop to the vulgar arts of bribing audiences and making up to schoolmasters.

41–49. I am met with taunts on my avoiding 'recitation.' My true ground for it is not believed, but I resist the temptation to quarrel and let them have their way.

The Epistle is a defence of his Epodes and Odes 1–3, against the criticism of detractors. It is addressed to Maecenas, both as the representative of the fair and wise critics, whose judgment he values (Od. 1. 5. 35, Sat. 1. 10. 81 foll.), and contrasts with that of the tasteless, and also as the patron and friend (Epp. 1. 1. 1), to whom the first Epistle of the Book and the last but one are inscribed on the same principle that is observed in Od. 1. 1. and 3. 29, the last Epistle being reserved, as Od. 3. 30, for his own anticipations of personal fame.

PRISCO si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt
Quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. Ut male sanos
Adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poëtas,
Vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus;
Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma

1. **Maecenas docte**: Od. 3. 8. 5 'docte sermones utriusque linguae.' The epithet has its immediate place as justifying the learned reference to Cratinus, 'As you know, as well as I'; but it gives also the ground of his appeal to Maecenas on the whole matter, as the critic whose judgment he values most. Cp. Od. 1. 1. 35 'si me lyricis vatibus inseres,' and the tone of Sat. 1. 10. 78–87.

**Cratino**: Sat. 1. 4. 1. Aristophanes charges him with intemperance, and Plutarch (Symp. 2. 1) speaks of him as having jested upon it himself in his play *Πυτίνη* (the Flagon). The nearest reference to the passage which Horace had in mind is in the Epigram attributed to Nicaenetus Samius (Brunck. vol. 1. p. 117) *οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῷ· | ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν. | ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, Διόνυσε, καὶ ἔπνεεν, οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀσκοῦ | Κρατῖνος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ὠδωδὼς πίθου.*

2. **placere**: Od. 4. 3. 24.

**vivere**: Od. 1. 32. 3, 4. 9. 11.

3. **potoribus**, the dative of the agent. Cp. Sat. 1. 10. 16; see Madv. § 250 a.

**ut**, 'ever since'; Od. 4. 4. 42, Epod. 7. 19. It carries on the idea of 'prisco.' 'It is a very old story'; Bacchus and the Muses, the Father of Greek and the Father of Roman poetry.

**male sanos**: and so fitter to be 'enlisted' among Satyrs and Fauns, but, as in the whole passage, there is an ironical self-depreciation in the epithet. It is the world's view of poets, not their own. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 322, A. P. 295.

4. **adscripsit.** 'Tanquam in legionem suam: nam hoc verbum militare est' Porph. For the Satyrs cp. Od. 1. 1. 31, 2. 19. 4. The Fauns are their Italian equivalents, A. P. 244, and represent the inspiration of native Roman poetry. For Bacchus as god of poetry see on Od. 1. 1. 29, Epp. 2. 2. 78.

5. **mane.** When the steady world is sober; 'sicci' Od. 4. 5. 39.

6. **arguitur vinosus**, 'is convicted as a wine-lover.' Dill[r]. calls attention to Horace's love of such a collocation as 'vini vinosus': cp. Sat. 2. 2. 39, Epp. 1. 18. 5, 89, A. P. 133. The reference is to such passages as Il. 6. 261 *ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει*, and to the frequent epithets *μελιηδής*, *μελίφρων*, *εὐήνωρ*, *κ.τ.λ.*

7. **pater**: so Prop. 4. 3. 3 'admoram fontibus ora Unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit.' Lucretius uses it of his

Prosiluit dicenda. 'Forum putealque Libonis
Mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis:'
Hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poëtae
Nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
Quid, si quis vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo
Exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,
Virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?
Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua,

master Epicurus, 3. 9. Cp. 'pater Aeneas' Od. 4. 7. 15, 'pater Chrysippus' Sat. 1. 3. 126.

**arma**: with reference to his patriotic poem the Annales.

8. **puteal Libonis.** Burn (Rome and Campagna, p. 86) recognizes two 'putealia' in the Forum Romanum; one in the 'comitium,' which is described by Cicero (de Div. 1. 7. 33) as the place where the razor of Attius Navius was buried, and which was close to the original tribunal of the Praetor Urbanus; the other 'puteal Libonis' or 'Scribonianum,' which is placed by the Scholiast on this passage, and on Pers. Sat. 4. 49 'prope arcum Fabianum,' i.e. at the eastern end of the Forum. They say that this also was by the praetor's tribunal, possibly after its removal by Julius Caesar described by Dion Cass. 43. 49. See however the note on Sat. 1. 6. 35. The passages in which the 'puteal' is alluded to (Pers. Sat. 4. 49, Ov. R. A. 561 'Qui puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas,' Cic. Sest. 8. 18 'puteali et feneratorum gregibus inflatus') point rather to a place of money transactions than to a legal tribunal.

9. **mandabo.** Orelli points out that the future is probably an imitation of the usual form of a praetor's edict, quoting the instances given in Cic. Verr. Act 2. 1. 44 and 45 'possessionem dabo,' 'hereditatem dabo.'

**siccis**: Od. 1. 18. 3.

**severis**: Catull. 27. 5 'At vos quo libet hinc abite, lymphae, Vini pernicies et ad severos Migrate.' For the infin. after **adimam** see vol. 1. App. 2. § 1.

10. **edixi**, as a praetor: see the last note, and cp. Sat. 2. 2. 51.

11. **certare mero**: Od. 4. 1. 31 The rhythm of this line is like that of A. P. 269.

13. **exiguae**: cp. 'arta' Epp. 1. 18. 30.

**textore**, the 'tailor' = the 'cut' of the gown.

**Catonem.** Cato of Utica, as in Od. 2. 1. 24: cp. Plutarch's life of him, c. 6 *πολλάκις δ' ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προσῄει*, and the full description in Lucan 2. 372.

15. An allusion to some story which cannot now be recovered. Timagenes we learn from other sources (Suidas s. v.), to have been a rhetorician of the time at Rome, who was famous for a witty tongue, which gained him, and again in the end lost him, the favour of Augustus. For 'Iarbita' we have nothing but discordant scholia. The name is apparently coined from Iarbas (the name of a king of Numidia mentioned in Liv. Epit. 89, used by Virgil for the Numidian suitor of Dido in Aen. 4) with the Greek gentile termination *-ιτης*. They agree in calling him 'Maurus genere.' One adds that his name was Cordus, possibly to be written Codrus. This has suggested the Codrus of Virg. Ecl. 5. 10, 7. 26, assumed, rightly or wrongly, to have been the real name of a poet of the time. The expression in the latter of the two passages 'invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro' has been taken as an illustration of 'rupit Iarbitam . . . aemula lingua,' and may possibly have been present to the mind of the Scholiasts when they explain 'rupit' by 'invidia.' This however will not bear examination. Conington pointed out that the words in Virgil are put into the mouth of a spiteful rival, not meant to give a true trait of Codrus. And Horace is here talking not of envy but of imitation, sincere but misdirected. The Scholiasts offer an alternative explanation of **rupit** as used literally of some internal

Dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.
Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile; quodsi
Pallerem casu biberent exsangue cuminum.
O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe
Bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus!
Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
Non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidet
Dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
Ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes
Quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,

strain, caused by trying to imitate Timagenes in the feat of eating and declaiming at the same time. Connected with the explanation is the curious v. l. 'cena' for lingua found in at least one good MS. (E). Whatever the story actually was, Weichert seems right in supposing that in 'rupit' Horace is glancing (after his fashion) at the fable of the frog and ox, 'non si te ruperis, inquit, Par eris' Sat. 2. 3. 319. He compares Martial 10. 79. 9 of a small man imitating a great one, 'Grandis ut exiguam bos ranam ruperat olim, Sic puto, Torquatus rumpet Otacilium'). The connection of thought requires that the imitation should have been of some external trick or mannerism of Timagenes. More it seems we cannot say.

16. **studet . . . tenditque.** The separation of the two verbs is not meant to appropriate specially one to one adjective and the other to the other, but to give greater emphasis on the 'aim' and the 'effort.'

17. **decipit**: as A. P. 25; 'leads astray.'

**vitiis** goes with **imitabile.** 'Easy to imitate in its defects.' Cp. Cic. de Or. 2. 22. 90 'multos imitatores saepe cognovi qui aut ea quae facilia sunt aut etiam illa quae insignia ac paene vitiosa consectantur imitando,' Quintilian, remembering Horace, 'acciditque his, qui quicquid apud illos reperitur, dicendi legem putant, ut deteriora imitentur (id enim est facilius) ac se abunde similes putent, si vitia magnorum consequantur?' 10. 1. 23.

18. **exsangue,** 'bloodless,' i. e. causing pallor. Cp. Pers. 5. 55 in imitation, 'pallentis grana cumini'; Plin. N. H. 20. 14. 159 'cuminum pallorem gignit bibentibus.'

20. **tumultus,** of fussy, illegitimate, and abortive effort.

21. **libera**: opp. 'servum.' Note the triple statement of his originality, 'libera,' 'vacuum,' 'princeps.' Horace has in mind Lucr. 1. 925 'Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante Trita solo.'

22, 23. **fidet . . . reget.** So V and a majority of other good MSS., as against 'fidit . . . regit.'

23. **dux reget examen,** 'will be leader and king of the swarm,' i. e. will lead instead of following.

**Parios,** i. e. the measure of Archilochus of Paros, A. P. 79; cp. Epod. 14. 7 n.

**primus.** Horace ignores Catullus' few experiments in the metre.

25. **agentia**: as 'Diris agam vos' Epod. 5. 89, perhaps with the definite metaphor of hunting, as in Epod. 6. 7.

**Lycamben,** the father of Neobule, who betrothed her to Archilochus and broke his promise, Epod. 6. 13.

26. **ac ne**: the negative purpose of the coming statement; see on Od. 1. 33. 1; Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 16. 1.

**foliis brevioribus,** 'minore corona' Schol.

27. **mutare modos.** He is thinking perhaps of Lucilius' freer imitation of the Greek comedians, 'mutatis pedibus numerisque' Sat. 1. 4. 7.

28–31. Some difficulty hangs over

Temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
Nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris,
Nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
Volgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem
Ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
Scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
Laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus:

these lines. Horace is pleading against the charge that he had shown servility in adhering to the metre and poetical form ('carminis artem') of Archilochus. The Scholiast supposed him to answer, 'Though I did not alter the measures of Archilochus, I mingled with them those of Sappho and Alcaeus, persons of very different tone.' The insuperable objection to this lies, not only in the difficulty of **sed**, which, as Bentley argued, should in that case be rather 'et,' but in the irrelevance of vv. 29-31 'sed . . . nectit'; for in this interpretation 'Alcaeus' is not the poet himself but the Alcaic Odes in Horace, and therefore these lines are only a repetition and expansion of what has been already said in v. 25 'non res et agentia verba Lycamben.' Bentley first suggested the view which has been generally taken since, that Horace's answer is, 'I am only doing what Sappho and Alcaeus did before me. They used Archilochus' metres, though they departed (as I do) widely from his subjects and purpose.' The accidental fragments which we possess of Alcaeus and Sappho hardly explain the statement that they employed the metres of Archilochus, but neither are they enough to show that Horace did not make it.

28. **temperat**. The metaphor suggested is of mixing a cup. Construct 'Archilochi pede . . . Musam (suam).'

**mascula**: the poetess a match for the poets.

29. **rebus et ordine dispar**. The general meaning is clear. Alcaeus, though borrowing metres from Archilochus, showed his independence in everything else. The exact meaning of 'ordine' is less easy to catch. Bentley takes it of metrical arrangement, referring as an example to the substitution by Alcaeus of a Dactylic hexameter for the Iambic trimeter in the couplet known among Horatian metres as 'Archilochium Im' (see Index of Metres in vol. 1. App. 3. § 6). This is perhaps inconsistent with the purpose of the appeal to Alcaeus and Sappho, namely as precedents for exact imitation of metre combined with freedom of matter. If we had the poems referred to, it may be, 'subjects and arrangement' would explain itself more definitely.

30. **quaerit**, 'select.' Horace is shocked at the turning of the sting of the lampoons on near relations. His conscience would not be troubled for Canidia and other personal objects of his own Epodes.

**atris**, 'venomous'; Epod. 6. 15. Cp. the use of 'niger' Sat. 1. 4. 85, 100.

31. **famoso**: Sat. 2. 1. 68.

32. **hunc**, sc. 'Alcaeum'; 'he is the model I am most proud of being the first to follow.' Alcaeus is named singly, although the general spirit of the passage implies that he has imitated Sappho also, not so much because Catullus had essayed the Sapphic metre (which possibly Horace would have ignored as he has Catullus' iambics, see on v. 24) as because he is thinking chiefly of the inspiration which he caught from the 'citizen poet' (Od. 1. 32. 5). There seems a definite reference in vv. 33, 34 to the stately political Odes at the beginning of Book 3, which he professes to address as 'non prius audita . . . Virginibus puerisque' Od. 3. 1. 1-4. These are the 'gentle eyes and hands' of this passage.

**Latinus fidicen**, as he expresses it later, 'Romanae fidicen lyrae' Od. 4. 3. 23. Cp. Od. 1. 32. 3, 3. 30. 13.

34. **manibus teneri**: Sat. 1. 4. 72, Epp. 2. 1. 53.

35. **opuscula**: see on Epp. 1. 4. 3.

36. **premat**, 'depreciates'; Virg. Aen. 11. 402 'premere arma Latini.' Cp. A. P. 262.

Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
Impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;
Non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
Grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor:
Hinc illae lacrimae. 'Spissis indigna theatris
Scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus,'
Si dixi: 'Rides,' ait, 'et Iovis auribus ista
Servas; fidis enim manare poëtica mella
Te solum, tibi pulcher.' Ad haec ego naribus uti
Formido, et luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
'Displicet iste locus,' clamo, et diludia posco.

37. **ventosae**: Epp. 1. 8. 12. With the picture cp. Epp. 2. 2. 103, A. P. 420 foll.; and Persius' imitation 1. 53 foll. 'calidum scis ponere sumen, Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna,' etc.

39. **auditor et ultor**, 'who listen to them and give them as good again.' It is said jestingly, as Bentley points out. His account in Sat. 1. 4. 73 is 'Non recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus.' These words are the original of Juvenal's opening burst, 'Semper ego auditor tantum, nunquamne reponam?' Cp. also Epp. 2. 2. 105 'impune legentibus.' The 'nobiles scriptores' are his literary friends—Virgil, Varius, etc.

40. 'To canvass the schoolmasters' lecture platforms,' i.e. to pay court to those who expound and criticize poetry and can make or mar the fortunes of a young poet.

**tribus**: not, as some take it, the pupils, but part of the metaphor of **ambire**; 'to canvass the schoolmasters as a candidate would the tribes.' So **et pulpita** adds no fresh object but indicates what was sought of the 'grammatici.'

41. **hinc illae lacrimae**, 'there is the true grievance.' A proverbial expression, even where no tears are involved; Cic. pro Cael. 25. 61. It comes from Terence, Andr. 1. 1. 126.

**spissis theatris**: cp. 'spissa sedilia' A. P. 205. Tacitus de Orat. 13 speaks of Virgil as reciting in a theatre. See Mayor's exhaustive note on Recitation Juv. S. 3. 9. It may be doubted whether theatres proper are intended, or lecture halls, the reciters' 'show-places.'

43. **Iovis auribus**: i.e. 'Augusti.' Cp. Sat. 2. 6. 52 'deos quoniam propius contingis,' where the tone of jealousy is the same.

44. **manare mella**. The accus. as 'stillare rorem' A. P. 429.

45. **ad haec**: see on Epod. 9. 17.

**naribus uti**: interpreted by Pers. 1. 40, where he is imitating the passage 'nimis uncis Naribus indulges'; that is, 'you are too visibly sneering at us'; 'I do not dare to show my resentment too openly.'

46. **acuto ungui**: cp. Od. 1. 6. 18. It implies the ferocity of the attack. Cp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 27. 77 'adolescentium greges Lacedaemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantes pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique, cum exanimarentur prius quam victos se faterentur.'

47. **iste locus**. Orelli and others take this literally (after the Scholiasts), as the place proposed for recitation, 'I make it seem a question of place and time, not an absolute refusal,' but it is better to take it as part of the metaphor of the combatants in the arena. The combatant objects to the place or asks for a postponement. Possibly 'locus' had some closer technical sense as applied to such contests. Cp. Aesch. in Ct. § 207 *ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλους διαγωνιζομένους.* The whole line will mean, 'I put the whole question by; I will not quarrel over it.'

**diludia**: not found elsewhere. Porph. explains by 'intermissionem vel dilationem ludorum.'

Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
Ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

48. **ludus**, with a play on the double meaning; 'contests even in sport breed heat and passion.'

**genuit**: the aoristic use. Epp. 1. 2. 48 'deduxit'; Madv. § 335 b, obs. 3.

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# EPISTLE XX.

## TO HIS OWN BOOK.

Verses 1-5. YOU are longing for the publicity of a booksellers' stall, and have forgotten the modesty to which I bred you.

5, 6. Well, go, if you will! Remember there is no coming back.

6–8. You will be sorry when you find what criticism is, and how soon people tire of you.

9-18. I foretell your fate.—In the bloom of novelty you will be liked; then the vulgar will begin to thumb you; then you will be forgotten or sent to the provinces. The last humiliation is to be turned into a schoolbook.

19-28. When you get an audience mind you tell them what I did, what I looked like, what I was, and when I lived.

It is the epilogue to the Book—playful in tone, but recalling, though in an altered form, the proud and confident anticipations of Od. 3. 30. It is with characteristic irony that he describes the widespread fame which he foresees, as something to be dreaded rather than sought. The last ten lines show the pleasure which he really finds in the thought that all the world will be interested to know every detail about him. At the same time he is, no doubt, so far serious in his profession that it is the applause of the few that he most values. Cp. the tone of Sat. 1. 10. 81 foll.

His book, now finished and ready for publication, is addressed in terms borrowed in part from the image of a favourite slave anxious to escape from the protection and restraint of his master's house into a naughty world, where he will be made much of at first and wronged and forgotten presently. The figure is lightly handled, not pressed (as by some commentators) into tasteless detail.

On the date given in the concluding lines see introd. to Epistles, Book 1. p. 208.

The device by which the author professes to address to his own book what he wishes to say to the world by way of preface or epilogue, is frequent in the Roman poets, as Ovid, Trist. 1. 1; ex Pont. 4. 5; Martial 1. 4, 2. 1, 3. 2, 4, 5, 8. 1, 10. 104, 11. 1, 12. 3. Such passages often bear traces of remembrance of this Epistle.

VERTUMNUM Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
Scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti claves et grata sigilla pudico;
Paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
Non ita nutritus. Fuge quo descendere gestis.
Non erit emisso reditus tibi. 'Quid miser egi?
Quid volui?' dices ubi quis te laeserit, et scis
In breve te cogi cum plenus languet amator.
Quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
Carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas;
Contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere volgi

1. **Vertumnum Ianumque.** A statue of Vertumnus stood at the end of the Vicus Tuscus, where it joined the Forum (Propert. 4. 2. 6). It seems to be implied that there were booksellers' stalls in the neighbourhood of it. Janus has been taken here either for the arches in the Forum (see on Sat. 2. 3. 18) or for the temple attributed to Numa, which stood in the Argiletum. This is known to have been a booksellers' quarter; see especially Mart. 1. 4. 1 (to his own book, in imitation of this Epistle) 'Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas.'

**spectare**, 'to look wistfully at.'

2. **scilicet** calls ironical attention to the motive named, 'in order—save the mark!—that,' etc., as Sat. 2. 5. 87, Epp. 1. 9. 3.

**prostes**, be set out for sale on the bookseller's stall.

**Sosiorum**: A.P. 345: 'Sosii illo tempore fratres erant bibliopolae celeberrimi' Porph.

**pumice mundus.** Cp. Catull. 1. 1 'novum libellum arido modo pumice expolitum,' 22. 8 'pumice omnia aequata.' Explained by Munro of the smoothing of the edge of the papyrus when rolled up tightly (Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 54).

3. **claves . . . sigilla.** It was a custom to seal as well as lock the cases in which things of especial value were stowed away, as in the master's absence. Cp. Aesch. Agam. 614 of the faithful wife, *σημαντήριον οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν*. So Martial (1. 67. 5 foll.) to a plagiarist of compositions not yet published, and with a figure perhaps suggested by these lines 'Secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas Quas novit unus scrinioque signatas Custodit ipse virginis pater chartae.' Cp. A. P. 388.

4. **communia** = 'vitam communem,' 'life in public.'

5. **non ita nutritus.** The book has not been prepared for publication by being generally 'recited.' For Horace's practice see Sat. 1. 4. 73.

**fuge.** The meaning is made clear by Martial's imitation 1. 4. 11 'Aetherias, lascive, cupis, volitare per auras: I, fuge, sed poteras tutior esse domi.' The word specially suits the figure of a slave who contemplates running away: cp. v. 13 'fugies.'

**descendere**: see on Od. 3. 1. 11 and cp. 'deferar' Epp. 2. 1. 269.

6. **non erit**, 'go, remembering the condition on which you go—there is no recalling the step.'

**emisso** is used in its simple sense (cp. Epp. 1. 18. 71), but with reference also to a technical sense of 'publishing' a book. See L. & S. s. v.

7. **ubi quis**, etc., 'when you meet with hostile criticism, or find that friendly readers tire of you.' **et scis** follows **laeserit** rather awkwardly, but the only alternative is to make it an independent sentence, and (as Ritter says) the book is not yet published, and therefore does not 'know.'

8. **in breve te cogi**: the opposite of 'evolvi'; to be rolled up tight and put back in the case.

**plenus languet.** Cf. 'languidus iam conviva' Sat. 2. 4. 39.

9. 'If my annoyance at your folly does not make me read your future too gloomily.' The irony is obvious.

10 **aetas**, used here, like *ὥρα*, for 'the prime of life.'

11. **sordescere**: to grow dirty from the thumbing of the vulgar. Cp. Sat. 1. 4. 72.

Coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,
Aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
Ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille
Qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum
Iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
Cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit aures,

12, 13. 'You will be left in the book-cases to get wormeaten, or even be sent abroad for provincial readers,' i. e. you will cease to be read by the only public I care for, viz. the 'ingenui' (Epp. 1. 19. 34) of Rome.

12. **tineas pasces.** Cp. 'Blattarum ac tinearum epulae' Sat. 2. 3. 119.

**taciturnus,** 'your voice will be hushed.'

**inertes**: the disparaging epithet of the bookworms adds to the sense of the spiritless existence of their victim. It is taken both as 'sluggish' (Orelli), and in its etymological sense 'barbarous' ('sine artibus'); see on Epp. 2. 2. 126, A. P. 445. So Schütz, who compares 'divina opici rodebant carmina mures' Juv. S. 3. 207.

13. **fugies ... vinctus mitteris**: he recurs to the figure of a slave. The two places named, Utica near Carthage, and Ilerda (hod. Lerida), stand for second rate towns in Africa and Spain. Note that when he is speaking without suspicion of irony Horace counts the fact that a book is read across the sea a proof of excellence, whether generally (A. P. 345), or in his own case (see Od. 2. 20. 17–20).

14. **monitor non exauditus**: the poet himself, whose warnings have not been listened to.

**ut ille**: as the man in the fable. This explains also the tense of **protrusit**. The fable is not found elsewhere.

16. Cp. A. P. 467.

17, 18. 'The second childhood of the book will be when it becomes a reading-book in the schools of low degree.'

17. **elementa**: Sat. 1. 1. 26.

18. **extremis in vicis**: schools in the outskirts of the city. It answers to 'vilibus in ludis' in the parallel expression, Sat. 1. 10. 75.

**balba**: the stammering accents of boys at a reading lesson are likened to old age 'sans teeth.' For the use of poetry in teaching pronunciation see Epp. 2. 1. 126 'Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat.' Juvenal tells us that in his time Horace had become a school-book, 7. 226 'cum totus decolor esset Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.'

19 foll. A last word; the prophecy of warning is over, and it is taken for granted that the book is to be given to the world. 'When you find an audience tell them something of the author,' says Horace, and gives the book the means of fulfilling his command. The transition to v. 19 is abrupt, and the exact meaning of the verse uncertain. Is Horace speaking of the 'recitation' of his book when published? If so, **tepidus sol** will perhaps be best taken with Ritter for a time of year neither too hot nor too cold for gathering a good audience. Contrast Juvenal's horror of 'Augusto recitantes mense poetas' (S. 3. 9). Or is **aures** only a figurative expression for readers? So Orelli; comparing 'tepidus sol' with Martial's 'hora libellorum Decima est, Eupheme, meorum' (10. 19. 18), i. e. 'my poems will be read after dinner.' Or are we to think of a reader to a group in the streets? or of men loitering, like Horace (Sat. 1. 6. 113), in the afternoon by booksellers' stalls, and taking up a copy of his book (Wilkins)? A more serious change of meaning is made if with Schütz we follow the Scholiast in taking the verse and those that follow as a continuation of the picture of Horace as a school-book. The Scholiast interpreted 'tepidus sol' of the time of day, with the odd note that boys are more manageable ('tractabiliores') in the afternoon. Modern editors, who follow them, amend this by taking it of the time of year

Me, libertino natum patre et in tenui re,
Maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,
Ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas;
Me primis Urbis belli placuisse domique;
Corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
Forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres
Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

when the schools reassemble in larger number after the holidays (see on Sat. 1. 6. 75). This interpretation seems at first sight to give a smoother connection between vv. 18 and 19; but there is no true relation between the picture of Horace's compositions used as a school-book, introduced, as it is, as the final indignity that they are to suffer; and this charge to them to keep alive the memory of his personal characteristics and history. A break is required, for there is a real change of tone in v. 19, and the true purpose of the Epistle asserts itself in distinction from the playful and ironical tone of the earlier part.

20. **libertino patre.** Cp. Od. 2. 20. 5 and Sat. 1. 6. 45.

**tenui re**: ibid. 71.

21. **maiores nido.** For construction see on Sat. 2. 3. 310. With the metaph. cp. Epp. 2. 2. 50; with the feeling cp. Od. 3. 30. 12 'ex humili potens.'

23. **primis placuisse**: Sat. 2. 1. 76, Epp. 1. 17. 35. The question is raised whether 'belli domique' qualifies 'placuisse' or 'primis.' The first is the most natural both in view of rhythm and of construction. It also makes Horace's boast here correspond to the grounds of the jealousy felt towards him of which he complains in Sat. 1. 6. 46 foll. 'Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum, Nunc quia sim tibi Maecenas, convictor, at olim Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.'

24. **corporis exigui.** See for a jesting allusion to this characteristic Sat. 1. 3. 308, and the extract from Augustus' letter to him in the Suetonian life, vol. 1. Introd. 'vereri videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es,' etc. Cp. also Epp. 1. 4. 15 n.

**praecanum**: 'ante annos albo capillo' Porph. The word is not found elsewhere, but this seems certainly the meaning. Horace speaks of 'albescens capillus' in Od. 3. 14. 25, written some four years before this Epistle (cp. Od. 2. 11. 15). He was at that time forty. We may notice that the expression here is of a general characteristic, 'one who whitened early.'

**solibus aptum.** Ritter well paraphrases 'aptum' by 'factum natura,' 'whom nature meant for sunshine,' the plur. as in Epod. 2. 41 'perusta solibus.'

25. **irasci celerem.** For the inf. see vol. i. App. 2. § 1. For the characteristic cp. Sat. 2. 3. 323, 2. 7. 35; also Od. 1. 16. 22, 3. 9. 23, 3. 14. 27. So perhaps with a fellow feeling Epp. 2. 2. 102 'genus irritabile vatum.' Doubtless like the person he describes in Sat. 1. 3. 29, he was open to criticism on this score, and meets it halfway. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 17. 4 'et irritabiles animos esse optimorum saepe hominum, et eosdem placabiles.'

**ut** = 'ita ut,' 'with the further characteristic that'; Epp. 1. 16. 6 and 12.

27. **Decembres.** Horace was born in December. The Suetonian life says 'sexto idus Decembres,' i. e. Dec. 8, B. C. 65.

28. The year indicated is B. C. 21, in which M. Lollius was for some months sole consul, the second place having been kept for Augustus, who declined it. Later in the year Q. Aemilius Lepidus was elected as his colleague, Dion Cass. 54. 6. On the bearing of these lines on the date of the publication of the Epistles see Introd. p. 208. The exact meaning of **duxit** has been questioned. The Scholiasts interpret it by 'sortitus est,' as though it were 'sorte duxit.' In that case it is not used technically (for

Lepidus was elected after a contest), but as ἔλαχε might be: 'It was his fortune to have Lepidus as a colleague.' Orelli prefers the simpler explanation that it is used as 'comitem ducere' of the one who was consul first. Keller holds that 'duxit' is an early error for 'dixit,' which is the technical phrase used (as in Liv. 7. 24) when a sole consul nominates a colleague. But apart from the fact that Horace usually avoids rather than affects exact technical terms, the verb does not suit the election of Lepidus as Dion describes it.

The Lollius of this verse cannot be the Lollius of Epistles 2 and 18, who in B.C. 20 was still a young man, but is usually taken to be his father. He is also the friend whom Horace so warmly upholds in Od. 4. 9. The two Epistles, then, are due probably to Horace's friendship for the father, and the book ends fitly with the name which is by it to be linked with the poet's immortality.

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERARY EPISTLES.

There remain three Epistles (ad Augustum, ad Florum, ad Pisones) which are often classed together as the three Epistles of the Second Book; an arrangement which derives a *prima facie* appropriateness from their general likeness in topics and scale. The title, however, as applied to the three has no ancient authority. The MSS. and Scholia agree in placing the first two together in their present order and calling them the Second Book. The third Epistle is referred to by Quintilian twice, once as Horace's 'Ars Poetica [1],' once as the 'liber de arte poetica [2],' and the former title is given to it by Terentius Scaurus (Hadrian's reign) as quoted by Charisius. Charisius himself cites a passage from it as from 'the Epistles.' In the MSS. and Scholia it is a waif and stray placed generally after the Fourth Book of the Odes, less frequently after the Carmen Seculare, once after the Epodes.

Its present position is due to the editors of the middle of the sixteenth century. Cruquius (1578) is the first who calls it the third Epistle of Book 2.

It will be convenient, however, without committing ourselves beforehand to any theory of their relation, to put together what has to be said on the difficult question of the date and circumstances of the three Epistles.

The first two give perhaps some indication of having been placed together by Horace as companion poems and in their present order, in the fact that while one is addressed to Augustus, the other, although it is addressed to Florus, carries in its first line a compliment to Tiberius. This reminds us of the careful distribution of honour between the Emperor and his step-sons in Book 4 of the Odes; and the argument is strengthened if, as seems probable, the Epistle

[1] Ep. ad Tryph. 2. [2] Inst. 8. 3. 60.

to Florus is the earlier of the two in date of composition. It is quite in accordance with the analogy of that Book that room should be found also for a poem dedicated to private friendship and literary interests, and in which the Emperor has no part. This, however, although meeting some objections which have been taken to the later dating of the Ars Poetica, has clearly no weight in positively determining the question.

### 1. *Epistula ad Augustum.*

The account given us in the Suetonian life of Horace (see vol. 1. p. xxix) of the origin of this Epistle fixes no date, but by its association of the Epistle with the political Odes of Book 4, as well as by its assumption of Horace's intimacy with the Emperor, it connects it with the later years of his life. The references to public events in the opening lines, and in vv. 254–256, are general and belong to no special year. They relate to Augustus' large and undivided responsibility, to his military achievements, his social legislation, to the closing of the temple of Janus, and to the awe which he has inspired in the Parthians[1]. If a date is to be found in any particular political allusion it would seem to be in v. 16 'iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras.' Ritter fixed on the erection of an altar at Lyons in B.C. 12 (Suet. Claud. 2). The practice, however, was common in the provinces (Suet. Aug. 59, Dion C. 51. 20). Mommsen (Hermes, xv. p. 103 f.), who has examined with care the date of this Epistle, but pronounces with modesty upon it, prefers to interpret the verse of the association of the 'genius' of the Emperor with Jupiter and the Dii Penates in the state oath. How early this can be put is uncertain. The admission of the *genius Augusti* among the Lares by a formal act belongs, he says, to B.C. 7 (the year after Horace's death), but Horace speaks of it as popularly recognized in Od. 4. 5. 34. Mommsen thinks traces of this quasi-worship can be found as early as B.C. 12, and feels no difficulty in supposing that Horace is here speaking of it in B.C. 13.

More assured ground, but not an exact date, may be found in the

[1] The Temple of Janus was closed in B. C. 29 and 25, as well as at a later uncertain date. It is referred to in Od. 4. 15. 9. Octavianus is in Sat. 2. 6. 62 'iuvenis Parthis horrendus,' but the stronger terms of this Epistle, v. 256, belong no doubt to the time after the restoration of the standards in B. C. 20. Mommsen thinks that 'Parthis mendacior' v. 112 (cp. 'infidi Persae') implies that they were restless in their engagements at some subsequent period or periods, but no date is suggested.

relations of the Epistle to Horace's other writings. V. 111 seems to refer definitely to such expressions as those in Epp. 1. 1. 10, 2. 2. 141–144, and to imply that his abstention from lyric composition, which is treated both by himself[1] and by his biographer[2] as having lasted some time, had now come to an end. This would, without going further, limit us to a date not earlier than B.C. 17, when he wrote the Carm. Sec. and very probably its companion Od. 4. 6. There is further a coincidence which can hardly be accidental between the topics of the Carm. Sec. and those which he claims in vv. 132–137 for the Muse of Choral poetry[3]. There are again noticeable correspondences of topic and of expression between vv. 252–256 and the political Odes of Book 4. In v. 252 ('arces Montibus impositas') we seem to have an actual echo of the words 'arces Alpibus impositas' of Od. 4. 14. 4, which occur in the description of Tiberius' campaign in the Alps in B.C. 15. The general resemblance of the topics suggested in the verse 'Terrarumque situs, et flumina dicere,' etc. to the geographical passages in Od. 4. 4, 5, 14, 15, and the correspondence between the subjects of panegyric in vv. 254–256 and those in Od. 4. 15. 6–9, if they are sufficient to build upon, seem to bring the Epistle down to 13, since the 5th and 15th Odes are connected with Augustus' return in that year from Gaul to Rome after three years' absence. Mommsen sees a reason in this last fact for thinking (as his argument on v. 16 had indicated) that the Epistle was composed in the last months of 13. He argues that if the Emperor had still been absent there would have been some expression like the 'abes iam nimium diu' of Od. 4. 5. 2. The necessities of the Epistolary form are satisfied if the Emperor were at Baiae or at Rome while Horace was elsewhere. Vahlen would place it in 14, while Augustus was still in Gaul. In any case it seems that it should have been sent before Book 4 of the Odes was given to the world. The disclaimer of power to celebrate Augustus' exploits in proper poetry (vv. 257–259), though natural to Horace if it occurred within the Odes as an apology for what he is giving (as in Od. 1. 6, 2. 12), or in an Epistle sent before the Odes becomes less suitable if the Odes are already public.

[1] Od. 4. 1. 1 'intermissa diu.'
[2] 'ex longo intervallo.'
[3] Cp. especially v. 134 'praesentia numina sentit' with C. S. 61–end.

### 2. *Epistula ad Florum.*

This Epistle has only one link with the political history of the time. Florus is apparently (v. 1) still, as in Epp. 1. 3, absent from Rome and in the suite of Tiberius. Tiberius was in the provinces on several occasions to our knowledge[1], possibly on some that we do not know of, between the year 20 and Horace's death. This fact therefore by itself does not give us any fixed date.

We can bring the matter a little nearer by consideration from the relation of the Epistle to Horace's literary life. It speaks, not incidentally, but as its text and starting-point, of his resolution to write no more lyric verse. He has held out, as it seems, hopes to Florus (or to some one behind Florus) that he may depart from that purpose, but he is not prepared to do so[2]. With a mixture of irony, but still with evident earnestness, he protests that he has finally abandoned poetry and taken to what was his first and true love, philosophy. The difference in tone in this respect from the Epistle to Augustus is strongly marked. In that he speaks of himself as belying his professions and beginning again to write verses. Here he is repeating those professions in their strongest form. At what time could he have so repeated them? Not, certainly, when the Emperor's wish had overborne his resolution and he had actually begun to compose the Fourth Book of the Odes.

Could he have done so any more at a later date when that Book had been given to the world? We cannot say that it is impossible, but it is surely improbable. It is not the simple statement of a fact as 'nil scribens ipse' in A. P. 306. He professes to be giving the reasons why he has given up writing Odes, and the chief reason is the same which he gave in Epp. 1. 1, in lines which must have been in the memory of his readers. If the Epistle is a serious apology for not doing what was expected of him, the ground of his apology has been already cut from under his feet. He throws the reason of his refusal into the form of an autobiographical sketch of the place which poetry had occupied in his life. How incomplete and futile this would have been, if, written in his last years, it had taken no account of the fact that, after urging the same excuses, with no pressing motive such as he describes for writing, he had broken his long silence with the Odes of Book 4! We may add that the edge of the compliment to Augustus and his step-sons, which those

[1] Suet. Tib. 9.

[2] v. 25 'expectata,' 'mendax.'

Odes convey, would have been turned by this fresh assertion that poetry was a weakness to which his poverty, not his will, condescended. The Epistle then may, with some confidence, be placed in the two or three years between the publication of Epp. I and the composition of the Carmen Seculare, i.e. between B.C. 20 and 17.

Some difficulty remains in fixing a moment during this period when the condition of Tiberius' absence from Rome is satisfied. Mommsen (l. c.) finds it in B.C. 19 before his return from his progress in the East, which it is assumed took place when Augustus returned in that year. There is, no doubt, some awkwardness in bringing it so near to the date of Epp. I. 3, which belongs to the same expedition, and which seems hardly consistent with what Horace says, at the beginning of the present Epistle, of his having warned Florus before starting that he was no correspondent. There is hardly time to suppose Florus to have returned to Rome and started again. At the same time Mommsen seems to show that Vahlen's supposition that Tiberius was in Gallia Comata in B.C. 18 is unfounded, and that he was not there till 16, which is too late for the other condition of this Epistle. In this uncertainty we must leave the question.

### 3. *Epistula ad Pisones.*

The general difficulty of the Ars Poetica, though it has become proverbial[1], has been exaggerated, being due in some measure at least to pre-conceived opinions with which the poem obstinately refused to be squared : but there is one element of uncertainty about it on which discussion does not seem to bring us nearer to an agreement. It is the only one of Horace's poems in respect of which a serious doubt can be said to exist as to the period of his life to which it is to be assigned ; one school of critics placing it in the period of the First Book of the Epistles, i.e. between B.C. 24 and 20, another making it the work of his last years, i.e. between B.C. 12 and 8[2].

In the early centuries the question does not seem to have been raised. No stress can be laid on the place given to the poem in the

[1] Dill[r]. quotes Goethe as saying that no two people would think alike of it, and no single person for ten years together.

[2] The mention of Quintilius (v. 438), in terms which seem to imply that he was dead, limits it to the period after B.C. 24, in which year, according to the Eusebian Chronicon, he died (see on Od. I. 24). The 'nil scribens ipse' of v. 306 seems to exclude the years (17–13), when lyrical composition had been resumed.

MSS. (see above, p. 327). The Odes always stand before the Epodes; the Epistles in many MSS. before the Satires. These inversions of the chronological order are traced with great probability to the large use of Horace's writings (a use which dates as early as Juvenal, see Sat. 7. 227) for the purpose of school teaching. The Odes and the Ars Poetica are, for different reasons, the compositions which would be thought most serviceable. The only substantial contribution to the question of date made by the Scholiasts is in Porphyrion's statement (of which there is no sign that he perceived the chronological import) that the 'Piso, pater' of the poem is 'L. Piso custos, id est, praefectus urbis, nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit et studiorum liberalium antistes.' This is the man who was consul in B.C. 15, and whose death Tacitus records in Ann. 6. 10. He died in A.D. 31 at the age of 80. He was born therefore in the year B.C. 49. This will allow of his having had two sons growing up to manhood ('iuvenes') and capable of literary ambitions within the limits of Horace's life, but it would drive us to the last years of it, B.C. 10–8. Those, therefore, who argue for an earlier date have to give up this Piso and fall back generally on the suggestion of Cn. Piso, who was consul in B.C. 23. He had been an adherent of Brutus, which gives him a link to Horace. He had a son also named Gnaeus, who was consul in B.C. 7, and who would be the 'maior iuvenum' of this poem.

When the Ars Poetica was transferred by H. Stephanus and Lambinus to its present place at the end of Horace's works it seems to have been taken for granted that this was its true chronological position. Bentley so places it with very slight discussion. This view has been maintained in this century by Kirchner, Ritter, Dillenburger and Orelli. Franke, on the other hand, leans to the earlier date, and this is the one which has been in most favour with recent critics. The arguments for it have been most fully stated by A. Michaelis[1] and more recently by Prof. Nettleship[2]. Porphyrion's identification of Piso evidently does not settle the question, the Scholiasts being frequently wrong in such cases (see above, p. 9). We are thrown back on internal evidence. This is of three kinds.

1. *References to persons.* None of these are conclusive either way. The strongest case for the earlier date is the mention of Maecius (v. 389) as the critic to whom, in addition to Horace and his own father, the young Piso is to submit his future poem. If this is the

[1] 'Commentationes in honorem Theodori Mommseni,' Berlin, 1887, pp. 420 f.
[2] Essays in Latin Literature, pp. 168 f.

same person that is named in Cic. ad Fam. 7. 1, as having had the approval of the plays which should be acted in Pompey's theatre in B.C. 54 (see on Sat. 1. 10. 38), he would have been an old man in B.C. 10–8. But it is clear that there are some loopholes. We cannot be sure that there was not a second Maecius. We need not assume, with some writers on the point, that Cicero's Maecius was a man already in middle life; the point of the complaint may be that Pompey had trusted such a delicate duty to the immature judgment of a clever young friend. Or Bentley may have been right in his suggestion that Horace means only 'a Maecius,' i.e. a critic like Maecius, as he calls a physician 'Craterus[1]' because Craterus was the physician of Cicero's letters.

2. *The management of the Hexameter.* This question has been examined very fully by Waltz[2], and in some special points by A. Michaelis. That there is a striking change between the Hexameter of Horace's earlier and later poems is obvious. It has begun within the Satires, but the great divergence is when we pass from the Satires to the Epistles of Book 1. This is just where the seven years' training of his ear in lyrical composition might be expected to tell and where the influence of Virgil would be likely to have modified that of Lucretius and Lucilius. On the one side there is a marked diminution in some Lucretian liberties and roughnesses, such as the monosyllabic endings ('ridiculus mus'), the quadrisyllabic endings ('libertino patre natum'), broken rhythms at the beginning ('denique quatenus,' 'ille repotia'), the elision of monosyllables. On the other, we can perhaps trace a compensating development of the more Virgilian rhythms which attain variety in a different and more harmonious manner. When these changes are expressed in a tabular form the Ars Poetica is judged to stand more nearly with the Epistles of Book 2 than with those of Book 1; but any arguments based on this must be handled very cautiously. The comparison between Book 1 and Book 2 is itself delusive; for there are probably six years between the two Epistles of Book 2, and the Epistle to Florus is near in date to the Epistles of Book 1. Michaelis also points out with what small figures we are dealing in any such comparison of licenses as between the Epistles. Between the Satires and Epistles the change is great; between one Epistle or set of Epistles and another it is small. Again accident plays a part in such variations; and in all Horace's poems rhythms change per-

[1] Sat. 2. 3. 161.
[2] 'Des variations de la langue et de la métrique d'Horace,' Paris, 1881.

ceptibly, even from passage to passage, with the tone and subject, as the carelessness of conversation gives place to continuous narrative, or graver argument [1].

3. *The relation of the poem to Horace's other writings.* It must be remembered that it is not a composition *sui generis*, which might find its place in any part of the literary life of a versatile writer. It is an Epistle amongst the Epistles. Its topics, the length and fulness of their treatment, the approach however distant, to the proportions and order of a treatise, raise the presumption that it belongs to the Epistles of the later rather than the earlier period. Is there any positive argument to overbear this presumption? Michaelis finds one in the passage (vv. 48–72) in which Horace claims for the Augustan poets and especially, in word at least, for 'Virgil and Varius' and for himself, at least as much freedom in enriching the language with new words as had been exercised by Caecilius and Plautus. He thinks the tone too real, strenuous, and militant, to suit a time when the battle must have been over, when the Aeneid had been ten years before the world and Virgil and Varius had become classics. He contrasts it especially in this respect with the lines in the Ep. to Florus (115–121), where this function of the poet is spoken of (and probably with a tacit reference to Virgil) as one that all would recognize and allow. The difficulty cannot be ignored nor fully explained. It can hardly have been a vital question to Piso. Horace is no doubt dwelling on the point because it was on his own mind and because he felt strongly upon it. But 'Virgil and Varius' are to him representatives of the classical school of Augustan poetry for which he is always ready to do battle. They are mentioned together in the same way in the Ep. to Augustus v. 247, though that was certainly written some years after their death, and that Epistle gives abundant proof that the publication of the Aeneid had not silenced the controversy or the voice of detraction.

A more serious difficulty, however, lies in the way of the earlier date in the close relation which exists between the topics and language of the Ars Poetica and those of that Epistle. The text of the two is the same: 'failure in poetry is due to an imperfect conception of the nature of poetry as an art.' The following points are among those common to the two Epistles: the comparison of the temperament which the Greeks and Romans severally brought

[1] Compare the frequency of monosyllabic and quadrisyllabic endings in the 10th Aeneid, which is due probably to the conscious or unconscious influence of the Homeric descriptions which Virgil is directly imitating.

to literature; the indication of the constitutional Roman vice of avarice as tainting literary men and spoiling their work; the complaint of audiences as inevitably lowering the standard of those who wrote for them; the vindication (in one case, as suits the place, playful, in the other more unmixedly serious) of the dignity and use of poetry; the disproportionate share given (however it be explained) to the drama; the special attack on Plautus; the use of Choerilus as the type of a poetaster. The more closely the passages in which these occur are compared, the more likely, I believe, it will be thought that the treatment of the topics in the Ars Poetica is the later, as it is the fuller. But if this judgment is distrusted we may still ask which is the most probable, that Horace should have gathered freely from earlier compositions materials for a letter intended primarily to guide a young literary friend, or that when he is bending his energies to write a particularly happy and acceptable Epistle to the Emperor he should take so many of its points from one which he had written ten years before to some comparatively nameless young friends.

I do not know whether it is fanciful to see some confirmation of the later date in the new attitude which seems to be assumed in the poem towards the moral principles and language of which we heard so much in earlier writings. *Sapere aude* is the text of Epp. 1. 2. *Sapere est abiectis utile nugis* (i.e. 'flinging away poetry as nothing but an idle amusement') is the conclusion of Epp. 2. 2. *Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons* is the motto of the Ars Poetica. In accordance with this change of view the principles which have been maintained in the moral sphere are now shown to have their bearing in literary matters: the virtue of consistency, the falsehood of extremes, the necessity of effort and thoroughness, the danger of falling into one fault from dread of another, the duty of give and take, of weighing merits against faults before you condemn, the valuelessness of a bribed judgment, the folly of the false shame which prefers to acquiesce in mischiefs rather than confess and cure them. Moral phrases have got a new literary application: 'rectum,' 'virtus,' 'vitium,' 'error,' 'quod decet,' 'vir bonus et prudens.' It is as though Horace's two tastes and interests had run at last into one stream. Philosophy is no longer the rival of poetry, but has become her instructress. The study of the 'Socraticae chartae' has ended in the Rhetoric and Poetic.

# LIBER SECUNDUS.

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## EPISTLE I.

### TO AUGUSTUS.

*A defence of the Classical School of Latin Poetry.*

Verses 1–4. You are so busy, with the Roman world on your shoulders, Caesar, that anything I write to you must be short.

5–17. Like the demigods in your tastes, you are unlike them in this, that men have recognized you for what you are in your lifetime.

18–27. But your countrymen, though they do this justice to you, are incapable generally of doing justice to contemporaries, from their excessive regard for the ancients. Every rag of primitive Latinity is treated as an utterance of the Muses.

28–33. If it be pleaded that of Greek poets the oldest are the best, the answer is plain: 'Are we the Greeks?'

34–49. If it be said that generally poems, like wine, improve by time, the answer is: Time is a relative phrase. Where will you draw the line between ancient and modern?

50–62. There is a rage for the ancients. We know by heart all the cant epithets for Ennius and Naevius, Pacuvius and Accius; in comedy it is Afranius, Plautus, Caecilius, Terence. This is the orthodox list.

63–68. The admiration is too indiscriminate.

69–75. I do not make a crusade against Livius whom we learned at school, but neither do I accept him as a perfect model.

76–85. I do not like to see moderns run down merely because they are modern, and all criticism of ancients treated as profanity.

86–89. This praise of antiquity is inspired by jealousy of contemporaries.

90–92. It is lucky for us that the Greeks had no such dislike of novelty, else we should not have had the magazine which we have.

93–102. The first use they put their leisure to was to essay first one art, then another, with the freshness and the inconstancy of a child.

103–107. At Rome we were more serious: domestic duties, morals, (and a little money-getting), occupied our countrymen in old days.

108–117. Now no doubt the tide has turned and we are all scribbling, young and old, fit and unfit.

118–138. Well, there is something to be said after all for poetry. There are worse madnesses. It has even its uses, in education, as a practical teacher of philosophy, in religion.

139–155. Poetry began with us in the rough improvisations of Fescennine verse, so rough that the law had to step in.

156–160. Then came Greek influence, softening and refining, but the old rusticity did not go at once, if it has gone now.

161–164. It was late, after the Punic wars, when Roman writers first began to know, and then to try to imitate, Greek tragedy and comedy.

165–167. They were only too well satisfied with themselves. Their tragedy was good enough in spirit, but too hasty.

168–176. Comedy was thought easier, but the failure is on this account the more palpable. Look at Plautus with his coarsely drawn characters and slip-shod style. That came from writing for money.

177–181. Another great difficulty of the dramatic poet is his dependence on his audience.

182–207. And the audience amongst us, or the most numerous and noisy part of it, cares for the excitement of spectacles more than for real drama.

208–213. Do not think that I am undervaluing the dramatic art. It is wonderful.

214–218. But give a share of your patronage to other poets also.

219–228. I know it is often our own fault that you do not. We are devoid of tact, we are impatient of criticism, we are too exacting in our demands.

229–231. Still it is worth while to see what sort of poets are set to celebrate your great deeds.

232–244. Alexander, though he was particular as to the painters and sculptors who took his likeness, paid a miserable poetaster for singing of his exploits.

245–250. You have been wiser in choosing Virgil and Varius, and you know what the poet can do to immortalize greatness.

250–270. I would sing your deeds myself, if I could. But I am afraid of bringing you and myself too into contempt.

Horace, taking his pen at the bidding of Augustus, in order to link the Emperor's name with one of his 'Sermones,' chooses with great tact, as the subject of his Epistle, an apology for the poetry of the Augustan age, for poetry as he, Virgil, and Varius, understood it.

The first eighty-nine lines are occupied in directly attacking the school which decried all contemporary poets in its admiration, real or professed, for the ancients. This leads him in v. 90 to institute a comparison between the history of poetry in Greece and Rome, which is to explain why Roman poetry is only now being brought to perfection. It is the same explanation as that which is given in the Ars Poetica: 'Grais ingenium . . . dedit Musa.' Peace was necessary in either case for the development of literature, but when once that external condition was satisfied, there followed a spontaneous burst of artistic life in a thousand forms. The nature was artistic, and only circumstances restrained it. In Rome, on the contrary, all the original tendencies were prudential and utilitarian. When poetry came, as it had come now, it came by a sudden reaction, and to people not prepared for it. Then follows, 118 f., a playful passage, with its serious side, in which he pleads even for this new development of uninstructed verse writing. 'It is better than many things, better than the sordid money-getting to which Romans were inclined. It has its use. Poetry is worth something in education and in religion, as you recognized, when you set me to write an ode for the secular games.' Then he sketches (139 f.) the actual course of Latin poetry, its rustic origin, with the coarseness and personal tone which attached to it, the introduction

late in time of Greek culture, which has been slowly driving out the old taint of rudeness and has not fully done its work yet; the faults, in spite of their vigour and spirit, of the early writers of tragedy and comedy, in their self-sufficiency, haste, and eagerness to make money.

Turning from the writers of plays he goes on (v. 177 f.) to arraign the audiences as equally wanting in the artistic spirit. They care for shows, not for good plays or acting. Lastly, after explaining in a few words that in what he says he is not undervaluing the dramatic art, he turns (v. 214 f.) to other kinds of poetry, and asks Augustus' support for them. 'I know,' he says, 'there are many of us who bore you, but there are differences between us, and happily you are not like Alexander, you know a Virgil from a Choerilus. And you will reap your reward. Good poetry is indeed "aere perennius." I would do my part as your poet, if I could, but bad poetry is worse than none.'

The points of the Epistle are—

1. That it is ridiculous to judge poetry by its age not its intrinsic merit.

2. That the conditions of the development of Roman literature had made it certain that perfection would come late.

3. That Augustus' taste is a true one; that Virgil and Varius, (and it is hinted, Horace), have taken the right way to be classics, and so immortal, in a sense that their predecessors had not.

CUM tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.
Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt,

2. **res Italas.** 'Italus' has now come to be nearly synonymous with 'Romanus'; Od. 4. 15. 13, Epp. 1. 18. 57; so that 'res Italae' is 'the Roman world.'

**tuteris**: Od. 4. 14. 43.

**moribus**: with reference to Augustus' social reforms. See on Od. 3. 24. 35, 4. 5. 22, where there is the same antithesis of 'mos' and 'lex.'

4. **morer**: as Epp. 1. 13. 17.

**tempora**, *καιρούς*, 'busy moments.'

5. With the list of demigods and the implied comparison of their civilizing labours to those of Augustus cp. Od. 3. 3. 9–15 n. Orelli rightly sees a special purpose in placing the name of Romulus first, and in immediate juxtaposition with that of Caesar; 'your great prototype, the first founder, as you are the second founder, of Rome.' He recalls the story that Augustus had wished himself to take the name of Romulus. Suet. Aug. 7, Dion C. 53. 16.

6. **deorum in templa recepti**, i. e. who were worshipped as gods.

7. **dum colunt** qualifies 'ploravere'; so long as they were engaged in their beneficent tasks they missed their reward.

**colunt**: in a double sense with its two objects, 'make fruitful' and 'civilize,' the first referring especially to Liber and his vine.

8. **agros assignant.** The institution of private property was, according to the writer's point of view, a step in civilization (as here and A. P. 397), or a declension from the golden age (Virg. G. 1. 126 'ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum Fas erat'). The verb used here was the technical term for the division of public lands. Horace hints, without saying, that Augustus has been

Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit hydram
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravat artes
Infra se positas; exstinctus amabitur idem.
Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
Sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno

repeating all these forms of beneficent labour, encouraging agriculture, civilizing, restoring peace, settling veteran soldiers on confiscated farmlands, founding cities; cp. the recital of the effects of his rule in Od. 4. 5. 17–32, 4. 15. 4–20, and with this particular phrase cp. Od. 3. 4. 37, 38.

10. **contudit**, with his club. For the favourite comparison of Augustus to Hercules see on Od. 3. 3. 9, 3. 14. 1, 4. 5. 36, and cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 802.

11. **fatali.** It elevates Hercules' labours, and by implication those of Augustus, to describe them as not accidental but part of the predestined order of things.

**portenta**, 'monsters': Od. 1. 22. 13.

12. **supremo fine**: not by any fresh labour but by the end which admits nothing after it. Cp. 'morte suprema' Epp. 2. 2. 173 and Ov. Met. 3. 136 'dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.' With the thought cp. Od. 3. 24. 30–32. 'Invidia,' in the case of Hercules, was the envy of Juno, which according to the legend was appeased by his death.

**domari**: the verb is chosen in order to suggest the image of envy as the last and greatest monster with which he grappled.

13. **praegravat**: Sat. 2. 2. 78. As 'urit' gains its force by suggesting the contrast of what should be, 'scorches,' instead of warming or lighting, so 'praegravat' implies an opp. 'tollit,' 'weighs down,' 'depresses' instead of lifting.

**artes**: see note on Od. 4. 15. 12. It is chosen as a very general word, covering art (proper) and the 'arts' of life; excellence in any department.

14. **exstinctus**: the metaphor of 'fulgore' is resumed. 'These suns of glory please not till they set.' Pope.

15. **praesenti**, 'while still among us.'

**maturos**, 'betimes,' not waiting, as with the heroes, till you are gone.

16. **iurandas.** 'Iuro' is used both with an acc. 'numen' Virg. Aen. 6. 324, 'aras' Juv. S. 3. 144 (whence the passive 'dis iuranda palus' Ov. Met. 2. 46), and with 'per,' 'per caput hoc iuro' Virg. Aen. 9. 300. Horace here combines the two constructions.

**numen.** The question is doubtful between 'numen,' the reading of V and of two MSS. to the concurrent testimony of which Keller attaches high value, viz. E (Munich) and R (Vatican), and 'nomen,' which is found in the great majority of MSS. 'Numen' was restored to the text by Bentley, who quotes abundantly to show that 'iurare numen' or 'per numen' is the usual phrase, and points out that Ovid speaks repeatedly of 'Augustum numen,' 'Caesareum numen,' etc. It has been accepted by Keller (in his Epilegomena), by Ritter, and by Munro. Orelli, Dill[r]., and Schütz prefer 'nomen.' The historical reference is probably to the worship of the 'genius Augusti' among the Lares. Cp. Od. 4. 5. 34 'et Laribus tuum Miscet numen,' and see general introd. to this Epistle, p. 328.

18. **tuus hic populus**, 'this same people of thine.' 'Tuus' at once sums up the attitude of the people which is in question, 'this people so devoted to you though you are still with us,' and gives a point of connection between the address to Augustus and the arraignment of the poet's contemporaries. Augustus is in a sense responsible for them and should hear their failings.

**in uno.** Is this neut., 'in one point,'

Te nostris ducibus, te Grais anteferendo,
Cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
Aestimat, et nisi quae terris semota suisque
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit;
Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.
Si quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
Scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem

viz. in preferring, etc.? or masc., agreeing with **te**? Probably the latter. In the former case a comma should be put at 'uno,' with Orelli, Dill^r., and Keller. The argument for that view is the more complete antithesis which seems to be gained between 'uno' and 'cetera.' On the other hand it may be said that the greater antithesis, viz. between 'sapiens et iustus,' and the character described by 'cetera nequaquam,' etc., is emphasized by every touch which brings out the largeness of what they grant. This 'uno te,' etc. does: 'though they show wisdom and justice in setting you, you only, before all our own captains, all the captains of Greece.'

20. **ratione modoque**: cp. Sat. 2. 3. 266 and 271. As that passage shows, not a mere pleonasm, as 'more modoque' in Od. 4. 2. 28, but with some sense that the 'principle and method' are reasonable.

21. **suis temporibus defuncta**: 'quae sua tempora compleverint ac finierint' Porph.

23. **sic fautor.** Horace uses 'sic' for 'tam' or 'adeo' with adjectives, Sat. 1. 3. 19, 1. 5. 69; Epp. 2. 1. 179. So with verbs or participles, Sat. 2. 8. 3, 36, 48.

**veterum**, neut.; we have passed from the judgment of men to that of literature.

**tabulas**: the XII Tables of the decemviri.

25. **Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis.** For the omission of 'cum' with the first subst., see on Od. 3. 25. 2. Dionys. Halicarn. (3. 33 and 4. 58) vouches for the existence in his time (the Augustan age) of what professed to be the original treaties of Tullus Hostilius with the Sabines, and Tarquinius Superbus with the Gabii.

**aequata**: a coloured substitution for 'facta'; 'quibus aequabant condiciones' Acr.

26. **pontificum libros**: Cic. de Or. 1. 43. 193, where the XII Tables are classed as monuments of antiquity with these ancient rules of ritual.

**vatum**, 'seers,' not merely poets. The ref. is to such compositions as the 'carmina Marciana,' which Livy describes (25. 12) as having contained a foreshadowing of the battle of Cannae; see Wordsworth, Fragm. of Anc. Latin, p. 567.

27. **dictitet**: Epp. 1. 16. 22; 'never tire of saying.'

**Albano in monte**: as on a Roman Parnassus. It has been suggested that Horace is parodying some such boast as that recorded in Quintilian 10. 1. 99 'in comoedia maxime claudicamus, licet Varro Musas, Aeli Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent.'

28. 'If we argue that because the oldest Greek writers are the best therefore the oldest Roman writers are so also, we ignore the vast difference between the Greeks and ourselves. We are transferring the characteristics of nuts to olives, and of olives to nuts. We may as soon say that our painting and music and wrestling are better than those of the Greeks.' Horace often dwells on the great gulf set by nature between Greek and Roman genius; see inf. vv. 93–108, A. P. 323. To refuse to see this and argue as if the same laws governed both is to fly in the face of nature.

Scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri;
Venimus ad summum fortunae; pingimus atque
Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
Si meliora dies ut vina poëmata reddit,
Scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus.
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
Viles atque novos? Excludat iurgia finis.
'Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.'
Quid, qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno,
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poëtas,
An quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
'Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste,

30. **non est quod multa loquamur**: there is no need to say much, i.e. the conclusion is obvious.

31. **oleam.** Bentley would read 'olea,' understanding 'in' (as with 'cum' in v. 25), and Keller approves, though allowing that 'oleam' was the reading of the archetype, and was found by Porph.

32. **ad summum fortunae.** 'We have attained all that is possible to human nature; we can beat the Greeks at their accomplishments.' **Achivis doctius unctis** shows that this is said with some irony, as though he had added 'as much as we can in our own more solid excellences.'

35. **quotus**, 'which in the series?' the 100th? the 99th? etc. Tacitus in Dial. de Or. 16 puts the same answer into the mouth of Afer, when he is meeting a sweeping assertion of the superiority of ancient orators.

**arroget**: the sense of 'to claim,' common in other writers and found in Sat. 2. 4. 35, A. P. 122, seems in this place, as in Od. 4. 14. 40, less appropriate. We want rather 'to add,' 'to assign further.' This may be an extension of the recognized use, or may come by a different channel from some technical use of 'arrogo.' Orelli suggests the use for formal adoption by a 'lex curiata'; Mr. Page the analogy of 'prorogare,' 'to grant in extension.'

36. **decidit**: Od. 4. 7. 14.

37. Note the mockery in the repeated coupling 'perfectos veteresque,' 'viles atque novos,' and also in the order in each case, the questioner professing to put the 'perfection' or 'worthlessness' as the characteristic which strikes the mind first. This is made evident by the reversal of the order in the answer which is meant to be plain matter of fact, yet equally to assume that age and worth go together.

38. **excludat iurgia finis**: let us have a limit to bar disputes, like Virgil's landmark, 'Limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis' Aen. 12. 897.

41, 42. The questioner here expresses the convertibility of old and good, new and bad, not as before by coupling the terms, but by opposing 'old' in one clause to a vehement expression for 'bad' in the other. Bentley seems to have missed this when he wished to read 'probosque' for **poëtas**. His further reason against the text, viz. the *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* 'poetas,' 'aetas,' is answered by reference to A. P. 99, 100; 176, 177.

43. 'Ay, call him old, by favour of the court, who falls a month or e'en a twelvemonth short.' So Conington translates, rightly indicating that (as in v. 39) there is the affectation of a sententious tone as of a judge allowing a point. Cp. the answers of Trebatius in Sat. 2. 1.

**honeste.** As this is the equivalent to 'Est vetus atque probus' of v. 39, **ponetur honeste** probably means 'shall

Qui vel mense brevi vel toto est iunior anno.'
Utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae
Paulatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum,
Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi
Qui redit in fastos et virtutem aestimat annis,
Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
Ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur
Quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.

have honourable place,' place as 'probus,' not (as Orelli and Ritter) 'shall be placed without discredit to the placer.'

45. **caudae pilos ut equinae.** Has Horace already begun the definite reference which appears in v. 47 to the logical puzzle attributed by Diog. Laert. (2. 108) to Eubulides, and called, after two illustrations used of it, *φαλακρός* or *σωρίτης* (transl. by Cic. Div. 2. 4. 11 'acervalis'; cp. the description in Acad. Pr. 2. 16. 49 'captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur, cum aliquid minutatim et gradatim additur vel demitur. Sorites hoc vocant, quia acervum efficiunt uno grano')? Those who think so imagine that the horse's tail was a recognized form of the illustration called *φαλακρός*, the question of how many hairs are the minimum that makes a tail being substituted for the question how many hairs save a man from being rightly called 'bald.' The two forms of the puzzle would however be then rather awkwardly joined in one sentence. It is better perhaps to suppose that 'like single hairs from a horse's tail' is a separate illustration of his piecemeal destruction of his opponent's argument. Lambinus suggested that Horace had in mind the apologue (attributed by Plutarch to Sertorius) of the two men who tried to pluck out a horse's tail, one by a single pull, the other hair by hair.

46. **etiam**: the evidence for 'etiam' and 'et item' is nearly balanced. Bentl. preferred 'et item' (cp. Lucr. 4. 543). For 'etiam' cp. Pers. S. 6. 58 'Adde etiam unum: Unum etiam,' which may possibly be a reminiscence of this place.

47. **cadat elusus.** Orelli and others say that the metaph. is of a gladiator 'overthrown by a trick': but the words are natural, and would not necessarily bring any such definite image. In the meantime they are given a new appropriateness by their relation to the words that follow, as though the imagined heap were represented as slipping away by degrees from under the disputant who rests upon it.

48. **in fastos**: to see the date before pronouncing a judgment.

49. **Libitina**: Od. 3. 30. 7, Sat. 2. 6. 19.

50–59. Illustrations of the rage for the ancients, the illogical character of which has been discussed. It is to be remembered throughout that we are not reading Horace's criticisms, but the cant phrases and stock judgments which are to be heard in the literary circles which he is laughing at.

50. **Ennius**: Od. 4. 8. 20, Epp. 1. 19. 7. The epithets are from the current language of the day. They rise from a tone which Horace would echo to an hyperbole ('a second Homer') which he would condemn.

51. **leviter curare videtur.** These words are rightly interpreted by Porph., as Bentley shows, 'securus iam de proventu laudis suae est Ennius propter quam ante sollicitus fuerat'; 'he has attained now such assured fame (as one of the 'ancients,' Horace speaks with some irony) that he can afford to let his own professions and dreams of metempsychosis take their chance of being true or not.' Ennius, so Porph. further explains, in the beginning of the Annals had described a dream of his own in which he was assured that the soul of Homer had reappeared in his person: see note on Pers. S. 6. 10, Ennius, Annal. 15 (Vahlen).

52. **Pythagorea.** For Horace's tone towards Pythagorean tenets see introd. to Od. 1. 28; and cp. Epod. 15. 21, Sat. 2. 6. 63.

Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
Paene recens? Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poëma.
Ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
Vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
Hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro
Spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poëtas

53. 'Nay, is not Naevius, who is still older and more crabbed, read and remembered by everyone as though he wrote yesterday?' Bentley has the credit of restoring sense by putting the question at 'recens.' Ritter alone of modern editors retains the old reading without it.

**mentibus haeret**: so Cic. Tusc. D. 3. 2. 3 'poetae qui audiuntur, leguntur, ediscuntur et inhaerescunt penitus in mentibus.'

55. In the talk of such literary circles the merits of Pacuvius and Accius are often discussed, but it is only to ask which is the greater poet, and what is the appropriate adjective to characterize each.

56. **docti, alti** are the cant epithets. Quintilian (10. 1. 97), doubtless with these words in mind, writes 'virium Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti affectant volunt.'

**Pacuvius**: the nephew of Ennius, lived between B.C. 219 and 129.

**Accius** was born B.C. 170, and was alive in B.C. 87. They were both tragic poets. For Accius see Sat. 1. 10. 53, A. P. 258.

**senis**, 'an ancient'; see on Sat. 2. 1. 34.

57. **dicitur**: i. e. this is the talk.

**toga**. The form of expression is chosen (after the model of 'cothurnus' for 'tragedy,' etc.) because Afranius wrote 'togatae': to say that 'his gown was the very fit of Menander,' is to say that his comedies were of the character and value of Menander's.

58. A line of doubtful meaning. Horace is giving, as in the other cases, not his own judgment, but the too favourable criticism of admirers of Plautus. Orelli explains **properare** of Plautus' rapidity of dramatic movement (cp. 'ad eventum festinat' A. P. 148); Ritter, of the quick strides that he makes towards catching up his model. It is possible that 'properare' is a word which would be used by adverse critics, as Horace himself (see infr. v. 174 foll., where he charges him with too rapid composition) and that his friends are represented as making the best of this by saying that it is an imitation of Epicharmus. **Siculi** is a touch of learning on the part of the critics, and implies, by identifying him, 'the master.' 'Epicharmus,' the Dorian comic poet, was born at Cos B. C. 540, but spent his life in Sicily.

59. **vincere**. The comparison is between Caecilius and Terence, not between them and Plautus.

**Caecilius**. Caecilius Statius died B.C. 168, two years before the appearance of Terence's first play. Cicero (de Opt. Gen. Orat. 1. 2) gives him provisionally ('si cui ita videtur') the first place as a comic writer.

60–62. **hos . . . hos . . . hos**, 'these and these only.' 'These are the poets learnt by heart in schools; these are the dramatists that Romans will crowd into a close theatre to see acted; this is the complete and final list from the days of Livius Andronicus (the father of Roman literature, who began to exhibit tragedies in Rome 240 B.C.) to the present day.'

61. **potens**, 'this mighty Rome of ours': cp. Od. 4. 3. 13; but here, as Schütz points out, there is some irony in the epithet. A contrast is suggested between her greatness in other respects and her humble standard in literary taste. Cp. A. P. 289 f. 'Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis Quam lingua Latium si non,' etc.

Ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.
Interdum volgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.
Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poëtas
Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat:
Si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
Dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
Et sapit et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.
Non equidem insector delendaque carmina Livi
Esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri
Pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror;
Inter quae verbum emicuit si forte decorum, et
Si versus paulo concinnior unus et alter,
Iniuste totum ducit venditque poëma.
Indignor quicquam reprehendi, non quia crasse

63. **rectum videt**: *ὀρθὸν βλέπει.*

**est ubi peccat**: see on Od. 1. 1. 3. This is possibly an instance where the indicative is preferred on purpose. It is a single blunder of which he speaks.

66. **pleraque**, 'many,' not necessarily 'most,' things: see on the use of 'plerumque' Sat. 1. 10. 15.

67. **ignave**, 'dully,' 'without spirit.' This is a worse charge than 'antique' or 'dure,' and so we pass from 'credit' to 'fatetur.' This is an answer to Bentley's argument in favour of 'cedit,' a reading of little authority.

68. **mecum facit**: Epp. 2. 2. 23; 'takes my side.'

**Iove iudicat aequo**, 'Jove smiles on its judgment,' i. e. it judges wisely. Cp. 'invita Minerva' A. P. 385; 'Iove quidem irato fit ut errent homines et delirent' Porph.

69. 'I do not go into the opposite extreme and rail against the ancient writers as fit only to be destroyed.'

**Livi**. Livius Andronicus, taken as a representative of the early writers. Cicero speaks (Brutus 18. 74) of his Latin Odyssey as a puzzle, 'opus aliquod Daedali,' and says of his plays that they were 'non satis dignae quae iterum legantur.'

70. **plagosum Orbilium**. Orbilius was a native of Beneventum, who set up a school in Rome in B.C. 63. Suetonius gives a short life of him among the 'illustres grammatici.' With respect to the epithet he says 'fuit naturae acerbae non modo in antisophistas quos omni sermone laceravit sed etiam in discipulos, ut Horatius significat plagosum eum appellans, ut Domitius Marsus scribens "Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit."' For other references to Horace's school days see Sat. 1. 6. 76 foll., Epp. 2. 2. 41 foll.

71. **dictare**: Sat. 1. 10. 71.

72. **exactis**, 'perfect.'

75. **ducit venditque**; the single happy word or neat line passes off the poem. The metaphor of 'vendit' is common. Cp. Juv. S. 7. 135 'purpura vendit Causidicum,' 'vendibilis orator' Cic. Brut. 47. 174. That of 'ducit' is not so clear. It is usually taken of a gang of slaves for sale, the best *put in front*, and so making the lot look better than it is, 'ceterorum agmen ducit' Ritter. Wilkins compares the Ciceronian metaph. 'familiam ducere,' lit. to be the foremost of a gang of slaves: see King on Cic. Phil. 5. 11. 30. Bentley felt the difficulty so much that he wished to follow what is probably only a miswriting of Regin. 'venit,' making 'poema' the subj., 'the whole poem takes in the purchaser and finds a market.'

76. **indignor** follows up the feeling of 'iniuste.' 'I feel keenly the injustice that this implies, that modern work should be blamed, not for its faults, but for being modern, that antiquity should

Compositum illepideve putetur, sed quia nuper;
Nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem et praemia posci.
Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
Fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
Cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner
Quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit:
Vel quia nil rectum nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt,
Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, et quae
Imberbi didicere, senes perdenda fateri.
Iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat, et illud

be held not only (which it may be) an excuse for defects, but a ground of praise and preference in itself.'

**crasse**, 'of coarse texture': opp. 'tenui filo' inf. v. 225.

79. **crocum floresque**, sc. 'scenam . . . ubi flores sparguntur' Acr. For the sprinkling of essence of saffron on the stage cp. Lucr. 2. 416 'Et cum scena croco Cilici perfusa recens est,' Martial. 5. 25. 7 'rubro pulpita nimbo Spargere et effuso permaduisse croco.'

**recte perambulet**: 'to tread the boards without stumbling' is in the first place an adaptation of the common figurative use of 'stare,' 'cadere,' of theatrical success and failure: cp. vv. 174, 176. A comparison however of that passage makes it probable that the words are meant to hit by the way some special characteristic of Atta's plays. The most obvious explanation is that 'perambulare' (cp. Od. 4. 5. 17 n.), as contrasted with 'percurrere' in v. 174, implies a pompous style or slowness of movement. There are two more far-fetched suggestions, (1) of Porphyrion, that the whole expression refers not to treading the stage, but to a long list of flowers given in a special play named 'Matertera,' which is taken as a typical instance of his wordiness; (2) of Lambinus, that there is a play on the meaning of Atta which is said by Festus (s. v.) to have been a nickname of the poet, and to have meant 'one who walks with a tripping gait'; 'qui plantis insistunt et attingunt potius terram quam ambulant.'

**Attae**. T. Quintius Atta, a writer of 'togatae,' died in B.C. 78. A few fragments and the titles of a few of his plays are all that remains of him.

81. **patres**: probably in the sense of 'senators,' the front row of the audience. Cp. 'centuriae seniorum' A. P. 342. They represent the orthodox and middle-aged opinion. Orelli and others take it as in v. 109 = 'seniores.'

82. **Aesopus . . . Roscius**: the famous actors of Cicero's time; the former of tragedies (see on Sat. 2. 3. 239) 'summus artifex, et semper partium in republica tam quam in scena optimarum' Cic. pro Sest. 56. 120; the latter of comedy. Cicero says of him (de Orat. 1. 28. 130) that his standard of perfection was so high that 'a Roscius in his own line' had become a proverb for a master in any art. 'Gravis,' 'doctus' suit these descriptions. They are meant, however, not to give original judgments, but to be the conventional epithets on the lips of the 'patres.' 'Ea quae . . . egit' is not to be limited to the plays of Atta, which indeed Aesopus, if, as seems likely, he was a tragic actor only, would not have acted. It is general; the 'patres' take it for granted that Horace's criticism on Atta is only a sample.

84. **minoribus**: A. P. 174.

85. **imberbi**. The extant MSS. have 'imberbes,' but V and the Comm. Cruq. had the form 'imberbi' here, and 'imberbus' in A. P. 161.

86. **iam** marks a new point in the argument. 'This veneration for antiquity is only masked spite against contemporary genius.'

**Numae**: because the institution of the Salii was traced to Numa, Liv. 1. 20, 'Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta' Quint. 1. 6. 40. See Wordsworth's Fragm. of Anc. Latin, pp. 562 foll.

Quod mecum ignorat solus volt scire videri,
Ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
Quod si tam Graecis novitas invisa fuisset
Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?
Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
Coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,
Nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum,
Marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,
Suspendit picta voltum mentemque tabella,
Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis;

89. **lividus**: Sat. 1. 4. 93 n.

92. **tereret**, 'thumb,' 'pore over'; 'teritur noster ubique liber' Mart. 8. 3. 8, 'παιδείαν Κύρου contriveram legendo' Cic. ad Fam. 9. 25. 1.

**viritim . . . publicus usus.** Orelli is right in seeing in 'publicus usus' a shadow of legal meaning. The art and literature of the Greeks are a public demesne, not their own private property, but that of all the world, of Romans also. 'Viritim' adds that each could find in them what suited his taste. It gives the key to the description which follows of their variety. By a common poetical use the actions of an 'occupier' are attributed to the abstract 'occupation.'

93. **positis bellis.** For the expression cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 291 'Aspera tum positis mitescent secula bellis.' What Horace says finds a noticeable illustration in Arist. Pol. 5. 6 (Welldon's translation): 'As the increase of wealth afforded them better opportunities of leisure and quickened the moral aspirations of their souls, the result was, even before the Persian wars, and still more after them, in the full flush of their achievements, that they essayed every kind of education, drawing no line anywhere, but making experiments in all directions. Thus the use of the flute among other things was introduced into the educational curriculum.' Horace has probably in his mind particularly the age of Pericles at Athens as having followed that of the Persian war. This perhaps corresponded roughly in his view with the burst of literary life which followed the Punic wars at Rome (v. 162 foll.). But his purpose must be remembered: he is not fixing historically the beginning of Greek art and literature, for which purpose his words would be inadequate and misleading. It is the character, not the moment, that is in point. 'As soon as Greece had leisure for such things her energy found vent in a hundred directions at once.'

**nugari . . . in vitium labier.** The contrast at the moment is with the more manly Roman standard from which 'graecari' (Sat. 2. 2. 11) was a declension: see on Epp. 1. 18. 49. But, as we shall see, both in the contrasted description of the Roman modes of using leisure (vv. 103–107), and when he apologizes (vv. 118 foll.) for their having taken to the pursuit of literature, his tone is half ironical. Literature is his own pursuit, and he is speaking to Augustus, who represents the imperial Roman spirit (Virg. Aen. 6. 847–853). Yet he is not really ashamed of the Muse, and he is conscious that the Emperor has some sympathy with him (Od. 3. 4. 37–40).

**labier**: for the form of inf. see on Sat. 2. 3. 24.

95. He is thinking of the great national games and Pindar's celebration of them: see Od. 4. 2. 17 foll.

97. Cp. with the expression Sat. 2. 7. 95 n. and Virgil's 'stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno' Aen. 1. 495, of Aeneas gazing on the pictures in the temple.

98. **tibicinibus.** Cp. the passage quoted on v. 93 from Arist. Pol. 5. 6.

Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
Quod cupide petiit mature plena reliquit.
Quid placet aut odio est quod non mutabile credas?
Hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.
Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura,
Cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos,
Maiores audire, minori dicere, per quae
Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
Mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno
Scribendi studio; pueri patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.
Ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus

100. **reliquit**: the subj. is 'Graecia.' **mature**, 'quickly.'

101. This verse reads naturally enough as a summing up of the preceding lines, 'so variable are the tastes of mankind!' Any difficulty that has been felt arises from the fact that v. 102 seems also to sum them up and from a different point of view. Keller follows Lachmann in thinking that the line was misplaced and should come after v. 107. He finds it so placed in a MS. of value (*r*, Paris 9345). It would then be the comment beforehand on the change of mind at Rome: 'mutabile' leading to 'mutavit . . . levis'; but see on v. 108.

102. **paces**, 'times of peace'; see on Epp. 1. 3. 8.

103. **dulce**: they asked no other pleasure.

**sollemne**: Epp. 1. 18. 49. The word describes the Roman precision and reverence for usage.

**reclusa domo**: for the purpose of receiving and advising clients; see on Od. 4. 5. 54, Epp. 1. 5. 31.

105. 'To open the cash-box when security is given and the borrower solvent.' 'Cavere pecuniam,' 'to guarantee money,' was (as the edd. show), a current legal phrase. **nominibus** may be the dat. after **expendere**, or the modal abl. with **cautos**. Cp. the use of 'nomina' in Sat. 1. 2. 16. **rectis**, 'right,' 'suitable,' is a variation for the usual 'bonis': cp. the saying of the 'fenerator Alfius' (quoted Epod. 2 introd.) 'vel optima nomina non appellando fieri mala.'

106. **maiores audire, minori dicere**, etc. The lines well describe two characteristics of Roman morality, its leaning on family tradition, and its close relation to thrift (note that **damnosa** means 'ruinous to pocket,' Epp. 1. 18. 21), but when read in the light of A. P. 323–332, where there is the same contrast of the Greek and Roman spirit in respect of fitness for art and literature, we must see some irony in the description. '"Serious business" which is set up against literature, ends at Rome sooner or later in money-getting or money-saving.'

108. This is the place where it has been proposed to insert v. 101: but it is not needed. To say that all the world changes its tastes would weaken the force of 'populus levis,' the epithet substituted for 'gravis' the traditional Roman characteristic. No one, I suppose, will take Horace's description 'au pied de la lettre.'

**calet**, of a fever. Orelli recalls Lucian's description (Quomodo sit conscribenda historia 1) of the epidemic at Abdera, which began with fever and ended in a rage for spouting tragic verses. Cp. also Juvenal's 'insanabile . . . scribendi cacoethes' S. 7. 52.

110. **fronde**, 'leaves,' not flowers; leaves, that is, of bay or ivy, Od. 1. 1. 29, 3. 30. 16.

**dictant**, i.e. to an amanuensis; Sat. 1. 4. 10.

111–113. For the arguments based on these lines with regard to the date of the Epistle see p. 329. The reference is clearly to Epp. 1. 1. 10 'versus et cetera ludicra pono.'

Invenior Parthis mendacior, et prius orto
Sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.
Navem agere ignarus navis timet; abrotonum aegro
Non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est
Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim.
Hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
Virtutes habeat sic collige: vatis avarus
Non temere est animus; versus amat, hoc studet unum;
Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo;
Militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,
Si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuvari.
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poëta figurat,
Torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem,

112. **Parthis mendacior**: Od. 4. 15. 23 'infidi Persae.'

113. **calamum**: Sat. 2. 3. 7.

**scrinia**: Sat. 1. 1. 120. What Horace asks for is the means of writing out fair and storing the verses with which his head is running over.

114 foll. The thoughts recur in A. P. 379 foll.

114. **abrotonum**, southern-wood, much used in medicine: Plin. N. H. 21. 21. 92.

115. **quod medicorum est.** Bentl. objecting that this would be a repetition of the instance just given, wished to read 'melicorum,' 'melici,' in the sense of 'musicians.' It has been pointed out that although 'melicus' as an adj. = musical, the only known use of 'melici' as a subst. is 'lyric poets.' But the repetition is not unnatural where we are passing from the negative to the positive statement; 'the layman does not venture to give dangerous medicines, it is the doctor who professes medicine, the carpenter who handles tools.'

117. **indocti doctique**: whether we have learnt the art or not.

118–138. There is some irony in the way in which Horace first apologizes for poetry as a craze more harmless than many, and then bases his defence of it (for Romans) on utilitarian grounds; its uses in education, its office as a school of practical philosophy, its application to ritual.

118. **levis haec insania**: cp. 'amabilis insania' Od. 3. 4. 6, and Sat. 2. 3. 320, where poetry is the final proof of madness.

119. **sic collige**: Sat. 2. 1. 51.

120. **non temere**: Sat. 2. 4. 35, Epp. 2. 2. 13; *οὐ ῥᾳδίως*.

122. **incogitat**, ἅπαξ λ. Schütz collects from Horace instances of similar compounds, found rarely or never elsewhere: 'inaestuet' Epod. 11. 15, 'inemori' Epod. 5. 34, 'involitant' Od. 4. 103, 'insudet' Sat. 1. 4. 72, 'inamarescunt' Sat. 2. 7. 107.

123. **siliquis** stands for 'vegetable food,' (so Pers. S. 3. 55, Juv. S. 11. 58). In this and the following verse Horace is perhaps thinking of himself.

**pane secundo**: Suet. Oct. 76 of Augustus 'secundarium panem . . . appetebat.' Contrast 'niveus mollique siligine factus' Juv. S. 5. 70.

124. **militiae**: prob. the usual locative, 'in the field'; so 'acer militiae' Tac. Hist. 2. 5.

**malus**: only in the sense of 'malus miles.'

126. **os . . . figurat**: the first use of poetry lessons is to train the child's pronunciation: see on Epp. 1. 20. 17, 18.

127, 8. **iam nunc . . . mox,** Even

Mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
Asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae;
Recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
Instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.
Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
Poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit,
Caelestes implorat aquas docta prece blandus,
Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit,
Impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.
Carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes.
Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
Corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum pueris et coniuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,

in those tender years poetry has in a negative and indirect way a moral influence in giving the ear a bias against coarse subjects and ways of speaking; presently it directly educates the heart by the precepts and examples which it conveys. The particles may be compared with Od. 4. 4. 5 foll. 'iam,' 'mox,' 'nunc,' of the stages in the eaglet's education.

130. **orientia tempora.** 'Each new time as it arises'; the figure, half conscious, is perhaps that of a star, the antithesis is with **notis**; poetry is a link between the generations, preserving the experience of one to be the guide of the next.

131. **inopem solatur et aegrum.** Ritter is probably right in taking these words as qualified, like 'instruit' by 'notis exemplis.' The way that poetry is to solace men in distress and soreness of heart, is by showing them illustrious examples of endurance and deliverance. Horace is no doubt attributing to the poet the offices usually claimed for the philosopher; but he has told us in Epp. 1. 2 how he discharges those offices.

132 foll. Cp. Od. 1. 21, 4. 6. 29-44, and the whole of the Carm. Sec.

134. **praesentia numina sentit:** cp. Carm. Sec. 57 to the end, and esp. vv. 73, 74.

135. **caelestes aquas:** Od. 3. 10. 19.

**docta prece blandus:** 'winning favour by the prayer which has been taught them'; for 'docta' cp. Od. 4. 6. 43, C. S. 75; for 'blandus' cp. Od. 3. 23. 18.

138. **Manes,** the 'good powers' of the world below; see on Epod. 5. 94.

139 foll. We resume the main subject in a sketch of the growth of Latin poetry from a rustic origin, the traces of which lingered long, yielding gradually to Greek influence, which was not brought to bear till late. This proves the unreasonableness of an indiscriminating preference for the ancient poets. Cp. the account of the origin of Latin dramatic poetry given in Virg. Georg. 2. 385 foll.

139. **fortes parvoque beati:** cp. 'fortem colonum' Sat. 2. 2. 115, and Virgil's 'patiens operam exiguoque assueta iuventus' Georg. 2. 472.

141. **spe finis dura ferentem** describes their temper, not at this moment when the end has come, but during the toil that has preceded it.

142. His sons and his wife shared the labour (Sat. 2. 2. 115, Epod. 2. 39) and so share the relaxation.

143. **Tellurem:** Varro R. R. 1. 1. 4 places first among the gods 'qui

Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
In rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
Dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Condicione super communi; quin etiam lex
Poenaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
Describi: vertere modum, formidine fustis
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.
Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes

maxime agricolarum duces sunt'; Jove and Tellus.

**Silvanum**: Epod. 2. 22. For the offering of milk Wilkins compares Virg. Ecl. 7. 33, where it is offered to Priapus.

**piabant . . . Genium**: Od. 3. 17. 14, A. P. 210. The genius, as described in Epp. 2. 2. 187 foll., was the man's self, so that, translated out of mythological language, this is: 'Said to themselves, crown yourselves with flowers and drink, for tomorrow you die.'

145. **Fescennina licentia**: cp. Liv. 7. 2, in speaking of the first introduction of regular dramatic representations, 'histrionibus . . . qui non sicut ante Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant.' The adj. was used in later times of the ribaldry which accompanied the marriage procession: 'Fescennina locutio' Catull. 61. 120. It was variously derived by ancient scholars from Fescennia, a town of Etruria (Virg. Aen. 7. 695: cp. the connection of the 'fabulae Atellanae' with Atella), or from 'fascinum.' See Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, pp. 76 foll., and Nettleship's Earliest Italian Literature, Journal of Philology, vol. ii. pp. 191 foll.

147. **accepta**, 'welcomed.' There is an emphasis on **recurrentes per annos**. It was the ground of welcome and the wholesome limit; it came only once a year.

148. **lusit amabiliter**: the play was innocent.

149. **honestas**: A. P. 213.

150. **ire per domos**: to attack houses one after another.

**cruento dente**: a tooth that drew blood; for metaph. cp. Epp. 1. 18. 82.

151. **intactis**: cp. Sat. 2. 1. 23 'sibi quisque timet quamquam est intactus et odit.'

152. **super**: Od. 3. 8. 17 n., Epp. 2. 2. 24, A. P. 429.

**lex**: for the law against 'mala carmina' in the XII Tables see on Sat. 2. 1. 82.

154. **describi**: Sat. 1. 4. 3.

**vertere modum**, 'changed their strain.'

**fustis**, 'the cudgel,' a natural metaphor, especially where there is meant to be some satire in the description. Editors however generally suppose a reference to the punishment (so far as we know only a military one inflicted on deserters, etc.) called 'fustuarium' (Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 14, Liv. 5. 6), which consisted in being beaten to death with cudgels and stones. They point out that in the XII Tables the penalty for libellous verse was death. It is doubtful whether Horace has the detail of the law in mind so accurately.

155. **bene dicendum**: the meaning is ruled by the contrast with 'malo carmine'; 'civil speaking.'

156. **Graecia capta . . . cepit**: cp. for the antithesis, though the thought is not the same, Cic. Brut. 73 254 'quo uno vincebamur a victis Graecis.' Horace's points are that the impulse of

Intulit agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus
Munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,
Et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit,
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
Temptavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,

culture came from Greece, the conqueror learning from the conquered, that therefore it came late; that roughness was the original characteristic of Roman literature slowly subdued, and never wholly lost. The point of 'Graecia capta' is therefore not to fix a date, whether it be the complete conquest of Greece in B.C. 146, or the expulsion of Pyrrhus and the capture of Tarentum in B.C. 275, 272, though both of these were epochs in the conquest and reconquest.

158. **numerus Saturnius**: the native Italian measure, in which Livius Andronicus wrote his adaptation of the Odyssey and Naevius his poem on the Punic war, but which was driven from the field by the Greek metres introduced by Ennius and later poets. A popular account of it is to be found in the preface to Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. Its irregularity struck those who had become familiar with Greek metres. Many attempts have been made to reduce to metrical law the specimens of the verse which we have, but it is coming to be believed (see Nettleship, Journ. of Phil. ii. p. 184) that (as is perhaps implied in the words of Servius on Virg. G. 2. 385 'Saturnio metro . . . quod ad rhythmum solum vulgares componere colebant') it rested on accent, not on quantity. With the epithet 'horridus' cp. Virgil's (l. c.) 'versibus incomptis,' and Ennius' (Ann. 7. 1) 'versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat Nec dicti studiosus erat.'

**defluxit**, 'the stream ran dry'; Epp. 1. 2. 42.

**virus**, 'rankness'; offences against good taste.

160. **hodieque manent.** As time has not spared to us the writings of which Horace speaks, we cannot estimate the 'rusticity' of which he complains.

161–167. The Scholiasts were no doubt right in taking the subject throughout these lines to be the 'ferus victor' of v. 156, 'the Roman'; the last four would suit perhaps more easily a personal subject, such as Accius or Pacuvius; but unless the text is faulty they cannot be separated from the first three, and in these Horace is evidently speaking of the people. There is a touch of irony in 'acumina,' 'quid utile,' after the description of their rusticity, the sharpness of their wit set to discover how Aeschylus, etc. could help them (*τί προὔργου φέροι*).

162. **post Punica bella quietus**: when at rest after the wars with Carthage. Horace is perhaps thinking, so far as he particularized at all, of the period following the second Punic war, from B.C. 201, not taking account of the third, B.C. 146, since an active study of Greek literature went on in the early part of the second century B.C.; Aul. Gellius (17. 21. 45) quotes from Porcius Licinus the line 'Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.'

163. **Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus.** The three names represent Attic tragedy. Thespis is inserted as the traditional founder of it (see A. P. 276), though we are not to suppose that plays of his were studied by the Romans. Euripides, who was their real favourite (Quintil. 10. 1. 68), is omitted, possibly, as Prof. Wilkins says, for his unmetrical name.

164. 'He went on to make essay whether he could worthily translate them.' Schütz parallels the constr. from Livy 1. 57 'temptata res est, si capi Ardea posset,' so id. 2. 35.

Et placuit sibi, natura sublimis et acer;
Nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
Sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniae minus. Aspice, Plautus
Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,
Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi;
Quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,

165. **et placuit sibi.** Horace rallies Roman poets on their self-complacency and ignorance of the exacting claims of art.

**sublimis.** With reference to the meanings of *μετέωρος* (see on Od. 1. 15. 31), 'lifted off the ground' or 'with head in air'; literally, as in A. P. 457 of the poet who walks into a pit-fall, or metaphorically, from eagerness, as here, and in A. P. 165 of the young man 'sublimis cupidusque.' There is a flavour of caricature in the word.

166. **spirat tragicum satis.** We are meant to feel some bathos in the minimizing adverb 'satis' after 'spirat tragicum,' 'has the true tragic breath' or inspiration. See on Od. 2. 16. 38.

**feliciter audet**, 'is happy in his ventures'—another phrase to which the connection gives a suspicion of irony. Was Quintilian remembering the words when (without any irony) he characterizes Horace as 'variis figuris et verbis felicissime audax?'

167. **inscite**, *ἀπαιδεύτως*. V had 'inscriptis' (Dillr. accepts it), but the Scholiasts interpret 'turpem putat inscite' by 'stulte erubescit.'

**lituram**: A. P. 293, and cp. Sat. 1. 10. 72.

168 foll. The comic writers are still more apt to be lazy, thinking their subject excuses them; but the fact that the subject is within the experience of all makes us less tolerant of carelessness.

168. **ex medio**: as A. P. 243 'de medio'; 'from common ground' here = 'from daily life'; cp. 'in medio positorum,' Epp. 1. 12. 7 n.

**arcessit.** V had 'accessit,' found also in E, but it arose perhaps from the variations between 'arcessit' and 'accersit.' Acr. read 'accersit.'

171. **quo pacto.** Porph. explains 'quam indecenter,' and so many editors; but Schütz seems right in saying that abuse, all round, of Plautus does not suit the parallel case of tragedy vv. 166, 167. There the judgment was that the Roman writers had spirit and force but lacked industry. 'It was thought,' Horace has said, 'that the requirements of comedy were easier, but the truth is that failure there is more fatal because every one can perceive it.' 'Judge for yourselves':—he goes on—'look at Plautus; see how he draws his favourite characters; how he catches the very spirit of droll farce in his greedy parasites—yet how hasty and slipshod his style is.' I am taking for granted the second of the two interpretations of 'quantus sit Dossennus' discussed below. If the first were adopted we might still give a colourless meaning to 'quo pacto,' etc., the mingled praise and blame of 'quantus,' 'quam non adstricto' would be meant to be carried back in thought upon the case of Plautus from that of Dossennus.

172. **attenti**, 'careful'; with the special meaning of 'close with his money': Sat. 2. 6. 82, Epp. 1. 7. 91.

173. **quantus sit Dossennus.** This verse has caused much difficulty. The traditional explanation is of a writer of 'Atellanae' of the name of Dossennus. 'How great Dossennus is in his greedy parasites.' This was clearly intended by Porph. and the Comm. Cruq. gives distinctly 'Dossennus Atellanarum scriptor,' and the view is still supported by Schütz as it was by Orelli. The only extraneous references to such a writer that can be quoted are (1) words of Pliny, N. H. 14. 13. (15) in explaining 'murrhina,' 'Fabius Dossennus his versibus decernit: Mittebam vinum pulchrum, murrhinam: et in Acharistione: Panem et

Quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco;
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
Securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso gloria curru
Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
Sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
Subruit aut reficit. Valeat res ludicra si me
Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

polentam vinum murrhinam.' Opponents notice that 'decernit' is a phrase which suits those who quote verses as well as those who compose them, and that Nonius quotes the Acharistio as a play of Plautus. (2) Seneca's 'inscriptus Dossenni monumento titulus: Hospes resiste et sophiam Dossenni lege' Epist. 89, which carries us a very little way, as the only question being discussed is whether 'sophia' was a word used in earlier Latin. Dossennus (or 'Dorsennus') was certainly a Roman cognomen, being found on coins of the 'gens Rubria.' It probably meant 'humpbacked.' Meanwhile it has been conjectured with some plausibility that the word, which is found in two fragments of Atellanae by Pomponius Bononiensis, and in Festus s. v. 'temetum' ('Novius in duobus Dossennis,' i. e. 'Novius, the writer of Atellanae, in his play, the two Dossenni'), and restored with more or less probability in several other places, was, like Bucco, Maccus, etc., the name of a standing character in the Atellanae. This explanation is adopted by Ritter, Dill[r]., and Wilkins. Horace then will be speaking throughout of Plautus, 'how thoroughly in his greedy parasites he reproduces the "Dossennus" of farce.' If we accept Müller's emendation in Varr. de ling. Lat. 7. 95 'manducari a quo in Atellanis Dossennum (MSS. ad obsenum) vocant manducum,' the Dossennus would be the glutton; but it is not certain, and from the word itself we should rather guess that it belonged to the personal deformity which was traditional in the character, and gave no clue to the character itself.

174. **non adstricto socco**: cp. Sat. 1. 3. 31 'male laxus calceus'; here of the 'sock' or slipper which was to comedy what the 'cothurnus' was to tragedy, A. P. 80, 90; in 'slipshod' style.

**percurrat** adds 'hasty'; cp. 'properare' v. 58.

175. **nummum**: the sing. is contemptuous; 'he is in such a hurry to drop a coin into his purse that he does not stay to finish his work.'

**loculos**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 17.

176. **securus**: for the constr. see on Sat. 2. 4. 50.

**cadat an stet**: see on v. 79. 'Stare' is used frequently of a play succeeding, as Ter. Phorm. prol. 9 'quum stetit olim nova Actoris opera magis stetisse quam sua.' 'Cadat' recalls the Greek *ἐκπίπτειν*. Cicero puts the two together, but with a more distinct reference to wrestlers, Orat. 28. 98, of an orator, 'minimeque in lubrico versabitur et si semel constiterit nunquam cadet.'

**recto talo**: perhaps from the Greek as Pind. Isthm. 6. 12 *ὀρθῷ ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφύρῳ*, or by Pers. S. 5. 104 'recto vivere talo.' On the charge against Plautus of writing for money see Sellar, Poets of the Republic, p. 164.

177 foll. Plautus has too little thought of the spectators, others have too much.

177. **ventoso gloria curru**. The power of glory to carry men away is touched in a still stronger metaphor in Sat. 1. 6. 23 'trahit constrictos gloria curru.' 'Ventoso'—a figure within the figure; the chariot of glory is 'windy,' because glory itself is as unsubstantial and as variable as the wind. 'Ventosa feret cui gloria fraudem' Virg. Aen. 11. 708.

178. **lentus**, 'languid.'

**sedulus**, 'attentive.'

179. **laudis avarum**: A. P. 324. Note the link in this phrase to the last paragraph. It matches the *φιλότιμος* against the *φιλοχρήματος*.

180. **valeat res ludicra**, i. e. 'that is a reason for not writing for the stage.'

181. **reducit**: Od. 4. 2. 17 'Quos Elea domum reducit Palma caelestes.'

Saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poëtam,
Quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum aut pugiles; his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum equitis quoque iam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quattuor aut plures aulaea premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae;
Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
Esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves,
Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.

182 foll. 'There is a stronger reason in the bad taste of audiences who care now for nothing but shows.' It will be noticed that Horace has come down to his own time, but the complaint of the preference of rope-dancers and gladiators to the drama is as old as Terence. See both prologues to the Hecyra.

182. **audacem**, 'one who faces the risk just spoken of.' The metaphors pass into one another. 'He is frightened by the "numero plures" and their militant eagerness for spectacles.'

183. For the different views taken by different parts of the house cp. Sat. 1. 10. 76 foll., A. P. 113, 248.

184. **depugnare**, 'to fight to the death': Od. 1. 3. 13 n.

185. **carmina**: here of dramatic poetry, as in A. P. 220.

186. **plebecula**: the diminutive of contempt, as 'popello' Epp 1. 7. 65.

**gaudet**: the reading of V, as well as other good MSS., and it stands in the note of Porph. Orelli stands almost alone in reading 'plaudit,' for which there is very little authority, although some good MSS. have 'plaudet.'

188. **incertos**, 'restless.'

189. **aulaea premuntur**: A. P. 154; 'the curtain is kept down,' i.e. the performance continues. The curtain, as is well known, was drawn upwards, not, as with us, let fall, Virg. G. 3. 25, Ov. Met. 3. 111. What is described is apparently military spectacles, processions, etc., introduced into plays, such as Cicero describes himself as being bored with ad Fam. 7. 1. 2 'quid enim delectationis habent sescenti muli in Clytemnestra? aut in Equo Troiano catenarum tria milia? aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt delectationem tibi nullam attulissent.' 'Fugiunt,' therefore, in v. 190, possibly describes a battle-scene (as Porph. took it)—the subsequent triumph being introduced by 'mox' in v. 191. 'Fugiunt' might also be taken (as 'festinant' in v. 192) for 'pass rapidly.'

191. **trahitur**: Od. 4. 2. 34.

**manibus retortis**: Od. 3. 5. 22 n.

**regum fortuna**: a poetical variation; what the eye sees is the kings; but they are to the mind a picture passing before it of the vicissitudes to which kings are liable.

192. **esseda, pilenta, petorrita**, 'chariots of every shape and kind.' Perhaps this is all that is meant. The Scholiasts treat them as belonging to the different parts of the triumphal procession; 'esseda' (the war-chariots of the Belgae and Britanni, familiar in Caesar) being those in which the captive princes rode; the 'pilenta' (used in processions by Roman matrons, Liv. 5. 25, and to carry sacred vessels, etc., Virg. Aen. 8. 666) for the captive princesses; and 'petorrita' (see on Sat. 1. 6. 104) for their households. Professor Nettleship has suggested that in these, as in the words that follow, the triumphs over different nations are indicated.

193. **captiva Corinthus**. The antithesis with **captivum ebur** perhaps fixes this to mean 'spoils of Corinthian brass.' Otherwise we might take it of a model or picture such as was frequently carried in a triumph. Cicero (Pis. 25. 60) enumerates 'simulacra oppidorum' among the

Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,
Sive elephas albus volgi converteret ora;
Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
Ut sibi praebentem nimio spectacula plura;
Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
Fabellam surdo. Nam quae pervincere voces
Evaluere sonum referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes,
Divitiaeque peregrinae, quibus oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scena, concurrit dextera laevae.
Dixit adhuc aliquid? Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.
Ac ne forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem,
Cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne;

features of a triumph, and Livy 37. 59 speaks of Scipio Asiaticus as having so exhibited the 'simulacra' of 134 towns. Corinth would be named typically as recalling the richest of Roman triumphs. The Scholiasts offer both explanations.

194. **Democritus**, the laughing philosopher; see on Epp. 1. 12. 12, A. P. 297. Cp. Juv. S. 10. 28, where he is imagined as laughing at the fantastic pomp of the praetor's train at the games.

195. **diversum genus** may be the nom. in apposition, or an acc. constructed as in Virgil's 'Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum' Aen. 3. 428. A camelopard, according to Pliny, N. H. 8. 18. 27, was first seen at Rome in the 'ludi circenses' given by Julius Caesar.

198. **nimio**: with **plura**, 'very much more,' i.e. than the games. It is difficult choosing between this reading, and 'mimo' = 'histrionibus.' 'Nimio' was read in V, and has the support of Keller's class I and II. 'Mimo' (which Orelli and Ritter defend) is found in his class III, and was read by Porph. [If 'nimio' is right it settles the question discussed on Od. 1. 18. 15 in favour of taking 'nimio' there and in similar cases as the abl. of measure; for here the comparative abl. to be understood is clearly 'ludis,' and 'nimio' can only be the abl. of measure.]

199. 'He would think those who take the trouble to write plays fools for their pains.'

**asello surdo.** Lambinus remarked that Horace has put together two proverbial expressions for wasted labour, 'to speak to the deaf' (as Ter. Heaut. 2. 1. 10) and to 'speak to an ass,' *ὄνῳ τις ἔλεγε μῦθον· ὁ δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἐκίνει.*

201. **evaluere**: Virg. Aen. 7. 756. The preposition expresses the effort required. For the noises of the audience cp. A. P. 81.

202. **Garganum nemus**: Od. 2. 9. 7 'querceta Gargani.'

203. **artes**, 'works of art': Od. 4. 8. 5.

204. **oblitus**, 'bedizened': there is a sting in the word, as though the ornaments were laid on with too coarse a hand.

206. **nil sane**, 'absolutely nothing': Sat. 2. 3. 138.

207. **veneno**, 'dye'; Virg. G. 2. 265; see on Od. 3. 5. 28. The purple dye of Tarentum is praised by Pliny, N. H. 9. 39. 63.

208–210. **ne forte putes . . . ille**, etc., 'for fear you should think . . . let me say that he,' etc. A Lucretian formula (Lucr. 2. 844, 4. 129); cp. Od. 1. 33. 1 n.; Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 19. 26.

**recusem.** The word suggests, but does not prove, that Horace had been pressed to write for the stage.

209. **maligne**, 'grudgingly'; so as to 'damn with faint praise.'

Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poëta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.
Verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt
Quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,
Curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
Vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
Ut studio maiore petant Helicona virentem.
Multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poëtae
(Ut vineta egomet caedam mea), cum tibi librum
Sollicito damus aut fesso; cum laedimur, unum
Si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum;
Cum loca iam recitata revolvimus irrevocati;
Cum lamentamur non apparere labores

210. **per extentum funem . . . ire**: a proverb of something very difficult.

211. **inaniter**, 'by mere illusion': a frequent word in Cicero. In 'angit' 'terroribus' there is reference to the pity and terror which, according to Aristotle, are the instruments of tragedy.

213. **ut magus**: as one who is master of the 'terrores magici' Epp. 2. 2. 208.

214. **verum age**: a formula of transition like Lucretius' frequently repeated 'Nunc age'; but Horace here goes with Virgil (G. 4. 329, Aen. 7. 429, 12. 832) in joining a second imperative by 'et' rather than (as Lucretius does, and as he does himself in the case of 'nunc age' Epp. 1. 14. 31) treating 'age' as a pure exclamation—'Nunc age quod superest cognosce' Lucr. 1. 266.

**his**, 'of whom'—Horace would imply —'I am one.' The personal reference of the last lines, and especially the confession of his own taste 'quae facere ipse recusem,' have prepared the way for this transition from those who write for the stage to those who write for readers.

215. **fastidia ferre superbi**: Virg. Ecl. 2. 15 'superba pati fastidia.'

216. **redde**, ἀπόδος, 'render,' as due.

**munus Apolline dignum**, i. e. the Palatine library. See introd. to Od. 1. 31; also Epp. 1. 3. 17, 2. 2. 93.

217. **addere calcar**: as Cicero's 'admovere,' 'adhibere calcar' ad Att. 6. 1, Brut. 56.

218. **Helicona virentem**: i.e. poetry with all its charms.

219. **multa quidem**: concessive answering to 229; 'granted that we poets give trouble, and by our own fault, yet it is worth while to spend pains on us.'

220. **ut vineta**, etc., 'to put the knife to my own vineyard,' i.e. to criticise myself and my friends. The nearest likeness quoted for this proverbial expression is Tibull. 1. 2. 100 'quid messes uris acerba tuas?' It is in accordance with Horace's habitual irony to include himself in his criticism on the want of taste shown by his contemporaries.

221. **sollicito aut fesso**. For Horace's own care in the matter see Sat. 2. 1. 18, Epp. 1. 13. 3 'Si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet.'

**laedimur**. For the touchiness of poets under criticism cp. A. P. 438 foll.

223. **loca**. Cic. and Quintil. always use 'loci' as the plur. in this literary sense of 'passages.'

**revolvimus**, 'unroll again,' i.e. to read a second time.

**irrevocati**: 'revocare' was used of an actor who is 'encored'; as Cic. Sest. 56. 120 'revocabatur ab universis (Roscius)'; also of a poet at a 'recitation' Arch. 8. 18 'quotiens hunc Archiam vidi revocatum eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis.'

224. **non apparere**, 'are not perceived,' 'are not properly recognized.'

Nostros et tenui deducta poëmata filo;
Cum speramus eo rem venturam ut, simul atque
Carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
Arcessas et egere vetes et scribere cogas.
Sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere, quales
Aedituos habeat belli spectata domique
Virtus, indigno non committenda poëtae.
Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
Splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille poëma
Qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellen
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera

225. **tenui deducta filo**, 'with how fine a thread the poems are spun.' See on Sat. 2. 1. 4.

227. **commodus**: see on Od. 4. 8. 1.

229. **est operae pretium**: a formula of transition from Ennius; see Sat. 2. 4. 63.

230. **aedituos**. Poets are the ἱεροφύλακες of the temple raised to the 'virtus Augusti.' Cp. Virg. G. 3. 10 foll.

**belli domique**, with **spectata**; cp. Epp. 1. 20. 23.

232. **ille Choerilus**: A. P. 357. An epic poet of Iasos in Caria who attached himself to Alexander; to be distinguished from two other poets who bore the same name: (1) an Athenian tragic poet B.C. 523–483, (2) a Samian contemporary and friend of Herodotus who wrote an epic poem on the Persian war.

233. **male natis**: the opp. 'bene nata,' Od. 4. 4. 36, suggests that this means 'ill bred,' not the children of true poetic spirit. See note on Od. 1. 27. 1 and add Sat. 2. 3. 8, A. P. 122, 377. **versibus** is the dat. after 'rettulit acceptos'; 'set down to the credit of his verses,' 'owed to them'; a phrase from book-keeping. Ovid imitates, 'Acceptum refero versibus esse nocens' Trist. 2. 10.

234. **regale nomisma**, 'from a king's own mint.' He exalts the price, as we might talk of 'broad gold pieces.' 'Philippi' bore the name of the great Philip, and were from the time of their coinage the chief gold coin of Greece. It is possible that Horace speaks as knowing the coins and admiring them; 'pieces worthy of a king.'

235–237. As you cannot handle black fluids without getting stained, so you can hardly have bad poetry written about you without your reputation suffering.

235. **remittunt**: Sat. 2. 4. 69, 2. 8. 53; 'produce,' give you in return for handling them.

237. **linunt**: Epp. 1. 19. 30 'quem versibus oblinat atris.'

239. **edicto**. Cicero refers to the same story ad Fam. 5. 12. Plutarch tells us that the best representations of Alexander's person were those of Lysippus, whom alone he allowed to take him; also that Apelles drew him with thunderbolts in his right hand.

240. **alius Lysippo**, 'another than Lysippus.' Epp. 1. 16. 20 'alium sapiente.'

**duceret aera**, 'mould the brass,' a slight extension of the more usual constr. of 'ducere' with an accus. of that which is formed of the metal, as Virg. Aen. 7. 634 'leves ocreas lento ducunt argento.'

Fortis Alexandri voltum simulantia. Quodsi
Iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud
Ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso iurares aëre natum.
At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt,
Dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poëtae;
Nec magis expressi voltus per aënea signa,
Quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem
Repentes per humum quam res componere gestas,
Terrarumque situs et flumina dicere, et arces
Montibus impositas, et barbara regna, tuisque
Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,

241. **simulantia**: A. P. 20.

242. **subtile**, 'fine,' 'discriminating'; Sat. 2. 7. 101, 2. 8. 38.

**videndis artibus**. It is hard to say whether this is a dative (so Ritter and Schütz) = 'ad videndas artes' or an abl. of the point in which the adjective applies. For 'artes' see on v. 203, and notice that in Od. 4. 8. 5 it is used, as here, of 'works of art' in special opposition to works of literature.

244. **Boeotum**, gen. plur. Cp. Juv. S. 10. 50 'Vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.' For the proverbial stupidity of the Boeotians, cp. Pind. Ol. 6. 152 *ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος . . . Βοιωτίαν ὗν*. It was attributed to the heavy air of their valleys and lake basins, and specially contrasted with the *λαμπρότατος αἰθὴρ* (Eur. Med. 829) of Athens. Cp. Cic. de Fato 4. 7 'Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici, crassum Thebis itaque pingues Thebani.'

245 foll. 'Your patronage of Virgil and Varius brings you no such discredit.' 'Vergilius Variusque' are the subjects of 'dedecorant,' they stand and are also constructed in the relative clause.

246. **munera**. The Comm. Cruq. annotates that each of these poets had received 'decies,' i.e. a million sesterces, from Augustus.

**multa dantis cum laude**, 'to the credit of the giver.' They were 'digni pro laude merentis' Epp. 1. 7. 24.

247. **Vergilius Variusque poëtae**: 'poëtae' = those true poets; see on Sat. 1. 4. 1. Virgil is coupled with 'Varius,' as in Sat. 1. 5. 40, 1. 6. 55, 1. 10. 44, 81; A. P. 55. Virgil was no doubt dead when this was written.

248. **expressi**: A. P. 33 'ungues exprimet . . . aere.' With the thought cp. Od. 4. 8. 13 foll. Cicero, pro Arch. 12. 30 'An cum statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerint, consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam?'

250. **sermones**: Epp. 1. 4. 1 and 2. 2. 60. Here it covers the Epistles as well as the Satires, see p. 7. 'Sermoni propiora' Sat. 1. 4. 42. 'Repentes per humum' answers to Sat. 2. 6. 17 'Satiris Musaque pedestri.'

252. **terrarum situs**, 'how lands lie.' We notice how the topics which Horace speaks of here as those which, if he became a court poet, he must handle, are just those of Odes 4, 5, 14, 15 of Book 4. For the bearing of these lines on the date of the Epistle see Introd. p. 329. With their tone cp. Od. 1. 6, 2. 12, 4. 2, and Sat. 2. 1. 10–20.

**arces montibus impositas**: cp. 'arces Alpibus impositas' Od. 4. 14. 11.

253. **tuis auspiciis**: see Od. 4. 14. 16, 34 n.

Claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum,
Et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,
Si quantum cuperem, possem quoque; sed neque parvum
Carmen maiestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
Rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.
Sedulitas autem stulte quem diligit urget,
Praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.
Nil moror officium quod me gravat, ac neque ficto
In peius voltu proponi cereus usquam,
Nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,
Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, et una
Cum scriptore meo, capsa porrectus operta,

255. **Ianum**: Od. 4. 15. 9 n.

256. **te principe**: cp. 'te duce' in Od. 1. 2. 52. For the Parthians see Epp. 1. 12. 27, 28 n., and introd. to Odes 1–3. 1. § 8.

257. **si quantum cuperem, possem quoque**: cp. Sat. 2. 1. 12 'cupidum, pater optime, vires deficiunt.' Porph. quotes as the original a saying of Aristarchus, 'nec se posse scribere quemadmodum vellet, neque velle quemadmodum posset.'

259. **ferre recusent**: A. P. 39.

260. **sedulitas**: for the word and for the thought cp. Epp. 1. 13. 5.

261. **praecipue cum** depends not on 'urget,' but on 'stulte urget'; the folly of officious affection is never so apparent as when it expresses itself in bad verses, for the worse the verses the better they are remembered, and so the more effectually they bring ridicule on their object.

**numeris et arte**, 'numbers and their art'; a hendiadys.

262. **discit**: the subject is to be gathered from 'quis' in the rel. clause.

264. **nil moror**: Epp. 1. 15. 16. 'A fig, say I, for an attention which annoys me.' Horace justifies the emperor's supposed dislike for bad panegyric by adopting it as his own. Suetonius speaks of Augustus' anxiety on the point, 'ingenia seculi sui omnibus modis fovit, recitantes et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur, admonebatque praetores ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus (speeches at the beginning of the games) obsolefieri' Oct. 89.

**neque . . . neque**, 'I would no more choose to be complimented in bad verse than to be caricatured in wax.' For the use of 'neque . . . neque,' see on Od. 3. 5. 27.

**ficto in peius**. So Plin. Epist. 5. 10 'pictores pulchram absolutamque formam raro nisi in peius effingunt.' Orelli quotes from Aelian V. H. 4. 4 *εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον μιμεῖσθαι, εἰς τὸ χεῖρον πλάσαι.*

265. **proponi cereus**, 'to be offered for sale in wax'; cp. 'aeneus ut stes,' Sat. 2. 3. 183, also Od. 4. 1. 183. Masks in wax of deceased ancestors are frequently spoken of. No other passage is quoted for this practice as applied to living persons.

267. **rubeam**, 'blush for shame.'

**pingui**, 'coarse,' 'stupid,' Sat. 1. 3. 58, 2. 6. 14.

**et una** etc., 'lest my name share the same fate as his writings.'

**capsa porrectus operta**: the words are chosen to suggest that the 'box' in which the copies of the worthless poem are conveyed to the grocers' shops is the coffin in which the hero of the poem goes to be buried in oblivion.

Orelli and Dill[r]. give 'aperta,' a reading very slightly supported by MSS., thinking that the 'open box' or 'open coffin' would imply more contempt.

Deferar in vicum vendentem thus et odores
Et piper et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

This seems doubtful. The rich were carried in an open bier, 'feretrum,' to the funeral pyre; the poor were buried in coffins, 'vili in arca' Sat. 1. 8. 9. For 'porrectus' of the dead cp. Epod. 10. 22. Porph. seems to have read 'correptus.'

269. **vicum**: possibly, as most editors assume, the 'vicus Tuscus,' which was occupied (Sat. 2. 3. 228) by provision shops of all kinds.

270. Cp. Catull. 95. 7 'Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam Et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.' Persius (1. 43) combines the reminiscence of Catullus and Horace,—'nec scombros metuentia carmina nec thus.'

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# EPISTLE II.

## TO FLORUS.

### *Horace's reasons for refusing to write more lyrics.*

Verses 1–24. You complain of my not writing to you; but you are out of court. I told you before you started that you must not expect it.

24, 25. You complain again that I do not send you any lyric poems as you think I promised.

26–54. (1) You forget the history of my writing poetry.
I am like Lucullus' soldier—when his pocket was empty he would volunteer for forlorn hopes; when it was full again he would do so no more. I had a good education at Rome and Athens, and was started on the studies of philosophy. The civil war carried me off in its current, and eventually sent me home a beggar. It was then I began to write poetry: but I am not mad enough to do it now I have a competence.

55–57. (2) Whatever power I had is leaving me.

58–64. (3) You ask for lyric poetry, but others admire Epodes, others Satires. Which is it to be?

65–70. (4) Above all other reasons, how do you think I can possibly write poems at Rome, in the press of duties?

70, 71. You say, 'oh! you can write in the streets.'

72–80. Can you? No; poetry requires quiet, woodland scenes.

81–86. Think of the difference between me and the real student—pedant, perhaps you would say.
In this noisy world I cannot stoop to write poetry.

87–105. 'Stoop?' Yes; because the only way to get such poetry as I could write accepted is to join a clique of mutual admiration. I was obliged to do something in this way when I did write; but do not ask me to go back to it.

106–125. Perhaps you mean, and perhaps it is true, that it is best contentedly to write bad poetry. Writing good poetry is a very serious business. The poet has to criticize himself severely. The ease you admire is won by efforts which cost him torture.

136–140. And is it worth the pains? To lose one's illusions is not unmixed gain, as the man at Argos found out.

141–144. But to be serious. It *is* time to wake up to the true purposes of life. Poetry must go among other playthings fit only for boys.

145. So I am trying to get by heart the teachings of philosophy.

[He begins accordingly with single commonplaces on Avarice (the passion usually attacked first, see Sat. 1. 1), but presently slides into a philosophical lecture in his own person and in his usual style.]

146–148. If you found a physical thirst growing insatiable you would be alarmed and go to a doctor. Why are you less anxious about a thirst of the soul?

149–157. If it was clear a prescription did you no good you would give it up. The world prescribes getting as a remedy for avarice—you find it makes you no better; why do you go on with it?

158–181. Cut at the roots of avarice by learning that property itself is a mere dream. The lawyers tell us 'use confers ownership.' They might go further: use *is* ownership, in the only true sense of that word. Real ownership is barred by the limitations of human life. What is the good then of accumulating wealth in all its various forms?

182–204. I do not value it. If you ask why, I can only say 'it is my idiosyncrasy.' I am for enjoying, yet I know how to draw the line short of extravagance and live in the happy mean.

205–212. You say you are free from avarice. Well, are you free from other passions too? It is little to get rid of one if others remain.

213–216. Right living is an art. If you have not learnt it it is time to give place to those who have. If life is a banquet, you have had your share and had better retire betimes.

The natural explanation of the Epistle is that some fresh and unusual pressure has been put upon Horace to induce him to abandon the abstention from further lyric composition which he announced in Epp. 1. 1, possibly by Florus, as representing the younger generation of sympathetic men of letters, possibly by Tiberius, through Florus, desiring that celebration of his youthful exploits which a few years later Horace accorded to him. Horace throws into the shape of a letter to Florus his reasons for maintaining his resolve. They are in form to a great extent playful and satirical. The description of the motives which alone drove him to write poetry are not meant to be taken quite literally, though he would have us understand that philosophy was genuinely his first love. So the further excuses, which amount pretty much to 'I am not in the mood for lyric verse,' are all put in a paradoxical and humorous way.

'I am too old'; but lyric poetry is treated (in the same ironical vein as in Od. 4. 1) as concerned wholly with 'love, banquets, wine.' 'You ask for Odes, but others prefer my Epodes or Satires,' as though his success in so many lines made a fresh difficulty in taking again to one. 'Rome is too noisy,' as if he lived always in Rome and could not escape to his Sabine valley. Then comes a satirical passage in which he hits the more popular but less highminded poets of the day, 'success in poetry in these days means the condescending to puff and be puffed'; cp. Epp. 1. 19. 35–41. Then a more serious one, in which in describing what poetry

in his sense means ('legitimum,' 'according to the laws of true art') the toil and fastidious self-criticism that it involves, he seems to be describing, and in glowing and sympathetic words, the methods and achievements of his friend, whether recently dead or still alive—the poet Virgil. Then again an ironical passage. 'The world sees in such a poet how easily and smoothly his verses flow, and little thinks of the agony which they have cost the composer. But after all isn't it better to be able contentedly to write bad verses! But,' and here finally he becomes serious, 'my true reason is that my mind is full of life and its problems. Is not yours also?'

The Epistle will naturally be compared—

1. With Epp. 1. 1, which handles the same theme. It will be noticed that any arguments for a later date for this Epistle, based on its language about the poet's advancing years (vv. 55 f.) are answered beforehand by the parallel 'solve senescentem' of Epp. 1. 1. 8. What he says here is very greatly an expanding of the 'non eadem est aetas, non mens' of that Epistle. The change lies (1) in the fuller space given to the arguments against a return to his old pursuit; which means probably (as has been said) that the question was for some reason, external or internal, becoming a more pressing one to him: (2) in the greater mellowness and confidence with which he sets forth the philosophy of life to which he has attained.

2. With Epp. 1. 3. It is one of two instances, besides those addressed to Maecenas, of a second Epistle to the same person; and it is interesting as illustrating the reality of the personal element even in the more general Epistles, to trace the identity of the line taken towards Florus in the two. It is in both, the young man of letters, to whom Horace speaks naturally and freely on literary topics, assuming the mutual interest of each in the other's pursuits, but to whom he is disposed to hold up divine philosophy as a better medicine of the soul than either literature or the ambitions of practical life.

FLORE, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
Si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis, et tecum sic agat: 'Hic et
Candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
Fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo,
Verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus heriles,

1. The address serves to dedicate the Epistle to Tiberius as well as Florus: see introd. p. 327.

**bono claroque.** For the praise of Tiberius see Epp. 1. 9. 4. It belongs to the early part of his life, in which Tacitus describes him as 'egregium vita famaque quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto vixerat' Ann. 6. 51. 5.

3. **Tibure vel Gabiis.** The vendor supposed is not a slave-dealer (see v. 13), but a neighbour who can tell you all about the boy he is selling.

5. **fiet eritque**, an imitation of legal verbiage, as we might say, 'yours to have and to hold.'

**milibus octo**: probably a very moderate price for a slave of such origin and capacities; and if so, it is part of the warning which the purchaser received that there was a flaw. It is the sum which Columella (3. 3) names as a fair price for a skilled farm labourer (or vine-dresser). Davus in Sat. 2. 7. 43 speaks of himself, but perhaps in purposed depreciation, as purchased for 500 drachmae, which would be about a quarter of this sum.

6. **ad nutus heriles** takes the place of an adj. to **ministeriis**, 'services at a master's beck.'

Litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti
Cuilibet; argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
Quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti:
Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo
Laudat venales qui volt extrudere merces.
Res urget me nulla; meo sum pauper in aere.
Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temere a me
Quivis ferret idem. Semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae.
Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedit':

7. **litterulis Graecis imbutus.** A useful accomplishment, as it fitted him to be a reader ('lector') or copying clerk ('librarius'). Both the diminutive and the part. 'imbutus' ('with a tincture') disparage its amount. It is not the cue of the seller to seem to make much of the slave's merits.

8. **imitaberis,** 'the clay is still moist, you will be able to mould it as you like.' A few MSS. have 'imitabitur,' a v. l. which is noticed and condemned by Acr. It would mean that the slave can, or can be taught, to model in clay,—an ingenious, but evidently needless and wrong emendation of some one who did not understand the metaphor. Some MSS. have 'imitabimur,' which Keller considers an emendation of 'imitabitur' by a copyist who was feeling his way back to the true reading. Persius had in mind Horace's metaphorical use of the image in 'udum et molle lutum es,' etc. 3. 23.

9. **canet indoctum sed dulce**: for adverbial acc. cp. Epp. 1. 7. 27 'dulce loqui, ridere decorum.'

**dulce bibenti**: 'quo tempore faciliores sumus ad veniam etiam servulis dandam' Orell.

10. **levant**: as Comm. Cruq. 'leviorem faciunt, minuunt.' He suggests that he might promise much more if he had not this fear before his eyes.

11. **extrudere** seems to mean 'to get rid of,' with the idea that some force is required for the purpose. The unusual meaning helped perhaps to the v. l. in all the Bland., and in some others of Keller's (Class III.) MSS. 'excludere,' which however is less intelligible. K. shows that 'excludere' is found in mistake for 'extrudere' in some MSS. of Ter. Hec. 1. 2. 58 and in other places.

12. **meo in aere**: i. e. not in debt—as Cicero opposes 'in suis nummis' to 'in aere alieno' Verr. 4. 6. 11. For **pauper** see on Od. 1. 1. 18.

13. **mangonum,** 'the slave-dealers'; Juv. S. 11. 147: see Mayor's note.

14. **cessavit,** 'was lazy.' Cp. Sat. 2. 7. 100 'nequam et cessator Davus.'

**ut fit,** 'as boys will do.' An innocent colour is put on it.

15. **in scalis.** This is taken either with **latuit** or with **pendentis.** In the first case the stairs are named as a hidingplace, as in Cic. Mil. 15. 40 and Phil. 2. 9. 21 Clodius is said to have taken refuge 'in scalarum tenebras' 'in scalas tabernae'; 'pendentis' will then mean 'on the peg,' i. e. hung up for use and for the warning of the slaves. But possibly the second is best. The boy is supposed really to have run away. To say 'latuit' is fair, 'he couldn't be found.' 'In scalis latuit' is too definite a 'suggestio falsi.'

16. I follow Bentley, Ritter, and Munro in taking this line as the conclusion of the seller's speech, 'Put down the money, unless, which I can't think, the exception I have made of his having "run away" troubles you.' **laedit** is the reading of V, accepted by the same editors, and is perhaps preferable in sense to 'laedat.' The subj., by making it a regular conditional sentence, gives more prominence and possibility to the difficulty. The ind. makes it parenthetical, an afterthought, and assumes that the drawback named does not 'trouble' the customer. Orelli, on the other hand, makes 'des [tu] . . . ille ferat' two parallel clauses of the apodosis to 'si quis,' etc., vv. 2, 3. It seems essential that the damaging word 'fuga' should be actually used by the seller,

Ille ferat pretium poenae securus, opinor.
Prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
Insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?
Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi
Talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus
Iurgares ad te quod epistula nulla rediret.
Quid tum profeci mecum facientia iura
Si tamen attemptas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quod
Exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.
Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
Aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem

even though its effect has been discounted by explanations which make it come when used almost as if it were in jest. It is difficult also in this interpretation to see any purpose in the condition. It is a truism to say 'you would pay the money, if you were satisfied with the terms.' Another objection is that any such double apodosis divided between the purchaser and the vendor ought to be answered to by a division of the lesson of the apologue between Florus and Horace, whereas in the interpretation (v. 20 foll.) Horace only is concerned. The whole moral is 'You must not expect more than you were promised.'

**excepta.** For the use of 'excipere' and for another reference to the obligation on a vendor of a slave to warn the purchaser of defects see Sat. 2. 3. 286 'mentem nisi litigiosus Exciperet dominus cum venderet.' The law of the question is stated by Cicero in de Off. 3. 17. 71 'in mancipiorum venditione venditoris fraus omnis excluditur. Qui enim scire debuit de sanitate, de fuga, de furtis, praestat edicto aedilium.' The morality is discussed in de Rep. 3. 19.

18. **prudens emisti.** Horace adopts the measured tone of counsel advising a would-be litigant, or of a judge dismissing the case.

**dicta tibi est lex** best taken, after Porph., 'cum condiione emisti,' 'you were told the conditions of sale.' Orelli thinks it can mean 'you have heard the law,' i.e. 'there is the decision, the court has done with you.'

19. **lite moraris iniqua,** your action is 'frivolous and vexatious.'

21. **mea,** 'on my side.' It stands first in the sentence, to match **rediret** (which means 'in answer to yours') at the end of it: see Introduction.

23. **mecum facientia:** Epp. 2. 1. 68. It is a Ciceronian phrase, as Caecin. 28. 79 'rem et sententiam interdicti mecum facere fatebatur.'

24. **attemptas,** 'attack,' 'attempt to shake.' It seems also a legal term.

**super hoc:** perhaps best 'about this,' as Od. 3. 8. 17, 4. 2. 42, C. S. 18; Epp. 2. 1. 152; A. P. 429. Orelli takes it, as Sat. 2. 6. 3, as 'besides this'; the object clause **quod,** etc. depending directly on **quereris.**

25. **carmina,** sc. lyrical poems, as we see in v. 59; see also v. 91 n.

**mendax,** 'breaking my promise.' Cp. 1. 7. 2.

26. For the abrupt introduction of the apologue cp. Epp. 1. 7. 46. **Luculli miles,** a soldier 'serving under Lucullus, in the war against Mithridates'; see v. 30 'praesidium regale.' Keller points out that the fixing of this story on one of Lucullus' soldiers corresponds with what Plutarch tells us in his life of Lucullus (ch. 33 and 35), of his unpopularity with his men; that they would reject his greeting, showing him their empty purses, and bidding him advance alone to dangers from which he alone would grow rich.

**viatica** must have meant originally equipment or travelling money; but it seems to be used for a soldier's savings or private purse; see Tac. Ann. 1. 37. 2.

27. **ad assem,** to the last 'as'; after the model of 'ad unum.'

Perdiderat; post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
Iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,
Praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt,
Summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
Accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor
Nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem
Verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:
'I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
Grandia laturus meritorum praemia. Quid stas?'
Post haec ille catus, quantumvis rusticus: 'Ibit,
Ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit,' inquit.
Romae nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.

28. **vehemens lupus**, 'a very wolf in his fury.' Cp. Virgil's simile for a forlorn hope, Aen. 2. 355 'lupi ceu Raptores,' etc.

30. **regale**: see above on v. 26.

**deiecit**, 'dislodged,' a military term; see on Od. 4. 14. 13.

**ut aiunt**, 'so goes the story'; Epp. 1. 6. 40, 1. 7. 49, 1. 17. 18.

32. **honestis**, 'gifts of honour,' the 'corona muralis,' e. g. as contrasted with the substantial rewards of the following words. V had 'opimis,' apparently a correction or conjectural filling up of an accidental gap.

33. **bis dena**. For the distributive in a formula of multiplication see Madv. § 76. 6.

**super**, adv. 'besides.'

**nummum**. The original phrase was 'nummus sestertius,' i. e. the coin that represented two and a half 'asses.' The gen. plur. would be 'sestertiorum nummorum.' In this expression 'sestertia' = 'milia sestertiorum;' 'nummum' (='nummorum') remains unaltered. The force of the addition is, as we might say, 'in hard coin.'

34. **sub hoc tempus**, 'immediately after this'; Epod. 5. 83, Sat. 2. 8. 43.

**praetor**: in the old sense of 'military commander.'

36. **addere mentem**: a variation of the usual 'addere animum' or 'animos.' It is perhaps rather 'to find the coward intelligence,' or 'presence of mind,' than 'courage.' Virgil's 'demittunt mentes' Aen. 12. 609, though usually quoted, is hardly a parallel; 'mentes' are there the souls whose courage is lowered, not the courage itself.

37. **bone**: Sat. 2. 3. 31 n.

38. **quid stas**: Sat. 1. 1. 19 'quid statis?'

39. **catus**: Od. 1. 10. 3 n.

**quantumvis**: used here like 'quamvis': 'though as boorish as you please.'

**ibit, ibit eo quo vis**. The man echoes the general's 'i . . . quo,' 'Go, say you? he will go, go where you will.' This line is the original of Juvenal's 'ad caelum, iusseris, ibit' S. 3. 78.

40. **zonam**: the belt with a pouch for money, or with money sewn into it. So, in Juv. S. 14. 297, the shipwrecked sailor, 'zonam laeva morsuque tenebit?' ζώνη is translated 'purse' in St. Matt. 10. 9.

41 foll. The application of the story—'My life was running on other lines. I had the education of a man of means, at Rome and Athens, and was started in the tastes that really suited me, of philosophy. This was broken off by the civil war, which made me a soldier and then a beggar. It was poverty that made me write verses. But that motive is now removed.'

41. **Romae**. For his being brought to Rome for his education see Sat. 1. 6. 72.

42. **iratus . . . Achilles**. For the

Adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,
Scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum,
Atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni
Et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax,
Ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
Quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae,

place of Homer in Roman education see Quintil. 1. 8. 5 'optime institutum est ut ab Homero [et Vergilio] lectio inciperet,' Plin. Epp. 2. 14. 2 'in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis.'

43. **bonae** with **Athenae**; a touch of affectionate retrospect, 'my "alma mater."'

**paulo plus artis**, 'a little further skill.' He implies that philosophy was an advance upon mere literary study.

44. **vellem.** The MSS. vary between 'vellem,' 'possim,' and 'possem.' Keller finds the most authority for the first, the least for the last. 'Possim' would hardly stand. Munro and Ritter give 'possem.' There is force in the argument that 'vellem' is at first sight the harder reading, and the least likely to have been due to an emender. It is Horace's purposed substitution for 'possem.' It is a lesson that he has not learnt perfectly yet, only to wish to learn it.

**curvo . . . rectum.** Cp. Pers. S. 3. 52 'curvos deprendere mores,' 4. 11 'rectum discernis ubi inter Curva subit,' 5. 38 'intortos extendit regula mores.' It is an extension of the original metaphor which spoke of right conduct as a straight course ('rectum'); the prose word is 'pravus.' For 'dinoscere' with abl. see Epp. 1. 15. 29 n.

45. **inter silvas Academi**: the garden, named from the hero Academus, where Plato and his successors taught. Brutus, and doubtless Horace, actually attended the lectures of Theomnestus the academic. He is speaking however generally of his philosophical studies.

47. It is best to join **civilis aestus** and **rudem belli**, with the latter cp. 'rudis agminum' Od. 3. 2. 9. With the metaphor of **tulit aestus** cp. Od. 2. 7. 15, 16 'Te rursus in bellum resorbens Unda fretis tulit aestuosis.'

48. **responsura**, 'to be a match for.' Notice that he says nothing of the merits of the cause (see on Od. 2. 7. 11). His compliment to the emperor is that it was an idle enterprise; the arms were as playthings to the 'thews' of Caesar. The double title (only here in Horace, cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 73, 8. 678) emphasizes this; it is a way of saying 'Caesar, the master of the world.'

**lacertis**, the metaph. from wrestling, as Cic. ad Fam. 4. 7. 2 'pugnabamus . . . lacertis et viribus quibus pares non eramus.'

49. **simul primum**, a rare combination. Cicero has 'simulac primum' Verr. 2. 1. 13. 3.

**dimisere**, 'gave me my discharge.' **unde** = 'ab armis.' Horace gave up the cause, though some of his friends followed the fortunes of Sextus Pompeius; see Od. 2. 7.

50. **decisis pennis.** For the metaph. cp. Epp. 1. 20. 21, and more closely Cic. ad Att. 4. 2. 5 'iidem illi qui mihi pinnas inciderant volunt easdem renasci.' The note of Porph. is 'significat se proscriptum esse.' His estate at Venusia was no doubt forfeited.

52. **quod non desit habentem.** It would seem from Juvenal S. 7. 62 'satur est cum dicit Horatius Evoe!' that he did not take Horace's account of his motives in writing poetry too literally.

53. **cicutae**, the plur. of quantity. It was used as a cooling drug, and so might be supposed to cure madness, which the ancients traced to fulness of bile and heat of blood. Cp. Pers. S. 5. 144

Ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes;
Eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum;
Tendunt extorquere poëmata; quid faciam vis?
Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
Carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,
Ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.
Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur.
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu, quod iubet alter;
Quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
Praeter cetera me Romaene poëmata censes

'calido sub pectore mascula bilis Intumuit quod non extinxerit urna cicutae.' Cp. A. P. 301 'O ego laevus, Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam. Non alius faceret meliora poemata.'

54. **melius dormire . . . quam scribere.** For the alternative cp. Sat. 2. 1. 7.

55. An abrupt passage to another ground for not composing. With the thought cp. Virg. E. 9. 51, where excuse is being given for not singing 'omnia fert aetas, animum quoque.'

57. **tendunt extorquere**: the power is not gone yet, but it is the next thing to go. For the inf. see vol. 1. App. 2.

**quid faciam vis**: 'what would you have me do?' i. e. 'it is a natural process. How do you think I can resist it?

58. **denique**: 'and if there was anything to do there is this remaining difficulty, that you can't agree what kind of poetry you wish from me. 'Denique' finishes the series so far, though other reasons follow in v. 65 foll.; cp. Lucret. 1. 301, and see on Sat. 1. 1. 92.

59. **carmine**: see on v. 25.

**iambis.** Horace's own name for his Epodes: see on Epod. 14. 7, and cp. Epp. 1. 19. 23, also Od. 1. 16. 2.

60. **Bioneis sermonibus.** As the epithet implies, this means the Satires (cp. Epp. 1. 4. 1). The Epistles are lost to sight, as though *ex hypothesi* they were no satisfaction of Florus' desire. Bion Borysthenites, a Scythian by birth, was a philosopher and wit at Athens in the third century B. C. He was a Cynic at one time, a Cyrenaic at another, and lastly a pupil of Theophrastus the Peripatetic. Horace is concerned with him not as a philosopher but as the reputed author of many pungent sayings, some of which are preserved by Diog. Laert. 4. 46. Cp. Cic. Tusc. D. 3. 26. 62.

**sale nigro**: literally, in Sat. 2. 4. 74, of a strong and coarse salt, here metaphorical of coarse and biting wit. Cp. the use of 'niger' in Sat. 1. 4. 85, 91. As he looks back at them Horace clearly shows that he prefers the 'Attic salt' of his Epistles to the coarser strain of his earlier Satires.

61, 62. A metaphorical statement of the same fact. 'Give me any three guests (the smallest possible party according to the saying that a party should not be less than the number of the Graces nor larger than that of the Muses), it is not too much to say ('prope') that I may expect each to have a taste for different fare.'

62. **multum diversa**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 57 'multum demissus.'

65. **praeter cetera**, 'above all other reasons.'

**me Romaene.** The position of 'ne' with a word emphatic but not the first in the sentence is anteclassical. See instances quoted by L. and S. from Plautus. Horace means by adopting it here to give special emphasis to 'me' as well as to 'Romae.' It would be in prose 'Ego Romae poemata?' 'Do you think I am the man, Rome the place, to write poems?' then he explains first that Rome is not the place and he not the man, vv. 66–86; then he explains that he is speaking of fine poetry (note the emphatic repetition of 'poema' in v. 109) not verses such as passed in the mutual admiration cliques of the day.

Scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta relictis
Omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque;
Intervalla vides humane commoda. Verum
Purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:
I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,
Rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra:

67. For the list of occupations at Rome cp. Sat. 2. 6. 28 foll., beginning with 'Romae sponsorem me rapis.'

**auditum scripta**: to listen to 'recitations.'

68. **cubat**, 'is ill in bed'; Sat. 1. 9. 18.

70. **humane commoda**: ironically, 'nicely convenient.' So Acron explains, 'probe.' The adv. is used like ἐπιεικῶς or μετρίως. Keller defends a conj. of Fröhlich 'haut sane,' comparing Ter. Ad. 5. 2. 8 'Edepol comissatorem haud sane commodum.' But it is unnecessary.

**verum** introduces the obj. of an interlocutor real or supposed. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 205.

71. **purae**, 'clear,' i. e. of obstacles; 'you can compose as you walk': Virg. Aen. 12. 771 'puro ut possent concurrere campo.'

**meditantibus**: inf. v. 76 and see on Sat. 1. 9. 2.

72. Horace rejoins, 'are the streets clear indeed?' With this account of the 'strepitus Romae' compare Juv. S. 3. 239–266. The route from the Aventine to the Quirinal would lie across the Forum and through the busiest part of Rome.

**calidus**, 'in hot haste,' 'impetuously.'

**redemptor**, 'the contractor for building,' as in Od. 3. 1. 35, where 'cum famulis' answers to the gerulis here. Cp. also Epp. 1. 1. 86. The ablatives are instrumental or modal, explaining how he 'calidus festinat.'

74. The 'golden' line marks the mock heroic vein.

**robustis**, 'of solid timber.' Cp. Sat. 1. 6. 42 'si plaustra ducenta Concurrantque foro tria funera.'

75. **rabiosa canis.** Rabies and hydrophobia were well known at Rome. Celsus (5. 27. 2) gives directions for the treatment of a bite.

76. **i nunc**: an ironical challenge. See on Epp. 1. 6. 17.

**meditare**: supr. v. 71. The accus. as in Sat. 1. 9. 2, q. v., and Virg. Ecl. 1. 2 'musam meditaris.'

77, 78. The lines express Horace's own feeling. The explanation here, where he is writing 'sermoni propiora,' and half in irony, is a prosaic one. He gives elsewhere more imaginative reasons. See on Od. 4. 3. 10, and cp. Od. 1. 1. 30, 3. 4. 5 foll. Compare also Virgil's choice, G. 2. 485 'Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,' etc., and the comment on it in Tac. Dial. 12, 13 'nemora vero et luci tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod nec in strepitu, nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris,' etc.

77. **scriptorum**: limited by the context to poets, as in Epp. 1. 19. 39, 2. 1. 30, 36; A. P. 120, 136.

**urbem**: some MSS. have 'urbes.'

78. **rite cliens Bacchi**: in due imitation of their patron Bacchus, who has the same tastes. Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 4, Od. 1. 1. 29 n., and the spirit of Od. 3. 25 'quo me, Bacche, rapis,' etc.

Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
Vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum ?
Ingenium sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque
Libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit
Plerumque et risu populum quatit ; hic ego rerum
Fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis
Verba lyrae motura sonum connectere digner ?
Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter

79. **tu me** repeats the emphatic 'me' of v. 65. See note there.

80. **contracta**, 'narrow,' difficult to tread in, and so requiring the undivided attention which in the pre-occupation of town life cannot be given. Cp. Prop. 3. 1. 14 'non datur ad musas currere lata via.' Of the readings offered this seems the most probable, but the text was uncertain in the Scholiasts' time. Porph. gives 'contracta' as a v. l., reading himself with the majority of MSS. 'contacta.' This Dillr. accepts, taking it closely with 'sequi,' to 'follow and tread in.' Schütz complains with reason that if this were the meaning it should have been 'secutum contingere.' V had 'cantata' with the note 'ab aliis prius dicta,' which cannot stand. Bentley would read 'non tacta,' i. e. which others have not trodden in; and there have been many other conjectures.

81–86. The connection of these lines is not perfectly clear. Perhaps it is 'think of the difference between the trained genius and me. He perhaps overdoes it, becomes a pedant and misanthrope. But I, in the very opposite of his peaceful life, how can I try to write lyric poetry if I have any self-respect left?' There is a tone of satire in the description of the scholar's training which has suggested that Horace is hitting some rival poet.

81. **vacuas**: so 'vacuum Tibur' Epp. 1. 7. 45; opposed in this point to busy and crowded Rome.

82. **septem**. No reason is given for the selection of 'seven.' It seems to imply something much beyond the usual time allowed for an educational residence at Athens.

**insenuit**: cp. Epp. 1. 7. 85 'immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.'

83. **curis**: limited by the words that accompany it, books and the cares they bring with them. He is thinking of composition. Some MSS. have 'Curii,' which Porph. read and took with 'statua,' imagining Curius to have been a man of special taciturnity.

**statua taciturnius**: Sat. 2. 5. 40 'infantes statuas.'

**exit**, i. e. whenever he goes out into the world.

84. **plerumque**, 'very often.' See on Sat. 1. 10. 15.

**hic**: at Rome, not at Athens.

**ego**: I, not the recluse scholar.

85. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 16 'mersor civilibus undis.'

86. 'To string together words which shall wake the lyre to music,' i. e. to compose lyric poetry. Cp. Od. 4. 9. 4 'verba loquor socianda chordis.'

**digner**, 'deign.' He implies that self-respect prevents him. The word introduces an unexpected note. So far as what has gone before has prepared us, we should have looked rather for 'coner,' which has been actually substituted in some MSS. The additional colour of 'digner' is due to what follows, to which the word is a link. There is only one condition on which verse written in this hubbub can gain praise, and that is the humiliating condition of joining a mutual admiration clique.

87. **frater erat**: the story which is to illustrate such cliques is introduced abruptly, as that in v. 26.

**consulti**, i.e. 'iurisconsulti': Sat. 1. 1. 17, and inf. v. 159.

**ut alter . . . audiret**. On what does 'ut' depend? In all cases which have been quoted as parallels from Horace himself, as Sat. 1. 1. 95, 1. 7. 13, Epp. 1.

Alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
Gracchus ut hic illi, foret † huic ut Mucius ille,
Qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poëtas?
Carmina compono, hic elegos. 'Mirabile visu

16. 12, there is an adjective present, the 'ut' clause measuring or limiting its applicability, '[tam] dives ut metiretur nummos,' '[ita] idoneus ut nec frigidior Thracam . . . ambiat Hebrus.' If the text is sound, (and the MSS. are unanimous and the Scholiasts read as we do,) we must suppose that such an adjective is latent in 'frater,' not that 'frater' is merely metaphorical (like 'fraternis animis' in Epp. 1. 10. 4), but that it carries the sense of a 'brother indeed.' This is helped by its emphatic position. 'There were at Rome a lawyer and a rhetorician, such brothers that when one spoke the other heard nothing but compliments.' Heinsius was the first to complain of the construction and to suggest emendation. Bentley took up the challenge and would read 'Pactus erat Romae consulto rhetor.' Meineke suggested that a line had dropped out and proposed 'Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor ut[erque Alterius laudum sic admirator ut] alter Alterius,' etc. Schütz suggests the easier alteration of 'Fautor' (an Horatian word, see Sat. 1. 10. 2; Epp. 1. 15. 33, 1. 18. 66, 2. 1. 23) for 'Frater.' Prof. Palmer (ap. Wilkins) 'auctor erat consulto.' In face of the early evidence to the text it does not seem a case for conjectural emendation.

89. **Gracchus**, 'a Gracchus.' Both the brothers were speakers. Cicero (Brut. 33. 124) specially praises Gaius.

**Mucius**, i.e. 'a great lawyer.' There were three of the family who attained great distinction as 'iurisconsulti.' (1) P. Mucius Scaevola consul in 133; (2) a cousin, Q. Mucius Scaevola called 'Augur,' consul in 117, an interlocutor in Cicero's 'de Amicitia'; (3) Q. Mucius Scaevola, son of (1), and, like his father, 'pontifex maximus,' consul in 95. From the fact that Cicero (Brut. 39. 145) speaks of a case in which Crassus 'eloquentium iuris peritissimus,' and Scaevola (i.e. no. 3) 'iuris peritorum eloquentissimus,' were matched against one another, Bentley suggested that in this line we should read 'Crassus' for 'Gracchus.'

† **huic . . . ille.** All the extant MSS. have 'hic . . . illi' in both clauses. This is not absolutely impossible. Either 'hic . . . hic' or 'illi . . . illi' alone for 'the one . . . the other,' 'to the one . . . to the other,' would be usual, but the repetition of 'hic illi' where the two pronouns change places has not been paralleled. In spite of this Ritter retains the reading and Keller shows some tenderness towards it. If Horace can be conceived as writing it he may have meant to emphasize the monotony of the shuttlecock compliments. The alteration is however slight and the reading of the MSS. (cp. a similar case in Epod. 4. 8 'ter' for 'trium') may have arisen from the mistaken expansion of an abbreviation. 'Huic . . . ille' is said to be due to the edition of 'Iohannes Britannicus,' Venet. 1516. It was adopted by Lambinus, and advocated by Bentley, and thenceforward has been generally given.

90. **qui minus**, 'in what way less?' Sat. 2. 3. 311, 2. 7. 96; 'are not poets attacked by just the same madness?'

**argutos**: Od. 4. 6. 25, the epithet is playful—'our songsters.'

91. **carmina compono.** 'Carmina' are lyrical poems, as we see from v. 99 'discedo Alcaeus.' Horace playfully takes his own share in the charge. Is he laying the indictment against the writers of elegies more seriously and with a special person in view? Torrentius first pointed out that the name of 'the Roman Callimachus' (v. 100) was one which is actually claimed for himself by Propertius, and this clue has been followed by editors, Ritter especially, who see in the passage an elaborate attack on that poet. For a full statement of the evidence in this passage of a reference to Propertius see Postgate's Introd. to his Select Elegies of Propertius. Propertius was a member of Maecenas' literary circle and therefore must have been well known to Horace, who nevertheless never names him. If this view is correct, Horace will say 'we poets laud one another. We use extravagant terms in speaking of one another's poems. We

Caelatumque novem Musis opus!' Aspice primum,
Quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
Spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem!
Mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi,
Quid ferat et quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,
Fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.
Multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum,
Cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto;
Idem, finitis studiis et mente recepta,

strut about the Palatine library and choose places for our books and busts. If you get near enough to listen you may hear Propertius calling me an Alcaeus, and [if he does that unlikely thing] I will call him, not only, as he calls himself, a Callimachus, but even a Mimnermus, to his heart's content.'

**mirabile visu**, etc.: an exclamation which each poet is supposed to make on reading the poems of the other.

92. **Musis** is the dat. after the pass. part. 'a piece of fine graving from the Muses' hands.' With the fig. cp. that of A. P. 441 'male tornatos incudi reddere versus.' Bentley wished to take the words with the following lines, in apposition to 'aedem,' so that as they stand they would mean 'ornamented with the nine Muses carved in relief'; but he would also alter **caelatum** to 'sacratum.' For the division of **circum-Spectemus** cp. A. P. 424 'inter-Noscere.'

94. **vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem**, 'the temple with its vacant room for Roman bards,' i. e. the Palatine temple and library (Epp. 1. 3. 17, Od. 1. 31). The library is ready and well stocked with Greek poetry. Latin contributions are slow to come in, and those poets who are admitted think much of the compliment.

95. **si forte vacas**: 'it is not worth interrupting serious business for.'

**procul**: not coming too near.

97, 98. 'We belabour one another, and with thwack for thwack wear out the foe, in long drawn out duel, very Samnites, till the lights come.' What is described is a duel of insincere criticism and compliments between the two poets who read their compositions to one another (see v. 105) all day: 'ad lumina prima,' compared with Sat. 2. 7. 33 'sub lumina prima venire convivam,' will mean 'till supper time.' The Scholiasts were in doubt as to the meaning of 'Samnites'; of the two views which they offer the most commonly adopted is that it refers to the class of gladiators who bore that name from appearing in Samnite arms (Liv. 9. 40, Cic. Tusc. D. 2. 17. 41, de Or. 2. 8. 325, pro Sest. 64. 134). They were ordinarily matched (see the last reference) with a 'provocator.' If this is so, the meaning seems to be that the two critics, though pretending to fight, were as a pair of gladiators both of whom are armed for defence rather than offence. The other view is that Horace had in view some lines of Ennius with respect to the stubborn resistance of the Samnites to Rome. The Scholiasts quote a line 'Bellum aequis manibus nox intempesta diremit.' 'The poets fight [though in their case it is a sham fight] as the Samnites in Ennius till the lights of evening.'

99. **discedo**: of coming away from a battle; 'discessit victor' Epp. 1. 10. 37.

**puncto**: A. P. 343.

101. **Mimnermus**: Epp. 1. 6. 65.

**crescit**, 'grows greater and greater.'

102–105. 'When I am writing poetry myself I am obliged to submit to this sort of thing, but now I have done with it let me keep quite clear of it.'

104. **mente recepta**: for it is assumed that poets are mad, Epp. 2. 1. 118.

Obturem patulas impune legentibus aures.
Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina ; verum
Gaudent scribentes et se venerantur, et ultro,
Si taceas, laudant quicquid scripsere beati.
At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poëma,
Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti ;
Audebit, quaecunque parum splendoris habebunt
Et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna feruntur,
Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant
Et versentur adhuc † intra penetralia Vestae.

105. **impune**: best taken with **legentibus.** 'Let me now close my open ears and allow them to read without fear of reprisals.' Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 40 'auditor et ultor,' Juv. S. 1. 3 'impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas?'

106 foll. The poetaster is laughed at, but he enjoys his own work and thinks it admirable. The man who aims at true poetical work is of different stuff, and he has a serious task before him.

108. **si taceas**: Madv. § 348; cp. Epp. 1. 16. 5. It is not the proper protasis to 'laudant' but to a suppressed 'laudent' which may be mentally supplied with 'ultro.' 'They habitually praise [and would praise] on their own account if you should hold your tongue.'

**beati**, with **laudant**, but kept till last to gain more point, 'happy people!' With the picture cp. Catull. 22. 14 'Idem [Suffenus] infaceto est infacetior rure, Simul poëmata attigit, neque idem unquam Aeque est beatus ac poëma cum scribit: Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.'

109. **legitimum**: true to the laws of art. Cp. A. P. 274 'legitimum sonum.'

**fecisse**: for the tense see Od. 3. 4. 51; the desire is not to compose but to have composed, to leave behind you a poem.

110. **cum tabulis**, 'with his writing tablets,' i. e. for the purpose of composition.

**censoris honesti**: the special function of the Censor which Horace has in view is that of revising the lists of the Senate and the equites with the purpose of striking out unworthy members; a function which Augustus (Suet. Aug. 36) had revived. The idea is carried out in many of the phrases that follow, e. g. 'splendoris,' 'honore indigna,' 'movere loco,' 'invita recedant.' The true poet will be as careful in admitting a word to a place in his writings as a conscientious censor in admitting a claim to the senate. Dr. Johnson, as is well known, happily transfers these lines, in his quotation of them on the title page of his dictionary, from the poet maintaining the purity of his own diction to the lexicographer doing the same for a language.

111. **splendoris**: frequently used by Cicero of the 'lustre' belonging to the senatorian or equestrian order or their members.

112. **sine pondere**: A. P. 320.

**feruntur.** I follow Ritter and Munro in giving the reading of the best MSS. instead of 'ferentur,' which has been more generally adopted. Keller prints 'feruntur,' but considers it a mistake of the archetype; but a mistake is more likely to have been made the other way. If we accept it there is a purposed change of time; 'habebunt' and 'erunt' describe the future results which the censor foresees, 'they will, if left there, seem dull or unimpressive by and bye': 'feruntur' describes a present fact, 'or are [now] considered unworthy of the dignity.' The censor would in his decision give some weight to current popular opinion.

113. **movere loco**: a technical term. Liv. 39. 42 'senatorio loco movit.' Cp. Sat. 1. 6. 20 'Censorque moveret Appius.'

**invita recedant**: from their place in the poem.

114. **versentur intra penetralia Vestae.** The editors generally give 'intra,' but this is a conjecture, all the MSS. having 'inter,' which does not seem an impossible expression. Keller, who retains it, explains 'penetralia' as = 'sacra penetralia,' the emblems and relics preserved in the shrine. The phrase as a whole is a difficult one. Porph. explains it by 'domi,' 'licet in animo nostro versentur,' in the poet's

Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
Quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas;
Adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus.
Vehemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
Fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua;
Luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano
Levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,
Ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui

affections. Orelli thinks that it is the poet's home, which, as he is 'musarum sacerdos,' has a special sanctity, and which till it is published is the poem's home. Ritter interprets of taking sanctuary in the temple of Vesta; but there is no proof of this usage. Keller explains 'versentur adhuc inter penetralia' to mean 'cling to their place as genuine relics.' He suggests also, and there is perhaps more help in this, that the phrase is a quotation or adaptation from Ennius or some other elder poet. It may be noticed that the alliteration 'versentur,' 'Vestae,' suits well such an origin. The key in that case is lost, and the exact interpretation can only be matter of conjecture. Possibly, as has been suggested to me, the words mean 'the innermost shrine of Rome's true life' i.e. as we might say 'the sanctum of the Latin language,' 'the select circle of genuine Latin words.'

115. **populo**, dat. with **obscurata diu**; 'long lost to the people's view.'

116. **speciosa**, opp. 'quae parum splendoris habent' v. 111. For the word cp. A. P. 144, 319.

**vocabula rerum**, 'designations of things,' i.e. words; so 'rerum nomina' A. P. 57. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 280 'imponens . . . vocabula rebus.' They are called 'vocabula' alone in A. P. 71.

117. **Catonibus atque Cethegis**, 'such men as Cato (the Censor, consul in B.C. 195; cp. 'lingua Catonis' A. P. 56); 'and Cethegus' (consul in 204, the orator called by Ennius 'suadae medulla'); cp. both for the reference and for the plural 'cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis' A. P. 50). For the plur. see also on Od. 1. 12. 37.

118. **situs**: the only instance in Horace of its Virgilian sense of 'disuse,' 'inaction.' Such disuse, in the case of words, is 'informis,' in that it makes them uncouth to unaccustomed ears.

119. **adsciscet**: a return to the figure of the Censor; 'will place on the rolls.'

**usus**: A. P. 71.

120. **vehemens et liquidus**: 'strong and yet clear.' Contrast the description of Lucilius, Sat. 1. 4. 10 'cum flueret lutulentus'; but Horace is speaking here of diction only or chiefly. 'Vehemens' is scanned as a disyllable (cp. 'nihilo' Sat. 1. 5. 67), but that it was written as a trisyll. is shown by the emendations introduced in several MSS., 'Et vehemens,' 'Hic vehemens,' etc.

122. **luxuriantia compescet**: the metaph. from pruning: 'ramos compesce fluentis' Virg. G. 2. 370. He speaks of a too florid diction. Cp. perhaps A. P. 447 'ambitiosa recidet Ornamenta,' and see note there.

**sano**: i.e. not overdone; for sometimes 'sectantem levia nervi Deficiunt animique' A. P. 26.

123. **virtute carentia tollet**: those which have no merit in them (neither the force which leads to redundancy nor that which conceals itself behind roughness) he removes. Orelli and Dill[r]. do not improve the sense by taking this of a gardener, 'lifting' the weaker shoots from the ground.

124. **et**, 'and yet' (cp. 'ac' in Od. 3. 28. 6). The meaning seems to be 'he will seem to you to move with the ease of one at play, but really he will be putting force on himself, just as the ease of a stage dancer, who takes first the agile part and then the heavy part, is the result of effort and training. Cp. Pope's imitation—

'But ease of writing flows from art
not chance,
As those move easiest who have
learned to dance.'

Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.
Praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere et ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
Qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos,
In vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro;
Cetera qui vitae servaret munia recto
More, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
Comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
Et signo laeso non insanire lagenae,
Posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
Expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
Et redit ad sese: 'Pol me occidistis, amici,
Non servastis,' ait, 'cui sic extorta voluptas
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'
Nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis,

In this picture, drawn with a sympathetic hand, of the poet who spares no pains to make his poetry conform to the rules of his art ('legitimum fecisse poema'), who chooses his language with such nicety, whose verse is like a strong clear stream, carrying fertility where it flows, who wins by such labour the appearance of ease, Horace is drawing the ideal of the classical school of Latin poetry, but his thoughts must be specially of the master, probably just lost, his friend Virgil.

125. **Satyrum**: cp. Od. 1. 1. 31 'Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori,' Virg. E. 5. 73 'Saltantes Satyros imitabitur.'

**Cyclopa**: cp. Sat. 1. 5. 63 'Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat.' This illustrates also **movetur** with the accus.

126–148. No doubt if the choice were open I should like to take my place with the poets who admire themselves on such easy terms. Any process of disillusion is painful, as the man of Argos found; but (he goes on) the time for such illusions is past.

Munro and Keller put a question at 'ringi,' which would slightly alter the connection. 'Am I to prefer?' etc.

126. **iners**: cp. A. P. 446 'versus inertes,' very possibly, as the Scholiasts say, the word is used in both cases in its etymological sense = 'arte carens (see also on Epp. 1. 20. 12), but it may only mean 'spiritless,' 'dull': for such a metaphorical use cp. Sat. 2. 2. 41 'carnem inertem,' of 'flavourless' meat. 'Delirus' is 'doting,' 'silly.' Cp. its uses in Sat. 2. 7. 107, 293, 2. 3. 71.

128. **sapere et ringi**: to be a philosopher with his Cynic (snarling) tone [instead of the poet with his genial self-complacency]. The words are here metaphorical, only meant to describe the pain of disillusion; but the phrase is taken up in v. 141.

131. **qui servaret**, 'the sort of man to keep,' etc.

133. **posset qui ignoscere servis**: these are marks of sanity. Cp. Sat. 1. 3. 80 f., where ferocity towards slaves is a sign of madness.

135. **rupem, puteum**: obvious dangers; Sat. 2. 3. 55, A. P. 459.

137. **elleboro**: see on Sat. 2. 3. 82.

**bilem**, as a cause of madness: A. P. 302.

**meraco**, 'undiluted.' Persius S. 4. 16 imitates, 'Anticyras melior sorbere meracas.'

141. **sapere**, with ref. to v. 128. 'The truth is it is profitable to turn philosopher, but in a graver sense than before; not merely to understand the

Et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum;
Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
Sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
Quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor:
Si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
Narrares medicis; quod quanto plura parasti
Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
Si volnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
Non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba
Proficiente nihil curarier. Audieras, cui
Rem di donarent illi decedere pravam
Stultitiam; et cum sis nihilo sapientior ex quo
Plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem?
At si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,

laws of poetry, but to fling away poetry with all other modes of trifling, and set to the serious business of life.'

**nugis**: Epp. 1. 1. 10 'versus et cetera ludicra.'

142. **pueris**, dat. both with 'tempestivum' and 'concedere'; to leave to boys the play that is seasonable for them'; a good instance of the so-called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction; see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

143. **ac non**: Sat. 2. 3. 135 n., Epp. 1. 10. 46.

**verba sequi.** Orelli compares Plat. Gorg. 489 B ὀνόματα θηρεύειν: cp. A. P. 240 'ex noto fictum carmen sequar': with 'verba fidibus modulanda': cp. Od. 4. 9. 4 'verba . . . socianda chordis,' but 'fidibus' is here the abl. of the instr. by which the words are to be set in rhythm.

144. **numerosque modosque**: see on Epp. 1. 18. 59.

145. **mecum loquor . . . recordor.** The figure is that of 'ediscere' continued. He would 'get by heart' the methods of reducing life to time and tune. To that end, if Florus were to come and see him, he would hear him 'saying over to himself,' not tags of verse in the making, but what he can remember of the commonplaces of his philosophical teachers. This is the description of the remainder of the Epistle. It is Horace's way of talking to himself, a sermon to Florus only at secondhand.

The maxims and arguments which he recalls are the 'elementa' of Epp. 1. 1. 27, the store of rudimentary philosophy which he there represents himself as accumulating for his own use. Avarice is as usual (see Sat. 1. 1) the typical vice first attacked.

146. **tibi**, not Florus: see the last note.

147. **medicis.** The argument from analogy between the medicine of the body and of the soul is frequent: see Ep. 1. 1. 33 foll. Cp. the hint of Florus' own ailments in Epp. 1. 3. 26. For the folly of not dealing with first symptoms and being frank with your doctor see Epp. 1. 2. 33 f., 1. 16. 21 f. For the special comparison of avarice to the dropsy cp. Od. 2. 2. 13 f.

148. **faterier.** For the form see on Sat. 2. 3. 24.

149. **monstrata**, 'prescribed,' a technical word of medicine; see Mayor on Juv. S. 10. 363.

151. **curarier**: to be further treated; for the form see above v. 148.

**audieras**: suppose you had heard. For the tense and mood cp. Sat. 2. 6. 48 'spectaverat,' 'luserat.' Orelli explains 'a volgo'; it is the world's teaching that, wealth once attained, desire will moderate and virtue be easy; the philosopher knows better.

153. **stultitiam**, i. e. the special manifestation of folly, viz. avarice: so too **sapientior.**

Si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,
Viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.
Si proprium est quod quis libra mercatus et aere est,
Quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus;
Qui te pascit ager tuus est, et vilicus Orbi,
Cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas,
Te dominum sentit. Das nummos, accipis uvam,
Pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto
Paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis
Aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emptum.
Quid refert vivas numerato nuper an olim?
Emptor Aricini quondam, Veientis et arvi,

156. **cupidum timidumque**: Epp. I. 2. 51, I. 6. 9.

**nempe**, here 'in apodosi,' it emphasizes the 'reductio ad absurdum'; if wealth could do all this, why your blushes would be needed for being too little anxious, not too greatly, about wealth.

158 f. Lucretius 3. 971 had used the legal distinction between 'mancipium,' perfect ownership, and 'usus,' occupation, enjoyment, to illustrate the tenure of life, 'Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.' Horace, in Sat. 2. 2. 129–135, applies the same thought to the tenure of property: 'property cannot be of longer tenure than life itself'; we can have the 'usus' of it, but 'proprium' is a wrong word to use. This thought is worked out more fully here, but Horace calls into use another technicality of the Roman law, namely, the principle of 'usucapio,' viz. that uninterrupted possession for a limited time gave absolute ownership. 'All ownership,' he says, as in the former case, 'is limited by the conditions of human life'; but he adds 'limited ownership is as good as unlimited,' and he interprets 'usus' (perhaps as in Epp. I. 12. 1–4 in the light of the further technical term 'usus fructus') to mean enjoyment. 'If you get the fruits of the field, the field is yours to all intents and purposes, in the only sense in which anything can be said to be yours.'

158. **libra et aere.** In the formal act of 'mancipatio,' or the transference of 'res mancipi,' one of the witnesses held a pair of scales and the purchaser touched them with a coin of bronze, which he then gave to the vendor. This archaic custom is described by Gaius, Inst. I. 119.

**mercatus . . . est**: the reading of the majority of the better MSS. including V. Many edd. prefer 'mercatur.'

159. **quaedam**: not 'some kinds of property,' for there is no distinction contemplated between 'res mancipi' and 'res nec mancipi,' and the principle of 'usucapio' applied to both, but 'property sometimes.'

**consultis**: i.e. 'iurisconsultis,' as in v. 87 and Sat. I. I. 17.

160. **Orbi**, some unknown rich proprietor.

161. **daturas**: the reading of the Bland., and more pointed than 'daturus' which K. and H. prefer.

163. **nempe modo isto**, 'why, you see, in that way.' It emphasizes the point at which, by the argument, the collective 'agrum' is substituted for the detailed products of the 'ager.'

166. You count out the price in successive yearly payments to the bailiff. Orbius counted it out once for all. What is the difference?

167. The converse of the proposition in vv. 163–165. That was 'the man who buys the produce virtually buys, and so owns, the field.' This is 'the man who bought the field, however long ago, virtually buys the produce he consumes from it.'

**quondam**: to be taken closely with **emptor**; 'the sometime purchaser.' Horace is fond of using verbal substantives in the place of participles or relative clauses. Dill[r]. compares 'late tyrannus' Od. 3. 17. 9, 'prope victor'

Emptum cenat olus, quamvis aliter putat; emptis
Sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aënum;
Sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis
Limitibus vicina refugit iurgia; tamquam
Sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis horae
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
Permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, et heres
Heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,
Quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve Calabris
Saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
Grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?
Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas,

Od. 4. 6. 3. It must be confessed that the best MSS. (including Bland.) give 'quoniam,' which K. and H. accordingly print. It is a possible reading, though it is prosaic, and unlike Horace, and goes awkwardly with the following 'quamvis,' 'sed.'

170. **usque**, local, with **qua**; all the way to where, etc.

**qua populus**, etc.: the best illustration is Varro, R. R. 1. 15 'Praeterea sine saeptis fines praedii, sationis, notis arborum tutiores fiunt, ne familiae rixentur cum vicinis, ac limites ex litibus iudicem quaerant, serunt alii circum pinos, alii cupressos, alii ulmos.' In Virg. Aen. 12. 898 a stone is placed for the same purpose, 'Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.'

**adsita limitibus**, 'planted along the bounds.'

**certis** is pred., 'so as to make them sure.'

171. **refugit**: both verb and tense have displeased some edd. Bentley would read, with some slight MS. authority, 'refigit,' which he interprets as i.q. 'resolvit.' It is not unnatural to attribute to the tree the 'shrinking' from quarrels which is the motive of their planting; the perfect is probably regular: ever since the poplars were planted their quarrels have ceased; this is expressed by saying that the 'poplars planted there have shrunk from quarrels'; others (as Schütz) explain it as parallel to Virgil's 'meminisse horret luctuque refugit' Aen. 2. 12.

**vicina iurgia** = 'vicinorum iurgia.'

172. **tamquam sit proprium quicquam**: for the thought cp. Sat. 2. 2. 129 and 134.

**puncto horae**: Sat. 1. 1. 7 'horae momento.'

173. **prece . . . pretio**: the alliteration tempts Ovid also, Fast. 2. 805 'nec prece nec pretio.'

**morte suprema**: cp. 'supremo fine' Epp. 2. 1. 52; 'by Death if by nothing before.'

174. **cedat**, 'pass.'

**in altera iura**: a modification of 'in alterius ius,' that being an equivalent of 'in alterius potestatem.'

176. **alterius**: heir follows one who was heir of yet another; three generations are gone as waves one after another. Bentl. would read 'alternis' = 'invicem,' but it is truly remarked it is not a case of reciprocity but of succession.

177. **vici**, 'estates.' Cic. ad Fam. 14. 1. 5 'sentis te vicum venditurum.'

**Calabris . . . Lucani**: Epod. 1. 27. 28.

180. With the whole line cp. Epp. 1. 6. 17.

**Tyrrhena sigilla**: little images of the gods in bronze, of Tuscan workmanship. Tertull. Apol. 25 'ingenia Tuscorum fingendis simulacris urbem inundaverunt.'

181. **argentum**: silver plate, as Epp. 1. 16. 76 and elsewhere.

**Gaetulo murice**: Od. 2. 16. 35 'Afro murice.'

Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.
Cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui
Praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter
Dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
Silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
Quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.
Utar, et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo
Tollam, nec metuam quid de me iudicet heres,
Quod non plura datis invenerit; et tamen idem
Scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
Discrepet et quantum discordet parcus avaro.

182. **est qui non curat.** It seems clear that the contrast is intended to mark the greater certainty of an individual case; 'I know one who cares not.' For the grammatical difference of the two constructions see on Od. 1. 1. 3, and compare Epp. 2. 1. 63. Horace must mean himself, rather than (as Orelli and Schütz) the 'sapiens.' It is characteristic that he goes on 'If you ask, why? I can't tell you, except that men are differently constituted.'

183. **alter fratrum**: one even of two brothers, whose antecedents seem so entirely the same. Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 26 'Castor gaudet equis; ovo prognatus eodem Pugnis.'

**cessare**: Epp. 1. 7. 57, 1. 10. 46 n.

**ungui**: Od. 2. 11. 17, Epp. 1. 18. 22.

184. **Herodis palmetis**: i.e. to the richest and most profitable estate. The famous palm-groves of Jericho were granted by Antony to Cleopatra, and farmed for her by Herod the Great (Joseph. Bell. Jud. 1. 18). Very probably they became his own property. He had a palace there (Strabo 16. 44).

185. **dives et importunus**: rich and yet busy in season and out of season; cp. Virgil's 'labor improbus.'

186. **mitiget**: so 'pacantur' Epp. 1. 2. 45 n.; 'flammis et ferro,' though literal of burning and ploughing, yet have a shadow of the same metaphorical reference to the civilizing progress of Roman arms.

187. **Genius**: see on Od. 3. 17. 15, Epp. 2. 1. 144. No Roman writer describes the idea of the Genius so clearly as Horace; it is born with the man, and so makes the influence of the natal hour what it is; it rules his life, and is the one and only divine power that touches it; it dies with him; it is in every respect what he is. It is the idea of the man's self projected from himself and divinized. What makes a man what he is? When Horace answers 'that is a secret known only to the Genius,' he in effect says 'his self is an ultimate fact; he is what he is; there is no accounting for the infinite varieties of human nature.'

188. **in unum quodque caput**: the 'in' of reckoning, 'for' or 'with' each single life. For the division of 'unumquodque' between the two lines see on Sat. 1. 9. 51, and cp. A. P. 290.

189. **albus et ater**: carrying on **voltu mutabilis**, 'whatever be his hue'; the words are proverbial: cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 16. 41 'sit qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras,' i. e. 'one of whom you know nothing.' So Catull. 93. 2 'nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.'

190. **utar**: absolute (as Epp. 1. 7. 57) and emphatic, of χρῆσις opposed to κτῆσις. So Persius S. 6. 22 'utar ego, utar.'

192. **datis**: those I have given (i.e. bequeathed) to him. Porph. took it less simply, 'than what he has given to me'; cp. Sat. 2. 5: but this is to introduce an idea alien to the context.

193. **scire volam**, 'I shall wish to remember.'

Distat enim spargas tua prodigus an neque sumptum
Invitus facias neque plura parare labores,
Ac potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
Pauperies immunda domus procul absit: ego, utrum
Nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.
Non agimur tumidis velis aquilone secundo;
Non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus austris,
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
Non es avarus: abi. Quid, cetera iam simul isto

195. There is a difference (though the miser thinks there is none) between lavish extravagance and the reasonable view of wealth, which, as it does not let a man grudge every penny that he spends, so does not make him toil ever to get more, but allows him to enjoy a holiday as well as a schoolboy.

197. **Quinquatribus**: properly 'the fifth day after [the Ides]'; the name given to the short spring holidays, which began on March 19: see Mayor's note on Juv. S. 10. 115.

**olim**: Sat. 1. 1. 25.

198. **raptim**: cp. 'rapiamus occasionem' Epod. 13. 3.

199–200. 'Provided I escape poverty in the sense of squalor, I should be as happy to sail in small ships as in a big one.' The last words are metaphorical, and the figure is kept up in the next two lines.

199. **domus**. The reading cannot be considered certain; 'domus' is the reading of the majority of good MSS., and though it is not necessary it makes good sense. Horace is thinking of the opposite extreme to the luxurious furnishing of vv. 180 f. But several good MSS. omit the word, leaving the line unmetrical. Some transpose the words 'procul domus' ('domus immunda' is then in opposition to 'pauperies,' but the sense is heavy, and Horace would hardly deprecate 'pauperies' in this absolute way). Bentley, on the authority of one undated MS., would read 'procul procul'; but this is rightly condemned as too rhetorical for the place. It is possible, as Orelli and Dill[r]. suggest, that the facts point (as in Od. 4. 6. 17) to the early loss of the true word, its place being diversely filled, but by conjectures.

**utrum . . . an**: substituted for 'sive,' 'seu,' as though the answering clause were (as it is in sense) 'it makes no difference.' The only parallel quoted is from Ov. Rem. Am. 797 'Daunius an Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris, An veniat Megaris, noxius omnis erit.' It may be compared to the elliptical use of 'an,' as 'iure an iniuria' Liv. 2. 54, though possibly that is rather a direct question 'rightly, or was it wrongly?' see Dräger, Hist. Syntax 2. § 468 A. a. *a*.

201. The figure of the ship is continued, though we pass from its size to the weather it meets.

201, 202. As the last two verses were of his wishes, so these are of the facts. 'Though I do not run with bellying sail before the wind of fortune, I yet am not passing my life in buffeting with gales of adversity.'

203. **specie**: Epp. 1. 6. 49.

205. **abi**: properly a formula of dismissal, and thence as an exclamation common in the dramatists with varying shades of meaning, angry, playful, or even expressive of satisfaction. Cp. Ter. Adelph. 220, 564, 620, 703, 765. Here it has the last sense, as in l. c. 564 (4. 2. 25 'Laudo, Ctesipho, patrissas: abi, virum te iudico'), 'that will do,' 'so far so good.'

**quid?** As though the speaker has waited, but waited in vain, for a further disclaimer.

**cetera isto cum vitio**. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 159 'Quid, si quis non sit avarus, Continuo sanus?' The same three passions—avarice, ambition, superstition, are there ranged in the same position.

Cum vitio fugere? Caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? Caret mortis formidine et ira?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
Natales grate numeras? Ignoscis amicis?
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
Quid te exempta iuvat spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo
Rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.

206. **fugere.** Many of the best MSS. (including the Bland.) give 'fuge rite,' and Porph. possibly read the same, for his note 'sic pronuntiandum est ut intelligatur non fugisse alia vitia' seems more needed in that case. Bentley's last judgment was in favour of this reading. Keller, thinking with all recent editors, that it was an error, ingeniously traces it to an original blunder of 'fugerunt,' this corrected to 'fugere,' but the 'e' so written above as to be taken by a fresh blunder as an addition instead of a substitution, and the reading then determined by an unhappy remembrance of v. 78 of this Epistle, 'fugit urbes Rite cliens Bacchi,' the copyist taking 'rite' there to belong to 'fugit.'

207. **formidine et ira.** Schütz seems right in taking these words together as both belonging to 'mortis,' 'terror and anger at death.' He shows that the use of 'ira' with an obj. genitive is common (as Liv. I. 5 'ob iram praedae amissae'); and for the idea he refers to Lucret. 3. 1045 'Tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire.' Temper, generally, is named in vv. 210, 211.

208. **terrores magicos.** Cp. Epp. 2. I. 212 'falsis terroribus implet, Ut magus.'

**sagas**: Od. I. 27. 21.

209. **lemures**: Pers. S. 5. 185 'tum nigri lemures.'

**Thessala.** Thessaly was the land of sorcery; Od. I. 27. 22, Epod. 5. 21. 45.

210. **grate**, 'with gratitude' ('lucro apponens' Od. I. 9. 14), 'for what you have had, not with repining that the end is so much nearer.'

212. **quid te iuvat**, 'What does it profit you?' 'Iuvat' is used of medical help C. S. 63 'qui salutari iuvat arte fessos.' 'Levat,' which is given by many edd. besides Bent., has slight MS. authority, the chief being that it is supposed to have been the reading of three of the Bland. MSS. (this, according to Cruquius' mode of indication, does not imply V). Ritter, however, shows that Cruquius' note by no means makes it certain that he found 'levat' in those MSS. His words refer to the punctuation, not to the verb: 'sic habent cod. Bland. tres per interrogationis notam: quasi dicat, una spina de pluribus exemta, nimirum avaritia, me levat minime.' He is justifying the repeated note of interrogation at 'quid?' and at 'una?' and pointing out that this is equivalent to a negative 'minime'; 'levat' may possibly be a natural slip of his own. Keller and Munro have 'iuvat.' For 'spinis' cp. Epp. I. 14. 4 'spinas animo . . . evellas,' the metaphor from weeding ground.

213. **vivere recte**: see on Epp. I. 2. 4, I. 6. 29, I. 16. 17.

**decede**: with dat. 'make room for.'

214. For the picture of the 'conviva satur,' who should know when to retire from the banquet, see Sat. I. I. 119. The reference in both places is to Lucret. 3. 938.

216. **lasciva decentius**, 'in whom play is more becoming'; the picture of Od. 3. 15.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE ARS POETICA.

On the difficult questions of the date of the 'Epistula ad Pisones,' of the persons to whom it was addressed, and of its relation to Horace's other writings, what I had to say has been said in the general Introduction to the three larger and literary Epistles, pp. 331 f. As was there noticed the earliest titles by which we find it called are 'Ars Poetica[1]' and 'Liber de Arte Poetica,' by both of which names it is quoted by Quintilian. These were natural titles to be given to it by those who were already using it as a school-book which served the double purpose of a master-piece of literature and a manual of literary knowledge. They serve also well to characterize a poem of which the chief doctrine is that poetry is an art and must be treated as an art: but we may feel pretty sure that Horace, who shrank so sensitively from anything like pretension or pedantry, would not have given any sanction to such a title. In any case it is, as it was also called in early times[2], an Epistle, not a treatise in verse (like 'L'Art Poétique' of Boileau), but a letter in verse, with an immediate and personal as well as a literary purpose.

The address to the Pisones, father and sons, is not conventional or complimentary, but has a vital relation to the course of the poem. The appellations change and take colour from the context: 'Pisones,' 'pater et nati patre digni,' 'O Pompilius sanguis.' The places where a name or other personal appeal occurs are always either where the chief points of the Epistle are to be enforced, as the necessity of unity in conception (v. 6), the danger of laziness in Roman poets (v. 291), the valuelessness of mediocre poetry (v. 360), or where Horace is evidently sweetening, after his wont, advice which he wishes to press (as in v. 22), or where there are other indications that some definite purpose, conceived or imagined, is in view (as in

[1] Cicero uses 'ars' as a term for a 'methodical treatise,' as on Rhetoric, de Fin. 3. 1. 4, de Inv. 1. 6; cp. Juv. S. 7. 177 'artem scindens Theodori.'

[2] By Charisius (fourth or fifth cent.).

vv. 225, 386). We can distinguish the different relation which the three persons addressed hold towards the Epistle. The father figures rather as the critic on whom the young writer may lean, and who will enforce Horace's teaching, than as a poet or learner himself at the present time. The younger son is only included as making up the literary family. But as the poem goes on it becomes clear that the elder son is the person for whom the advice is intended, 'O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis,' etc., and that he is imagined as having not only literary ambitions, but definite poetical schemes.

Horace is putting on paper an old poet's advice to a young aspirant. He does not discourage him, but he would enlist him, if he is to be a poet, as a recruit in the severe and classical school. In an age of scribblers he must give time to accumulate materials, time to understand his business; he must subject his work to honest and rigorous criticism; he must be slow to give it to the world.

We may distinguish perhaps three parts of the poem: but they pass naturally into one another, and a single thread binds them together in the repeated doctrine, that poetry is an art and as an art has rules, and supposes previous instruction and patient effort.

Vv. 1–118 deal with general principles of poetry, unity of conception, choice of words, style of diction.

Vv. 119–284. When from diction he passes to characters it soon becomes evident that, for some reason unexplained, he has dramatic poetry specially in view; and various points are touched in relation to it, some larger, some smaller; but the leading principle throughout is that the best Greek practice is to be the rule.

Vv. 285–end. So we go back to what is applicable to all kinds of poetry; the comparison of the Greek and Roman temperament, the two aims of poetry, the necessity of excellence, the poet's high calling, the need of training, the folly of wilfulness.

Something of the same disproportion in the space given to the drama has been noticed in the Ep. ad Augustum. There it has been probably explained by the fact that dramatic writing had become popular again in the Augustan period. But the phenomenon is more marked in the Ars Poetica. It not only has more than its share: it is the only kind of poetry specifically dealt with, and we find upon it detailed and practical rules. It is difficult not to think that the explanation lies in the line which the young Piso's literary ambition was taking. He was planning or writing a play. How closely Horace is touching his plans it seems impossible to define.

Is he advising him (vv. 128 f.) to take an Homeric subject, or justifying him in doing so? Is he implying (vv. 234 f.) that Piso includes in his purpose a Satyric drama? These doubts are not more than those which remain in Epp. I. 18, as to whether Lollius is actually the dependent of some great man or is only contemplating such a position. We do not exclude in either case the literary purpose. Horace writes not without consciousness of a larger audience. His Epistle has its close relation to Piso's circumstances; but in writing it, as in publishing it, he is thinking also of the general circumstances of Roman poetry, and adding another chapter to his *apologia* for the aims and methods of the school which he admired and to which he belonged.

Another interesting question, which has been often debated, is the extent and nature of Horace's indebtedness to particular writers, Greek or Latin, for the materials of his criticism. Porphyrion tells us that Horace, in the Ars Poetica, 'has put together precepts of Neoptolemus of Parium, not all, but the most important'; and he carries out this view into some detail in the earlier part of the poem by giving Greek names to succeeding 'precepts,' as vv. 1–9 περὶ ἀκολουθίας, v. 28 περὶ εὐταξίας, etc.

A. Michaelis, who published in 1857 an exhaustive dissertation on the subject [1], has again in the later treatise [2], from which I have quoted before, well characterized this statement, if it is to be interpreted at all literally, as 'impossible and contradictory both of the idea of an Horatian Epistle and of the whole tendency of Horace's poetry [3].' Porphyrion may have noticed some points of resemblance between Horace's treatment of the subject and that of Neoptolemus, and it is

[1] 'De auctoribus quos Horatius in libro de Arte Poetica secutus esse videatur' Mohr, Kiel, 1857.

[2] In the 'Commentationes in honorem T. Mommseni,' Berlin, 1877.

[3] It will be seen that I cannot accept the suggestion lately made by Prof. Nettleship (Essays in Roman Literature, p. 174 f.) that the framework of the poem is given by a series of texts from a Greek treatise paraphrased and then commented upon. The transitions seem to me to be natural and like those of Horace's other writings; the gaps and difficulties not to be different from those which belong to an Epistle; the poem on the whole not to be desultory, but to have a distinctly marked thread of continuous purpose. As an extreme instance of the difficulties in the way of such an explanation, we may notice that it is thought necessary to make vv. 24–31 one of the paraphrased texts. These verses have, as much as any lines in the Epistle, Horace's own stamp both on form and substance. There is all the artifice with which he knows how to make advice palatable—the personal appeal, the association of himself with those whom he lectures; 'we are beguiled,'—and of them with himself—'most of *us* poets.' And the substance is the application to literature of the doctrine, so habitual in his moral writings, that follies arise from inartistic attempts to avoid their opposites, the text of Sat. I. 2. The same doctrine is to be detected in his warnings to the writer of Satyric drama, vv. 230 f.

possible that they may have been due to direct imitation, but on the one hand Horace's poem is an Epistle, with the links of thought, the proportion of topics, the personal purpose, which belong to an Epistle, on the other hand we may be sure that in criticism, as in philosophy, he put himself into the hands of no single master, 'nullius addictus iurare in verba.' His eye throughout is primarily on Roman poetry, not on Greek. He has his own purpose, which could not be Neoptolemus's, and everything contributes to that. He is bringing to bear on a literary question the same shrewd judgment and the same standing principles which he has applied in other poems to moral questions. A large part of Michaelis' treatise is taken up with disproving propositions which would now scarcely be advanced, as that the Epistle was built upon Plato's Phaedrus or Aristotle's Poetics. The same general answer holds towards these as is made to Porphyrion's statement about Neoptolemus, with the additional weight given by the fact that in these cases we have the works which he is said to have taken as his guides, and can measure exactly his debt to them. But some debt there is. The figure with which the poem opens is most probably due to a remembrance of Plat. Phaedr., and the parallelisms, both in thought and expression, between Horace and the Poetics, though they are always accompanied by divergences which show that he is writing independently, are yet probably too close not to imply some memory of the text of Aristotle[1]. In one passage (vv. 161–174) we seem to find not slavish imitation, but full remembrance of some chapters in the Rhetoric.

[1] See especially the notes on vv. 81, 82, 128, 144, 148, 191–193, 195.

# DE ARTE POETICA LIBER.

Verses 1–5. YOU expect a picture to represent something real: not incongruous and impossible combinations.

6–13. The same rule binds a poet. What he conceives (i. e. whether as a whole or in detail) must be possible and whole.

14–23. This rule is violated by the 'purple patch' system. Your beauties must be *relevant*. Remember always your purpose and its conditions.

24–31. Blunders in this matter proceed from the common failing, the incapacity to avoid one mistake without falling into its opposite. One wants art even to escape faults.

32–37. It is the same in sculpture. It is easier to work up some details than to conceive a whole. But it is as in the human face: a crooked nose spoils the effect of good eyes and hair.

38–41. The key lies in choosing a subject within your powers. Once do that and you will not fail either in finding plenty to say or in power to arrange it.

42–45. By arrangement I mean knowing when to say a thing, when to omit or postpone it, the power to pick and choose.

46–72. That must be exercised in respect of *diction*. It is a very happy knack to make an old word new by a skilful conjunction. You may also invent words if it be necessary; but it must be in moderation, and you will do well to go to Greek as your well-spring. The old poets invented words, why may not modern? Words, like other human things, have their day, and pass and change.

73–88. The different types of poetry have been marked out by the Greek masters, and stamped with their appropriate *metres*, and we must keep to them.

89–118. So generally with respect to the *style of diction*. The comic and the tragic are distinct, though of course to a certain extent each borrows the tone of the other. This is owing to the larger law that emotion is only stirred by emotion, and the language must correspond to the emotion. Respect must be had too to the characters who are speaking.

119–127. In respect of *characters* you may follow tradition or invent. In either case you have your law. Traditional characters must keep their traditional features. Newly invented ones must be consistent with their own idea.

128–135. Real originality in dealing with common things is so difficult that you are doing better to dramatize some of the Homeric story than to start a new plot. There is room for originality still within these limits, in the choice of your subject and in the freedom of your imitation.

136–152. Imitate Homer in the modesty of your beginning, in avoiding lengthy and prosaic introductions, in consistency of story.

153–178. The first point an audience cares for is a real discrimination of the characteristics of human nature in each of the stages of life. These must be well studied.

179–188. They must then be set out in action, not in narrative; but this not carried to the extent of producing revolting or marvellous scenes on the stage.

189–192. Five acts, no more and no less. A 'deus ex machina' only when the occasion really requires it. Three characters only on the stage at once.

193–201. On the other hand the Chorus must be treated as an integral part of the drama. Its business is to help on the action, and specially to take the moral and religious side in it.

202–219. The lyrical part of the drama was simpler in old days. As audiences have become more mixed the music became more elaborate, the diction more stilted, the tone more oracular.

220–239. (In the same way) the desire to interest a miscellaneous audience led to adding the Satyric drama to tragedy. But moderation and tact are necessary. Tragic characters must not be lowered in the following Satyric drama. Neither need they rant. Tragedy has its proper dignity; so has the Satyric drama itself. It is not tragedy, but neither is it comedy.

240–243. Do not look for an original story, only for freshness of treatment.

244–250. The chorus of satyrs must keep from low and coarse language: think of the better not of the worse part of your audience.

251–269. *Metre.* Avoid the great fault of the older Roman tragedians, heavy and spondaic verses. Roman poets have been demoralized by inartistic audiences. Neither presume on this nor be slavishly afraid of censure, but steep yourself in Greek models.

270–274. No doubt your ancestors put up with and praised Plautus for his rhythms as well as his wit; but they were too indulgent in both points. We should know the rules of art better.

275–284. The Greeks are the masters: they invented the drama, and perfected it, tragedy and even comedy, from the too free criticism of the older type to the more sober and toothless new comedy of manners.

285–294. But our countrymen have imitated every phase, and have struck out lines of their own both in tragedy and comedy. Indeed Rome would rival Greece in literature as in arms were it not for our laziness in perfecting our work.

295–301. This laziness is reduced to a theory. Men undervalue art in comparison with the native gift, and look on that as the antithesis of common sense.

301–308. As I cannot follow them, I have given up writing poetry myself, but I am trying to teach others to write it, as a whetstone makes knives cut though it cannot cut itself.

309–318. Good writing begins in good thinking. Read Plato, understand human life, draw direct from that, and then your characters will speak like living beings.

319–332. Roman audiences give even a disproportionate value to good sentiments and morals, and too little to poetic beauty. This is the result of our vulgarizing practical education.

333–346. There are in truth two aims in poetry, instruction and pleasure. When you would teach remember the importance of brevity; when you would please remember the importance of verisimilitude. But if you would gratify all your audience you must combine both aims. This is the true classical poetry that lives.

347–359. Do not suppose I expect an impossible perfection, but I draw a distinction between the bad poet who is occasionally good, and the good poet who is, if so be, occasionally less good.

360–365. There is in poetry as in painting a difference between aims, between a sketch and a finished picture.

366–373. Only remember one thing is intolerable in poetry, though allowable in most things,—mediocrity.

374–384. If poetry is not good it is bad, and we are better without it. We forget this too often.

385–390. Do you remember it. Do not write unless you are in the vein. What you write submit to some good critic, and do not be in a hurry to publish it.

391–407. Poetry has had historically a high mission. It is not a thing to be thought scorn of.

408–415. People ask sometimes which is necessary to a poet, natural gifts or artistic training. The answer is, *both*. You need the gift; but the gift without training will do no more in this art than in any other.

416–437. You can wrap yourself up in your conceit, or you can buy applause from interested critics; but you know how worthless this is and will beware of it.

The poem ends with the picture—

438–452. First, of the honest and good critic, such as was Quintilius.

453–476. Secondly, of the self-willed and self-conceited poet.

HUMANO capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Iungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,

1–9. In this picture of incongruous and impossible conceptions, Horace had probably in mind Plato's figure Phaedr. p. 264 c *ἀλλὰ τόδε γε οἶμαί σε φάναι ἄν, δεῖν πάντα λόγον ὥσπερ ζῶον συνεστάναι σῶμά τι ἔχοντα αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ, ὥστε μήτε ἀκέφαλον εἶναι μήτε ἄπουν ἀλλὰ μέσα τε ἔχειν καὶ ἄκρα πρέποντ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ γεγραμμένα.*

2. **velit**: the verb perhaps implies the self-willed fancy of the painter.

**inducere plumas . . . membris**, 'to clothe with feathers, limbs,' etc., 'membris' being the dat.

**varias**: i. e. from different birds, as 'undique' = from every animal; cp. Od. 1. 16. 14 'particulam undique Desectam.' Bentley complained of the monster as too monstrous, and seeks to lessen its monstrosity by substituting 'formas' for 'plumas.' But the completeness belongs to the satire. The monster combines the special characteristics of each division of the animal kingdom, of man, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, even of every species in each. The idea is suggested perhaps by such pictures as Virgil's of Scylla (Aen. 3. 426), and the Triton (Aen. 10. 211 'Frons hominem praefert, in pristin desinit alvus'), and still more by Lucretius' solemn argument (5. 878 f.) against the possibility of such composite natures 'ex alienigenis membris compacta'; but Horace is thinking here not of a monster which poets have imagined, but of an unimaginable one, which yet, he would have us think, is no bad image of the delirious and impossible conceptions of contemporary poets.

3. **ut**: like 'ita ut,' not of result but of an added qualification; see Epp. 1. 16. 12 n.

**turpiter**: it may be doubted whether the adv. qualifies **desinat** ('have ugly ending'), or **atrum** ('black and ugly'), as 'turpiter hirtum' Epp. 1. 3. 22. This reference does not settle the question, for in sense 'turpiter' there qualifies 'incultum' as well; it belongs to the sentence. It is a mistake probably in such a case to suppose that the poet himself would necessarily have wished to resolve our doubts certainly.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
Persimilem cuius, velut aegri somnia, vanae
Fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur formae. 'Pictoribus atque poëtis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.'
Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;
Sed non ut placidis coëant immitia, non ut
Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.
Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
Adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
Et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros,

5. **spectatum**: i. e. to a private view.

8. **species**: 'images,' 'conceptions.' It is limited presently to the total conception, the *μῦθος*, as we should say 'the plot'; but it is here still general; whatever is imagined, a character, a scene, a dialogue. Such 'species' are 'vanae,' *κεναί, μάταιαι*, when they have nothing in reality to answer to them. This, however, as Schütz points out, is limited by the words that follow. A poet's pictures must often have nothing in the world of prose that answers to them; what is condemned is so drawing these pictures that they lack not only truth of fact but truth of consistency.

**nec pes nec caput**: a proverbial expression, like our 'neither head nor tail,' and not to be taken literally. It stands here not for 'no single part,' which would make no sense with **uni formae**, but for 'no two parts.'

9. **reddatur**: is made to correspond; 'reddere' is 'to give what is due.'

**pictoribus atque poëtis**. This is, as the Pseudo-Acron says, a 'subiectio' or answer, supposed to be made by some one. 'Surely painters and poets equally have the time honoured privilege of unlimited audacity in invention.' The edd. quote Diphilus ap. Athen. 6. 1 *ὡς οἱ τραγῳδοί φασιν, οἷς ἐξουσία | ἐστιν λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν μόνοις*, Arist. Metaph. 1. 2. 10 *κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν· Πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί*, Lucian, pro Imag. 18 (perhaps in remembrance of Horace) *παλαιὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀνευθύνους εἶναι καὶ ποιητὰς καὶ γραφέας*.

10. **aequa**: as Acr. = 'aequalis.' Orelli and Schütz prefer to take it as 'fair.'

11. **petimusque damusque**, 'we ask as poets, and give as critics' Acr.

12, 13. **ut placidis coëant immitia**, 'that savage mate with tame.' This and the following are a second metaphorical expression (the first being vv. 1–5) for incongruous combinations, such as ignore the lines of distinction which Nature draws: cp. Epod. 16. 30.

14. Poets begin as though they were in earnest and meant something great; but the merits of the piece turn out to be two or three good descriptions of scenery. The 'purple patch' implies that it is stitched on a somewhat dingy garment.

**plerumque**, 'very often.' See on Sat. 1. 10. 15.

16. **cum lucus**, etc. Horace is hitting some particular poems of the day, and the clue is lost to us. 'Diana's grove and altar' may have been a scene described in unnecessary detail in some 'Iphigenia,' or the Comm. Cruq. may have had grounds for his assertion that the reference is to an altar of Diana Nemorensis at Aricia. Persius alludes to this passage 1. 70 'nec ponere lucum Artifices'; 'not artists enough to describe a grove' Conington.

17. The smooth and alliterative line, meant to suit the scene it pictures, is either a quotation or a parody of the kind of descriptive passages of which Horace speaks.

Aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.
Sed nunc non erat his locus. Et fortasse cupressum
Scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat expes
Navibus aere dato qui pingitur? Amphora coepit
Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quodvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.
Maxima pars vatum, pater et iuvenes patre digni,
Decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio; sectantem levia nervi
Deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
Serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae;
Qui variare cupit rem prodigaliter unam,
Delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.

18. **flumen Rhenum.** For the form of the adj. cp. 'Metaurum flumen' Od. 4. 4. 38.

19. **non erat,** 'it *is* not though you *thought* it was'; see on Od. 1. 37. 4.

**cupressum.** Porph. vouches for a Greek proverb μή τι ἐκ κυπαρίσσου θέλεις; 'do you want any part of a cypress?' which he explains by this passage, as a question supposed to be asked by a painter whose forte lay in drawing a cypress of a man who had escaped shipwreck and wished for a picture of a shipwreck to put as a votive offering in a temple. It seems not impossible that the 'invisa cupressus' (Od. 2. 14. 23) is thought of as specially inappropriate in a picture of escape from death.

20. **simulare,** μιμεῖσθαι: Epp. 2. 1. 241.

**expes**: at the moment which is to be depicted, viz. when he is swimming for his life.

21. **aere dato qui pingitur.** For the practice of votive pictures cp. Od. 1. 5. 13, Sat. 2. 1. 33 n.

**amphora coepit**: a metaphor from another art. The difference between the wine-jar and the pitcher is of shape, not material, nor necessarily size. The figure is of those who in a work of art cannot keep steadily in view the purpose.

23. **sit quodvis.** Bentley is clearly right in taking 'quodvis' as the predicate, as against those who took it as subj. 'let what you desire be,' etc. It is, as he says, the conclusion of the figure of the preceding verse. 'In heaven's name let it be what you will—a pitcher if so you choose—provided only it be something simple and one.' Whether to attain this sense it is necessary to alter with him the 'quodvis' of all good MSS. to the slightly supported 'quidvis' is not equally certain. Munro and Ritter retain the reading of the MSS.

24. **maxima pars vatum,** 'most of us poets.' The mode of expression commends Horace's criticisms, certainly as including himself within their effect, and possibly as implying that the Pisos also are among the poets.

25. **specie**: see on Sat. 2. 3. 208; 'a vision of right.'

26. **levia,** the opp. of 'aspera.' Poets, in their dread of roughness, polish their lines till they destroy their vigour and spirit.

27. **professus grandia**: cp. 'magna professis,' v. 14.

28. **serpit humi**: of one who does not trust his wings for poetic flight: 'sermones . . . Repentes per humum' Epp. 2. 1. 250. The following words would not be inappropriate to this figure, as stormy winds would be one of the dangers which might frighten the bird from using its wings (cp. Od. 4. 4. 7 'nimbis remotis'), but in 'timidus procellae' probably a second figure has come into view, viz., of the sailor who hugs the shore 'dum procellas Cautus horresci[t]' Od. 2. 10. 2.

29, 30. This is the point to which the other illustrations of the law lead up. 'So these ridiculous incongruities

In vitium ducit culpae fuga si caret arte.
Aemilium circa ludum faber imus et ungues
Exprimet et molles imitabitur aere capillos,
Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
Nesciet. Hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,
Non magis esse velim quam naso vivere pravo,
Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.
Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
Viribus, et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri. Cui lecta potenter erit res,

of which we have been speaking grow from the desire to give variety which a single thing does not admit of, except by exceeding the bounds of nature ('prodigaliter').

31. **culpae fuga.** It is the doctrine of Sat. 1. 2. 24 'Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt,' applied to literary faults. The 'stultitia' of a poet is 'arte carere.'

**arte.** Ritter seems right in seeing in this word the key to vv. 32–37; '*art*, which means, remember, not merely the power of detail, but the gift of conceiving a whole.'

32. **Aemilium ludum.** The Scholiasts tell us that this was a gladiatorial training school, near the Circus Maximus, erected by Aemilius Lepidus.

**faber imus.** Whatever we may think of Bentley's reading 'unus,' the case for it is not strong enough to justify us in printing it in the place of 'imus,' which is found in all good MSS. and was read by all the Scholiasts. It was thought puzzling, for Acr. reports some persons as making it a proper name. The explanation found in all the Scholiasts is that it is local, and means 'the last,' i. e. at the end of the row of shops. Dill^r. still holds this to be the true explanation. If we retain the reading, it most probably means 'the humblest artificer.' No exact parallel is quoted, but we may compare 'insignes et imos' Od. 3. 1. 15 and the uses of 'summus,' as 'summus vir,' 'summus dux.' Bentley interpreted 'unus' (after Sat. 1. 10. 42, 2. 5. 24, 2. 6. 57), 'like no one else,' taking it with 'exprimet,' which he thought absolutely required some such qualification. It is however in Horace's way to allow the qualification of the first clause to be gathered from 'molles' in the second. It has also been proposed (Düntzer) to take 'unus,' after Cicero's 'unus paterfamilias' (de Orat. 1. 29. 139), Catullus' 'unus caprimulgus' (22. 6), as 'an average worker in brass.' The position of 'unus' seems too emphatic for this use.

'Unus' and 'imus' are easy to confuse, and are actually confused in MSS., as inf. v. 152 and in Sat. 1. 4. 87. Considerations of sense and propriety, therefore, are of chief importance; but here also there is room for difference of opinion. 'Faber' seems to me to require qualification more than 'exprimet.' It can hardly mean 'some (undefined) brass-smith'; and if a definite person were meant, it would be Horace's own way, as Acron's friends felt, to name him. Whatever be the reading, it seems to be implied that the correct representation of nails and hair was a trick of art easily caught.

33. **molles**: of the soft curves of hair represented in bronze. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 847 'Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera.'

34. **ponere**, in the artistic sense, 'to represent,' Od. 4. 8. 8.

35. **hunc esse**: Epp. 1. 6. 40 'ne fueris hic tu,' 1. 15. 42 'hic ego sum.'

36. The illustration gives a playful air, and it adds a point. Even a beauty, if it is out of keeping, only calls attention to the countervailing defects.

37. Cp. Od. 1. 32. 11 'nigris oculis nigroque Crine decorum.'

39. **quid ferre recusent.** Horace represents himself in Epp. 2. 1. 258 as observing this rule himself, 'nec meus audet Rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.'

40. **potenter**: a difficult word. Its ordinary meaning is 'powerfully,' 'ef-

Nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
Pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat ;
Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit iunctura novum. Si forte necesse est

fectively.' So Quintil. 12. 10. 72 'dicit utiliter et ad id quod intendit potenter.' Possibly Horace means it so here, 'chosen effectively,' the emphasis being on 'lecta,' not on 'potenter,' and the choice of the adv. in this place having a paradoxical force; 'the place where you must look to make your poem effective is not, where you think, in the composition, but in the choice of subject.' The Scholiasts explain it by 'qui legerit id quod praestare possit,' 'secundum quod potest,' i. e. 'in accordance with his powers.' Porphyrion's special note is 'Potenter, figuravit (i. e. 'he has given a particular colour to the word') ὡς εἶ δυνατός,' and this has been followed by most editors. It makes excellent sense. The drawback is the want of a parallel for the use in Latin and of any Greek phrase of which it would seem to be an exact translation. Prof. Wilkins proposes to make it the opposite of 'impotenter' and equivalent to ἐγκρατῶς, 'with self-restraint.'

41. **facundia**: cp. v. 311.

**ordo.** This is the link word between the precept of vv. 38-40 and what has preceded. The lack of unity, 'purple patches,' exaggeration of detail, etc., are failings in *order*, and the first condition to attaining either something to say or the power to order what you say, is to choose a subject within your capacity. *Order* is defined in vv. 42-45, and in words which have this retrospective bearing. Then in v. 46 Horace proceeds to his next point, that order has its sphere in respect to diction as well as matter.

42. **ordinis.** The repetition is emphatic; see last note.

**venus**: v. 320 'Fabula nullius veneris'; 'charm.'

**aut ego fallor**: as 'nisi fallor' in Virg. Aen. 5. 49, etc., 'or' or 'unless (which is impossible) I am mistaken.' Some good MSS. (as B) have 'haud,' but apparently by a mistake.

43. **iam nunc . . . iam nunc**, 'says at this moment what needs at this moment to be said.'

44. **pleraque.** His 'facundia' suggests to him a number of things to say; 'ordo' requires that 'most of them' should wait for their fitting time of utterance.

45. The words **hoc amet, hoc spernat** are a repetition of the precept of the last two lines, but justified by the stronger colour of the words, 'love—despise.' The author of a poem which is to fulfil his promises must have one canon of taste for judging what he writes: 'Does it suit the place?' if so, it is admirable: if not, however beautiful in itself, it is here contemptible.

**promissi**: Epod. 14. 7. It is in effect equivalent to 'inceptis . . . magna professis,' above v. 14.

Bentley transposed vv. 45 and 46, and he is followed by many editors, including Dill[r]., Munro, and Schütz. Keller in his Epilegomena, though allowing that 'the Archetype' had the order of the Vulg., gives his assent to Bentley's change. There is no hint of disturbance in the MSS. as there is in Epp. 1. 1. 57, 58. The Scholiasts evidently had our present text. Nor is the change necessary. On the other hand we lose by separating 'serendis' from 'iunctura.' The special point of order in relation to diction which is touched is the power of arrangement to gain all the force of novelty without its risks.

46. **etiam**, as well as in matter.

**tenuis cautusque.** The epithets touch two points, fineness of sense (see for use of 'tenuis' = 'subtilis' on Od. 2. 16. 38) and sobriety of judgment.

**serendis**: of 'connecting,' 'combining.'

48. **iunctura**, 'setting.'

Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter;
Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem si
Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta. Quid autem
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Vergilio Varioque? Ego cur acquirere pauca
Si possum invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
Sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
Nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit
Signatum praesente nota producere nomen.

49. **abdita rerum**: for the form see on Sat. 2. 2. 25. They are the 'obscura reperta' which Lucretius tells us (1. 136) require 'nova verba.'

50. **cinctutis Cethegis.** For 'Cethegis' see on Epp. 2. 2. 117. The meaning of 'cinctutus' must be gathered from (1) Ov. Fast. 5. 101 (the only other place where it occurs), where it describes the Luperci, who are spoken of by Virgil as 'nudi'; (2) the parallel expression in Lucan 2. 54 'Exserti manus vesana Cethegi'; (3) Aul. Gellius 7. 12, who says that the Romans at first wore the toga only without a tunic, and then 'substrictas et breves tunicas citra humerum desinentes.' Porphyrion's note is in accord with this, 'cinctutis ... quoniam cinctum est genus tunicae infra pectus aptatae.'

51. **sumpta pudenter**: cp. Epp. 1. 17. 44 'sumasne pudenter.' For the proviso cp. Quintil. 6. 5. 71 'usitatis tutius utimur: nova non sine quodam periculo fingimus.'

52. **habebunt fidem.** We are close to the metaphor of coinage, which becomes distinct in v. 59.

53. **detorta**: 'derivata' Comm. Cruq. It is a continuous metaphor, viz. that of irrigation. The waters must come from Greek sources, and the sluices must be opened sparingly. Horace allows of but two ways of meeting the demand for more powers of expression; the first, which he favours and which he practised, namely, to make old words do new service by skilful setting; the second, which he allows if sparingly used, to bring words from the more copious Greek. In Sat. 1. 10. 20 f. he satirizes the inclination of early Roman writers to overdo this liberty.

**quid autem.** 'Quid' is interr. 'what?' i.e. 'is there anything which?' 'Autem' is dramatic, as though the opponent were supposed to assent to the general dictum, but to limit it to past generations.

Cicero uses a similar argument as between Greek and Roman writers de Fin. 3. 4. 15 'Si enim Zenoni licuit cum rem aliquam invenisset inusitatam inauditum quoque ei rei nomen imponere cur non liceat Catoni' (i.e. for the younger Cato, the interlocutor in the dialogue); see the whole of the passage.

54. **Caecilio**: Epp. 2. 1. 59.

55. **Vergilio Varioque**: Epp. 2. 1. 247.

It is to be noticed that Macrobius defends Virgil from the charge of introducing Greek words (such as 'lychni,' 'Daedalus,' 'aethra') showing that he was following older poets, and that he used the license more sparingly than they.

56. **invideor** for 'invidetur mihi.' Cp. 'imperor' Epp. 1. 5. 21 n.

**Catonis**: Epp. 2. 2. 117. He names the earliest master of prose and of verse.

59. 'To give to the world words that bear the mintmark of the day.' **producere** occurs, in the similar passage Epp. 2. 2. 119. It has not the full metaphorical colour of the other words, but from its place here it acquires the sense of 'to put in currency.' Bentley's conj. 'procudere' completes the technical terms at the expense of the completeness of the figure.

Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
Et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus

60–72. The reasonableness and necessity of some liberty in the invention of words is enforced by the reflection, in the vein of half playful moralizing common to the Epistles, that language cannot continue in one stay more than human life and its other products. Horace has in mind Homer's similitude *οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ.* Il. 6. 146.

60. **foliis**: the abl. of respect.

**in annos**: 'from year to year,' as 'in dies,' 'in horas' (Od. 2. 13. 14, Sat. 2. 7. 10, and inf. v. 160); **pronos** adds 'as they run smoothly, swiftly'; so 'pronos Volvere menses' Od. 4. 6. 39.

61. **prima cadunt**, 'those that come first fall.' The two statements about the leaves answer to the two about words, but in the reversed order. The woods get new leaves every year, 'the leaves that came first drop off—so old words die and new ones take their place.' Prof. Nettleship (Essays in Lat. Lit. p. 176) has an ingenious argument to show that the text originally ran 'prima cadunt: nova succrescunt: vetus interit aetas.' The facts he produces are curious, but the difficulties of the existing text seem to have been exaggerated. If the alternative were accepted a new difficulty would arise; the words 'ita verborum' having vanished, there would be nothing to imply that 'vetus interit aetas' was said of words. It could hardly be so understood. In that case the generation of leaves would become a similitude for the generations of humanity, the application of the law to language would be postponed till v. 69. This would be very unlike Horace's lightness of hand.

63. **debemur**: cp. *θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα* Simonides, Frag. 123 Bergk.

63–68. It is natural to a Roman, enforcing the lesson that the works of mortal hands cannot be imperishable, to think of the great operations of Roman engineering. It is natural to Horace to choose operations which are associated with the Emperor or his friends. Nor is it a bad compliment to Augustus, as some have suggested, for the point of naming them is that they are the extreme instances of marvellous and durable human works. Notice also that the three operations have a special link in that they all display in a particular matter the power of reversing the conditions of nature: 'land has been turned into sea, water into dry land, running water has been made to find a new channel.' The first instance can hardly but be Agrippa's great work of making the Portus Julius by the union of the Lucrine lake with the Avernian: see Merivale, vol. iii. ch. 27, and cp. Virg. Georg. 2. 161. It stands with Virgil as the single instance of an artificial work to match the great natural features of Italy. Cp. esp. the two lines 'Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso, Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis.' The last line recalls 'receptus terra Neptunus,' and perhaps the slight conceit which gives a point to the two lines, 'the sea is kept out of the Lucrine while it is admitted to the Avernian,' has also its parallel in Horace's triplet. The other two seem to refer to the draining of the Pomptine marshes, and some turning of the course of the Tiber with the purpose of preventing floods; but the facts are not known to us. The Scholiasts assert that the first of these works was executed by Augustus. Plutarch tells us (Jul. Caes. 58) that it had been planned by Julius Caesar; and the canal through the marshes, by which we find Horace travelling (in Sat. 1. 5), was probably connected with this purpose; but there is no notice in history of the work having been completed. Augustus may well have carried it further, and we may allow for some exaggeration in Horace's tone about it. In spite of the advocacy of Profs. Nettleship and Wilkins, I cannot accept Preller's view (see Orelli's excursus iv.) that Horace is referring to the projects of Julius Caesar, not to works actually executed. The tenses and moods seem unsuitable: the emphatic praise 'regis opus' is wasted on a dream; the compliment to Augustus is dubious: 'all human works shall perish, even your great father's purposes if they are ever

Terra Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet,
Regis opus, sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum,
Seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis
Doctus iter melius, mortalia facta peribunt,
Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.
Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
Quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus.
Versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,
Post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos:

carried out, which they have not been': and the force of the illustration is greatly diminished by being reduced from an achievement to an unrealized intention.

65. **regis opus.** Schütz suggests that Horace has in mind 'the great king,' and what the Romans looked upon as his half fabulous enterprises; the canal behind Mount Athos, and the bridging the Hellespont (Juv. S. 10. 173 f.). He notices that Ausonius (Mosell. 287) uses of these exploits of Xerxes the expression 'Regis opus magni!'

**diu palus.** This is the reading of all the MSS., and is attested by Servius on Aen. 2. 69 and 4. 107, and by Priscian 6. 16. 83, who comment on the unusual quantity. We must imagine therefore, at least, a very early corruption. Holder gave 'palus diu' and spoke of it as an emendation of Gesner approved by Lachmann, but I cannot verify this. It was suggested independently by Bp. Chr. Wordsworth. Keller has returned in his Epilegomena to the Vulg., thinking the hiatus impermissible. Munro says '"diu palus" can hardly be right,' but cannot accept 'palus diu' nor Bentley's 'palus prius.'

68. **doctus iter melius.** Cp. Epp. 1. 14. 29, of the stream by his own farm, 'multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.'

69. **sermonum,** 'language'; the plur., which is unusual in this sense, seems due to the antithesis to 'facta'; 'what they say' opp. to 'what they do.'

71. **usus**: Epp. 2. 2. 119.

73 f. Horace is passing from words to diction in the larger sense of style; and the first principle to be laid down is that each kind of poetry has its appropriate style. The kinds of poetry are marked by the metres. The point of transition lies in the contrast between the dependence on fashion varying from age to age, which he has attributed to words, the fixity of metres, i. e. according to his view, of the types of poetry, as settled once for all by the first masters in each style.

74. **numero,** 'metre': cp. 'numeris' in Od. 4. 2. 11.

75. **impariter,** an ἅπαξ λεγ., 'verses unequally yoked,' describes the metre of Elegy as consisting of couplets, but of couplets of long and short.

76. **voti sententia compos,** 'the sense of granted prayer': the position of the man who feels the sentiment is attributed to the sentiment. This is generally explained (as by Orelli) of the elegy of love (ἐρωτική), as contrasted with that of mourning (θρηνητική). But amatory poetry is not all of 'granted prayers'; and in truth love is left as a subject to lyric poetry (v. 85). Horace is thinking rather of the elegiac couplet as the metre of *inscriptions*, 'exigui elegi,' whether on funeral urns or on votive offerings. The immediate purpose, however, is perhaps not so much to explain the subject of elegy-writing as to connect the popular derivation of the word from ἒ λέγειν with the cheerful tone of much actual elegiac verse; 'the complaint [of those that have lost] and the [joyful] feelings of those who have gained their wish.'

Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
Grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo;
Hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni,
Alternis aptum sermonibus et populares
Vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
Et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
Et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.
Descriptas servare vices operumque colores
Cur ego si nequeo ignoroque, poëta salutor?
Cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo?
Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non volt;

77. **exiguos**: in contrast with the 'perpetuum carmen' of the heroic measure: but the epithet has a playful force, as if it were hardly worth the fuss of the pedants on the question.

79. **Archilochum**: Epod. 6. 13, Epp. 1. 19. 25.

**proprio**: which belongs to him, i. e. which was his invention.

80. **socci**: Epp. 2. 1.174 and inf. v. 90.

**grandes cothurni**: Sat. 1. 5. 64, Od. 2. 1. 12, inf. v. 280.

81, 82. The first and last reasons for the preference of the Iambic in dramatic poetry are those given by Aristotle, Poet. 4. 18 *λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὗρεν· μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστιν. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους* (cp. also Rhet. 3. 8. 4), and Poet. 24. 10 (where also he is comparing it with the trochaic tetrameter which it supplanted), *τὸ δὲ ἰαμβ κὸν καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικά* (i. e. lend themselves to movement, in opposition to the heroic metre *στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων*), *τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικόν* (that is, the trochaic), *τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν* (the iambic). Cicero repeats the first, Orat. 36. 189 'magnam partem ex iambis nostra constat oratio'; cp. ibid. 57. 191 '. . . qua de causa [putant] fieri ut is potissimum propter similitudinem veritatis adhibeatur in fabulis.' The second reason, that it is more easily heard over the hum of a large audience, is illustrated by Schütz from Cicero's remark, de Orat. 3. 47. 182, that the 'ictus' of the iambic [and trochaic] measure is strongly marked, and comes quickly, 'insignes percussiones eorum numerorum et minuti pedes.'

83–85. The first two lines will describe such lyric poetry as Pindar's hymns and *ἐπινίκια* (cp. Od. 4. 2. 10. f.), the third, the amatory and convivial lyrics of Alcaeus, Sappho, Anacreon etc.

85. **libera**: not without special reference to **curas**, as though he contrasted the lightheartedness of the banquet with the young lover's cares—'cares, and the way to forget them,' i. e. 'dulci Lyaeo solvere.'

86. **vices**, as Wilkins says, are not 'parts,' but successive or correspondent parts; cp. Od. 4. 7. 3 'mutat terra vices,' Ov. Met. 15. 238 'vices peragant,' of the various successive forms in which the natural elements appear. As the poetry changes the metres must change, and these changes have been 'marked out' and must be observed.

**colores**: inf. v. 236 'tragico colori' so more generally of 'style' of life Sat. 2. 1. 60, Epp. 1. 17. 23.

87. **salutor**: by the public voice, as Od. 4. 3. 22.

88. **pudens prave**: cp. Epp. 1. 16. 24 'pudor malus.'

89. **versibus tragicis**: a further distinction—though tragedy and comedy use the same metre (v. 80) the 'color' of the verse is wholly different, and must not be confused.

Indignatur item privatis ac prope socco
Dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.
Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
Proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
Si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela.
Non satis est pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto,
Et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto.
Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt

90. **privatis carminibus**, 'strains of common life,' opposed to tragedy which 'regum Facta canit' Sat. 1. 10. 42.

92. **decentem**: the reading of V and of the Berne MS., rightly defended by Bentley. Orelli, Schütz, and Keller keep 'decenter.' The line sums up what is being said in a maxim; cp. v. 31.

93. **et** answers to 'et' v. 95; both comedy and tragedy depart on occasions from their usual tone.

94. **Chremes**: 'a Chremes,' i. e. an angry father, on the comic stage, as in the following lines 'a Telephus and Peleus,' i. e. a tragic hero in distress. The reference is very probably to Terence's Heautontimorumenos, although Chremes' shortlived abuse of his son Clitipho in the play scarcely answers to the words 'tumido delitigat ore.' Cp. Sat. 1. 4. 48. There is full reference to a definite scene in the Eunuchus in Sat. 2. 3. 259 f. On the other hand the Chremes of Epod. 2. 33 must belong to some unknown drama.

95. **tragicus**, 'in tragedy'; as 'Davus comicus' Sat. 2. 5. 91.

**plerumque**: to be explained by what was said in the last note—namely, that he means not only Telephus and Peleus but other characters in their situation: 'personas ipsas potius quam certas quasdam fabulas respexit' Orelli.

**sermone pedestri**: see on Od. 2. 12. 9, and Sat. 2. 6. 17.

96. **Telephus**: Epod. 17. 8; Aristophanes laughs at Euripides (Ach. 428 f.) for the sorry guise in which he displayed Telephus when he went to beg of the Greeks that Achilles might cure him of his wound.

**Peleus** was exiled from Aegina for killing his half brother Phocus, Ov. Met. 11. 268 f. 'fraterno sanguine sontem Expulsumque domo patria Trachinia tellus Accipit,' etc.

97. **proicit ampullas**, 'throws aside his paint-pots'; see on the use of the verb 'ampullari' Epp. 1. 3. 14.

**sesquipedalia**, 'a foot and a half long.' Cp. Crates (Meineke. fr. 2) ἔπη τριπήχη.

98. This line points the connection. This raising of the tone in comedy and dropping it in tragedy are not arbitrary, they are due to the higher law that language must be true to the feeling which is to be represented, and so to be inspired in the spectator.

For **tetigisse** see on Od. 3. 4. 52.

99. **pulchra . . . dulcia**: the one adj. of beauty, the other of charm; the one of satisfying the taste, the other of touching the feelings. Orelli points out that a similar distinction, though in a more limited sphere, is drawn by Dionysius Halicarn. (de Comp. 19) 'between τὸ καλόν and τὸ ἡδύ, where he says that the diction of Thucydides possesses the first quality, that of Xenophon the second, that of Herodotus unites the two.

101 f. As Orelli says 'exponit vim συμπαθείας.' Cp. Arist. Rhet. 3. 7. 5 συνομοιοπαθεῖ ὁ ἀκούων ἀεὶ τῷ παθητικῶς λέγοντι.

101. **adsunt** = 'praesto sunt,' 'wait on,' are ready to sympathize with. There is no need with Orelli to alter to 'adflent.'

Humani voltus: si vis me flere, dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia laedent,
Telephe vel Peleu; male si mandata loqueris
Aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Tristia maestum
Voltum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,
Ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
Fortunarum habitum; iuvat aut impellit ad iram
Aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit;
Post effert animi motus interprete lingua.
Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.
Intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros,
Maturusne senex an adhuc florente iuventa
Fervidus, et matrona potens an sedula nutrix,
Mercatorne vagus cultorne virentis agelli,
Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.
Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.

102. **humani**: emphatic; faces, which are the faces of men, and therefore have human feelings behind them: 'mentem mortalia tangunt.'

104. **male**, with **mandata**. 'If the language put into your mouth is badly conceived,' i. e. if it does not suit the situation and the outward bearing (σχῆμα Arist. Poet. 17. 1. 2) of the actor. Lambinus took 'male' with 'loqueris,' but, as Orelli points out, Horace is talking of faults in the composition, not in the acting. For 'mandata' see inf. v. 176.

108 f. The order of nature is first the feeling, whatsoever it be, that outward things call up—then the expression in words. It must be the same with the poet in drawing his characters and assigning speeches to them.

109. **iuvat**, 'gives pleasure to.'

113. **equites peditesque**, i. e. the whole audience—high and low. The phrase is proverbial, from the old military classification 'omnes cives Romani equites peditesque' Liv. 1. 44. Not to be pressed literally here, at the same time it is suggested by the fact that the 'equites' were actually distinguished by their place in the theatre, and stand with Horace for the more educated part of the audience, Sat. 1. 10. 76, Epp. 2. 1. 187, and inf. v. 248. For a similar adaptation of the old classification of the citizens cp. v. 341 'Centuriae seniorum,' etc.

114 f. The varying 'fortunarum habitus' are enumerated.

114. **divusne**, 'a god or a demi-god.' Some few MSS. have 'Davusne,' and Porphyrion's schol. shows signs of this reading, but it would not match the other contrasted pairs. The false reading arose from a reminiscence of v. 237.

115. **maturus**: Od. 4. 4. 55 'maturosque patres.'

116. **matrona potens**: 'the matron of authority' is contrasted with the nurse full of petty anxieties and attentions, a favourite stage character. Juvenal has 'matrona potens' (1. 69), perhaps with satirical reference to this place.

117. For the contrast cp. Od. 1. 1. 11–18.

118. 'Remember there are distinctions even between two barbarians or two Greeks.' Thebes and Argos are chosen as the representative states because of the plays which bring them into contrast, such as the Sept. c. Thebas, but there is no definite reference to actual characters.

119. In assigning these characters you have two courses open; you may

Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
Si quid inexpertum scenae committis et audes
Personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
Difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque

follow tradition, or invent; but in the latter case there is still the rule of internal consistency.

120. **scriptor**, 'as a writer'; 'when you write.' An instance of Horace's use of substantives for participles: so inf. v. 134 'imitator,' v. 235 'Satyrorum scriptor.'

**honoratum**. Bentley, offended at all the explanations of this word, substituted ex coni. 'Homereum,' 'the Achilles of Homer,' and his conjecture has been accepted by several eminent critics and editors, as Haupt, Meineke, Munro. The Pseudo-Acron writes 'alii exponunt: Reponis, iterum scribis. Si ergo Achillem de quo semel Homerus scripsit velis scribere talem debes facere qualem Homerus ostendit.' Bentley contends that this points to their having read 'Homereum.' But if the full note is read it will be more evident than it is in what has been quoted that he is offering an explanation, different from one given before, of 'reponis,' 'again,' he says 'that is, as Homer did before.' All the Scholiasts also have a further note, 'honoratum, inlustrem, honoris plenum.' It must be clear, therefore, that 'honoratum' was the only text known to them. Various efforts have been made to explain the epithet as a translation or allusion to some Homeric phrase or view of the character: *κλυτός*, which has been suggested, is not an epithet ever given to Achilles. He is once *δουρικλυτός*, a few times *φαίδιμος*, often *δῖος*; but if it were meant as a translation it must be of some epithet which it would clearly recall, and which belongs markedly to him. Cp. the choice of epithets for Homeric characters in Od. 1. 6 and 15. Ritter thinks that the reference is rather to the 'honouring' of Achilles as the true subject of the Iliad is, 'Iovis consilio et auxilio honoratum, ut post varias Achivorum clades viro ab Agamemnone contempto iusta fiat satisfactio.' Cp. Il. 1. 505 f., 2. 3, 13. 348, 24. 57, and notice that Horace recalls (Od. 2. 16. 29) that Achilles chose *κλέος ἄφθιτον* (Il. 9. 412) in preference to long life. It has been suggested to me that there is something playful in the 'si forte, reponis, honoratum,' and that the epithet belongs not to the person, but to the literary character; 'if you are representing once more the time honoured character of Achilles.'

**reponis**: inf. v. 190; 'put on the stage again.'

122. **arroget armis**, 'claim for arms': see on Epp. 2. 1. 35.

123. **Ino**, the unhappy daughter of Cadmus and wife of Athamas, who, when her maddened husband had torn one of her children in pieces, flying with the other, Melicerta (Virg. G. 1. 437), flung herself into the sea and became a sea-goddess Glaucothea.

128–135. The connection of thought which we require is, 'the second alternative which I offered you, namely, to invent your characters, is difficult. You do better to dramatize part of the tale of Troy than to start a wholly new plot; and do not fear that by taking stock subjects you will be debarred from originality provided you observe certain rules.'

It is difficult not to think that Horace has in mind the substance of Arist. Poet. 9, where Aristotle explains and vindicates the practice of the Greek tragedians in choosing familiar mythological stories for their plots. He starts with the distinction between particular truths (*καθ' ἕκαστον*) 'what Alcibiades did or what happened to him,' and general truths (*καθόλου*), 'what sort of things a person of such and such a sort will probably or necessarily do,' and assigns the first as the sphere of history, the

Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.
Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
Non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
Nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus

latter of poetry. There is however, he says, a difference in the treatment of them between Comedy and Tragedy. The first invents a plot and assigns names as it happens (*τὰ τυχόντα*). The second clings generally to pre-existing and familiar names (*γενομένα, γνώριμα*). [In 'names' he evidently includes the outline of the story.] It gains by this credibility (*τὸ πιθανόν*), i. e. its plot is accepted without questions of its possibility. He goes on to argue that in accepting these traditional subjects the tragic poet does not cease to be a *ποιητής*, a creator, an artist. There is room, as he says further in c. 14. § 5, both for invention and for skilful treatment of the traditional story.

128. **difficile est proprie communia dicere.** This is, in the first instance, a general, perhaps a proverbial saying *. 'It is hard to speak of things common in a way of your own.' The question arises only as to the application of the saying at the moment. It is possible that, as has been suggested in the last note, Horace is glancing at the Aristotelian distinction of 'truths general' which are the proper subjects of poetry. In any case, if our view of the whole passage is correct, the special instance of the difficulty spoken of must be substantially that which Orelli explains it to be, namely, that of giving individual shape to common types of human life and character. Many editors feel so strongly the necessity of making 'communia' identical (not in figure only, but in interpretation) with 'publica materies,' that they are forced to take it of subjects already made public property, such as the story of the Iliad; Horace being supposed to be enforcing still the teaching of the first half of v. 119. 'It is so difficult to give a new turn to well-known stories, that you had better give up the attempt and simply copy Homer.' The connected sense of the passage seems to me then to fall to pieces.

**tuque rectius.** The emphatic personal address, and the mood and tense of 'deducis,' 'proferres' are all in favour of the view that Piso was actually writing, or purposing to write, a tragedy on some Homeric theme. This suits also with the expression of v. 120 'si forte reponis,' etc. If it is not so, we must take 'rectius deducis' as a shortened way of saying 'rectius agis si deducis.'

129. **deducis**, of giving it its full length of acts: for metaph. see on Sat. 2. 1. 4.

131. **publica . . . privati iuris.** There is a shadow of legal metaphor. Though the subjects have been treated by previous writers, you will still be able to make them your own.

132. **orbem.** Most naturally explained of the choice of author or story. Horace is contemplating, as always, the recourse of a Roman writer to some Greek model, and he is hardly likely to omit reference to this point, on which he lays such stress elsewhere. 'Go,' he is always saying, 'to the fountain heads—the really great Greeks—Homer, Pindar, Archilochus, Alcaeus, not to the second-rate poets whom it is the fashion to imitate.' So that the 'cheap and obvious round' will be the equivalent of the 'lacus et rivos apertos,' which he praises Titius for venturing to have a soul above, Epp. 1. 3. 11.

133–152. 'Provided also (1) that you do not attempt translation; (2) that even in imitation you take sufficient freedom; (3) that you avoid pretentious beginnings. Homer is the example of the true order.'

* Orelli suggests that there was a Greek proverb--which is quite likely—but none such has been found. The nearest expression in Greek that is quoted is from Hermogenes, the writer on Rhetoric (A.D. 160–180), who, in his treatise *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* c. 29, explains how great orators *κοινὰ λέγοντες διανοήματα ἴδια αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν*, 'while uttering commonplaces make them their own.'

Interpres, nec desilies imitator in arctum
Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.
Nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:
'Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'
Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
Quanto rectius hic qui nil molitur inepte:
'Dic mihi, Musa, virum captae post tempora Troiae
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'
Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdin.

134. **imitator**, 'when you imitate'; see on 'scriptor' in v. 120.

**desilies in arctum**, i. e. voluntarily put yourself into a difficulty. The figure is from the fable of the goat who was persuaded by the fox to leap down into the well, though Horace is concerned only with the goat's part in the story.

135. **operis lex**, i.e. the self-imposed conditions of your task.

136. **scriptor cyclicus**, i. e. one of the lesser poets whose epics, as dealing with the same cycle of legends, were arranged by the Alexandrine critics by the side of the Homeric poems. The particular poet of whom Horace speaks is unknown. It seems possible that he is inventing a typical opening of such a poem. **olim** lends itself not improperly to a fictitious instance.

137. As compared with the opening of the Odyssey this line is more pretentious both in its style **cantabo**, **nobile** (Homer leaves you to find out afterwards that the subject is a striking one), and (which is probably more in Horace's mind) in the breadth of the subject which it announces. Homer is content with a passage from the life of his hero, though that passage will turn out to have plenty of incident. The Cyclic writer promises both a biography and a history. It is the same point as that touched in Aristotle's remark, Poet. 27, that 'of the Iliad and of the Odyssey severally a single tragedy only or two at most could be made, whereas of the "Cypria" (a poem of the Cyclus), or of the "Lesser Iliad," more than eight might be made.'

138. **promissor**: see above v. 14.

139. **parturient**: a Greek proverb, preserved by Athenaeus 14. 6 *ὤδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν.* It stands as a fable in Phaedr. 4. 22. All good MSS. have the future. Bentley altered it to 'parturiunt,' on the authority chiefly of a quotation in Jerome, and most editors have followed him. K. and H. keep the text of the MSS., and Schütz points out that it rightly follows the tense of 'incipies.' 'If you do, it will be a case of mountains in labour,' etc.

**ridiculus mus.** Quintilian (8. 3. 19) cites this as an imitation of Virgil's 'exiguus mus' Georg. 1. 181, pointing out how in each case everything combines, the epithet, the singular number, and the unusual monosyllabic ending of the verse, to give the appropriate idea of smallness.

140. **molitur**, of effort.

141, 142. For another paraphrase of the beginning of the Odyssey see Epp. 1. 2. 19–22.

141. **tempora**: Od. 1. 21. 11 'Troiana tempora.'

144. **speciosa miracula**, 'things striking and marvellous.' Aristotle says, Poet. 24. 8, that even tragedy should contain *τὸ θαυμαστόν*. Epic poetry is allowed also *τὸ ἄλογον*, that is, combinations which to the prosaic reason are impossible. Horace is speaking here of the scope for interest and imagination which Homer finds within his limited and modestly introduced subject.

145. **Antiphaten**, king of the Laestrygones, Odyss. 10. 100 f.

**Scyllam, Charybdin**: Odyss. 12. 81 f.

**Cyclope**: Odyss. 9. 187 f.

Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
Nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo:
Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res
Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit, et quae
Desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquit;
Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
Tu quid ego et populus mecum desideret audi:
Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
Sessuri donec cantor 'Vos plaudite' dicat,

146–150. 'Homer knows not only *how* to begin, but *where* to begin. He goes straight to the point and omits tedious explanations.' Aristotle had spoken of it as one of Homer's special excellences, that he knows what to omit: Ὀδύσσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη, οἷον πληγῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ, μανῆναι δὲ προσποιήσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἀγερμῷ ὧν οὐδὲν θατέρου γενομένου ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἰκὸς θάτερον γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν οἵαν λέγοιμεν τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν συνέστησεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα Poet. 8. 3.

146. **nec . . . nec.** 'He no more begins a Diomedeia (i. e. would do so if he wrote one—a general statement of the practice he avoids put in particular terms which hit some one else) . . . than he (actually) begins his Iliad, etc.' The return of the different heroes from Troy was the subject of several Cyclic poems, **Νοστοί.** Meleager, the unhappy son of Atalanta, was the half brother of Tydeus, Diomede's father.

147. **gemino ovo,** i. e. from the birth of Helen. For another allusion to the legend of the two eggs cp. Sat. 2. 1. 26.

148. **ad eventum festinat,** 'he is hastening to the issue'—*καταστροφήν*—he has no leisure for irrelevant details.

**in medias res.** The Homeric manner became proverbial. Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. 1 'Respondebo tibi ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὁμηρικῶς, Quintil. 7. 10. 11 'ubi ab initiis incipiendum, ubi more Homerico e mediis vel ultimis.'

151. **ita . . . sic . . . ne,** 'with this reservation,' as often in prose; so inf. v. 225. 'While he gives his imagination full play, never forgets that fundamental rule of symmetry with which we started'—so we come back to the doctrine of vv. 1–23. Horace claims the privilege (v. 10) 'quidlibet audendi,' but with the limit there laid down. The passage usually quoted from Arist. Poet. 24. 9 δεδίδαχε δὲ μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ is not relevant. As Hermann explains, he is speaking there not of the poet's invention, but of deception practised by one character in a poem on another, as, in the instance cited from Odyss. 19, by Ulysses and Penelope.

153. V. 152 has designedly repeated the principle which has never been quite out of sight in the first portion of the poem. The emphatic 'Tu, quid ego . . . audi' is meant to indicate the passage to a second part, more personal and particular, in which Horace lays down for Piso's special benefit some rules for success in drama.

**ego et populus mecum**: rules which will secure the approval both of the competent critic and of the less competent crowd.

154. **plausoris**: Epp. 2. 2. 130.

**aulaea manentis,** 'waiting out the curtain' must mean waiting till the curtain rises (see Epp. 2. 1. 189 n.) at the end of the piece.

155. **cantor.** 'Vos plaudite' (or some equivalent words) are found at the end of every complete play of Plautus and Terence, and the practice is frequently alluded to in Latin writers as prevailing both in comedy and in tragedy (Quintil. 6. 1. 52). Who spoke them, is a disputed point. Bentley (on Ter. Andr. 5. 6. 17) held that the 'cantor' named here was the flute-player who had accompanied the 'cantica.' Hermann (Opusc. 1. 302) controverted this, thinking that 'cantor' was the same as 'histrio,' an actor. Prof. Wilkins on this passage shows that the passages of Cicero on which Hermann relied do not prove his point.

Aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
Reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo
Signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram
Colligit ac ponit temere, et mutatur in horas.
Imberbus iuvenis tandem custode remoto
Gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,
Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
Utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,
Sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix,
Conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis
Quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
Commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod
Quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,

156. **notandi**, 'to be observed.'

157. As men's natures shift quickly, and their years, each must have its fitting character assigned.

**decor.** Aristotle's *τὸ ἁρμόττον* Poet. 15. 2. Bentley's objections to **naturis**, for which he would substitute 'maturis,' do not allow enough for the poetical colour of the writing.

158. **reddere voces**: Virg. Aen. 1. 409 'veras audire et reddere voces,' to speak as well as be spoken to.

159. **signat**, like 'certo pede,' marks the firmness of the step.

160. **in horas**: Sat. 2. 7. 10, and see above on v. 60.

161. **imberbus.** For the form see on Epp. 2. 1. 85.

**custode**: Sat. 1. 4. 118, 1. 6. 81, inf. v. 239.

162. Cf. Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 28 'Quod plerique omnes faciunt adolescentuli Ut animum ad aliquid studium adiungant, aut equos Alere aut canes ad venandum,' etc.

**aprici campi**: Od. 1. 8. 3, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 53.

163. **cereus flecti.** For inf. see vol. 1, App. 2. For the image cp. Epp. 2. 2. 8, and Plat. Legg. p. 633 *θωπείας κολακικὰς αἳ . . . τοὺς θυμοὺς μαλάττουσαι κηρίνους ποιοῦσιν.*

165. **sublimis cupidusque**: see on Epp. 2. 1. 65; 'eager and with strong desires.'

**amata relinquere pernix.** Like many of the traits which Horace assigns, it is paralleled in Aristotle's description Rhet. 2. 12 *ἀψίκοροι* [*οἱ νέοι*] *πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχέως δὲ παύονται.*

167. **inservit honori**, is a slave to office, i. e. to the seeking of office. Cicero's 'honoribus inservire,' de Off. 2. 1. 4, is probably rather 'to the duties of office.'

168. **commisisse**: for perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 52.

**cavet** with inf. 'is cautious of committing,' Virg. E. 9. 25. It is to be classed with the cases discussed in vol. 1, App. 2. 1, 'caveo' being equivalent to 'timeo.'

169 f. The characteristics of old age, like those of the other stages of life, are given from an external point of view, as they are seen in action or on the stage, not sympathetically from the poet's own experience and reflection unless there is a personal touch in the tone of vv. 175, 176. Contrast Epp. 2. 2. 211. As before, the picture has marked likeness to Aristotle, Rhet. 2. 13. Cp. especially § 7 *καὶ δειλοὶ καὶ πάντα προφοβητικοί· ἐναντίως γὰρ διακεῖνται τοῖς νέοις· κατεψυγμένοι γάρ εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ θερμοί* with the 'timide gelideque' of v. 171.

**vel . . . vel.** As Wilkins points out, these particles are not exclusive. Both grounds are meant to be real. Cp. Sat. 2. 8. 37 and inf. v. 288.

170. **quaerit**: absol. as in Epp. 1. 7. 57 'et quaerere et uti.'

Vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,
Dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
Difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
Se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
Multa recedentes adimunt. Ne forte seniles
Mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles;
Semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.
Aut agitur res in scenis aut acta refertur.

172. **spe longus.** Often taken (as by Orelli) as meaning 'slow in hoping,' a rendering of Aristotle's *δύσελπις* Rhet. 2. 13. 14. It is questionable however, as Bentley observed, whether the words can bear this sense. They more naturally mean 'patient in hope,' 'content to hope and wait.' They go closely with **dilator,** being the first of three characteristics which accompany and explain the dilatoriness of the old (for it is paradoxical and needs explanation). It is the opposite of youth, which is impatient, ready for action, fuller of the present than of the future. It does not follow that Horace had not in mind Aristotle's *δύσελπις,* though he may have given it a turn of his own. Bentley wished to read 'spe lentus,' taking it in the sense in which Orelli takes 'spe longus.'

**avidus futuri**: perhaps to be explained by Aristotle's *φιλόζωοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀπόντος εἶναι τὴν ἐπθυμίαν.* So Acr. 'semper senex . . . vivere desiderat.' Bentley wished to alter to 'pavidus.'

173. **difficilis**: Sat. 2. 5. 90.

**querulus**: cp. Arist. l. c. § 15 *ὀδυρτικοί εἰσιν καὶ οὐκ εὐτράπελοι οὐδὲ φιλογέλοιοι.*

**acti se puero**: 'of the world as it went when he was a boy': we are meant to hear his own words. Cp. Arist. l. c. § 12 *διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενομένα λέγοντες, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ἥδονται.* Horace must have thought of Nestor in Homer. The common mode of quoting the words, as though 'temporis acti' stood by itself for 'of the past,' is doubtful as Latin, and not possible, as it leaves 'se puero' with no construction.

174. **minorum**: Epp. 2. 1. 84.

175. **venientes . . . recedentes**: see on Od. 2. 5. 14. The point of view from which time is regarded changes as we grow older. The young may be said to count the years as they come, the old as they go. Notice also that Aristotle, in the place that Horace seems to have had in view, tries to fix a point between youth and age, Rhet. 2. 14. 4 *ἀκμάζει τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ περὶ τὰ ἑνὸς δεῖν πεντήκοντα.*

176–178. **ne forte,** etc. This is a final sentence giving, after Horace's manner, the purpose of a statement (cp. Od. 4. 9. 1, Epp. 1. 1. 13, 2. 1. 208, inf. v. 406), but whether it should be connected in this way with the preceding statement or the one that follows is not certain. Bentley (without a note) punctuates for the first and Munro follows him. 'All this is to prevent your making the mistake of assigning,' etc. In favour of this is the parallel case of v. 406, q. v. The rhythm is in favour of the more common punctuation, which I have followed, making 'morabimur' the principal verb. In any case v. 178 sums up in a precept the result of vv. 153–177. Cp. the position of v. 23.

177. **mandentur partes.** It will be understood that, as in v. 104, Horace is speaking not of assigning a part to an actor, but of fitting speeches and actions to a character.

178. **morabimur in.** It is a question what is the subject, and therefore what is the sense, of 'morabimur.' Is it '*We poets* shall keep close to [a more coloured equivalent, as Schütz, for 'versabimur in'] the correct attributes of the time of life'? or, perhaps more likely, '*we the audience* [the "ego et populus mecum" of v. 153] shall dwell with pleasure on, &c.'? cp. the active use of 'moror' in v. 321 and its passive use in v. 223.

**aevoque**: the dative with **adiunctis** as well as **aptis.** For the place of **que** see on Od. 1. 30. 6.

179 f. The question of characters is

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, et quae
Ipse sibi tradit spectator: non tamen intus
Digna geri promes in scenam, multaque tolles
Ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens:
Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
Aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.
Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu

brought to an end in vv. 176–178, this being indicated (as in v. 152) by the repetition of the chief point which has been urged. We pass to some miscellaneous practical rules for a writer of plays. What is said of the distinction between that which should be represented in action on the stage and that which should be reported by an *ἄγγελος* is based exactly on the Greek practice.

179. **in scenis**: for the plur. cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 429, 4. 471, where see Conington's note.

180. The thought is an old one, and had been enforced by Cicero in his recommendation of a 'memoria technica' which made use of the eyes, de Or. 2. 87. 356.

**demissa**: Virg. Aen. 4. 428 'Cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in aures?'

181. **fidelibus**, gives the reason; we believe our eyes more than our ears. Herod. 1. 8 *ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποις ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν*, Sen. Epp. 6. 4 'homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt.'

184. **praesens**, with **narret**, relates in his presence, i.e. on the stage; 'the eloquent tongue' of a messenger or (as Clytemnestra in the Agamemnon) one of the persons in the play.

185–188. Two classes of actions are named as to be thus kept from the actual view of the spectators; crimes which shock (what Aristotle would call *τὸ μιαρόν* Poet. 14. 7, which he allows, as in the case of Medea's act, only when it is redeemed by *πάθος*) and what he calls *τὸ τερατῶδες*, 'the marvellous' (metamorphoses and the like), which he forbids to Tragedy (ib. § 2). It is to be noted that Sophocles wrote a 'Tereus' (to whose story Procne belongs, see Od. 4. 12. 6 n.). Among Euripides' fragments there is a couplet which is thought to have come from a 'Cadmus' (fr. 122 Nauck) *οἴμοι δράκων μοι γίγνεται τό γ' ἥμισυ· | τέκνον περιπλάκηθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρί*, and which in that case justifies Horace's warning. See Sandys' note on Bacchae 1330.

185. **ne**: rightly restored from the MSS. by Bentley in place of 'nec.' He takes it (as in v. 339) as final, the following lines giving illustrations of the *purpose* of the preceding precept.

188. **incredulus odi**: the adjective seems to belong most to the second-named class of incidents, the verb to the first.

189. Aristotle discusses (Poet. 8) the proper length of a tragedy, but in relation to the plot, laying down the rule that it must be of sufficient compass to make the catastrophe probable, and not so long as to overtax the memory and lose unity of view (*τὸ εὐσύνοπτον*). Horace is adopting, perhaps after Alexandrine critics, a more mechanical measurement. Our knowledge hardly enables us to determine the exact relation of his words to previous Roman practice or phraseology. A Greek tragedy was divided (Arist. Poet. 12, though this is possibly an interpolated chapter) into *πρόλογος, ἐπεισόδιον, ἔξοδος, χορικόν*, a particular *ἐπεισόδιον* being the portion of dialogue between two choral odes. Horace uses 'actus' in v. 194 as the Roman equivalent for these divisions. The number however of the *ἐπεισόδια* in extant Greek tragedies varies greatly, making with the *πρόλογος* and *ἔξοδος* as many as eight 'actus' in some plays, as few as four in others. In the only complete Latin tragedies which we have, those of Seneca, Horace's rule of a quintuple division is followed, there being four choral odes. Cicero uses the word 'actus' frequently with reference (metaphorical) to the divisions of

Fabula, quae posci volt et spectata reponi.
Nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.
Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile

plays. In one passage he indicates a triple division*, namely in the letter (ad Q. Fr. I. I. 16), in which he urges his brother to make the third and last year of his government, after the example of good poets and careful actors, the best, 'tanquam tertium actum.' This looks like a return to the Aristotelian (triple) division, viz. the *πρόλογος* or opening, the *ἐπεισόδια* or body of the play, and the *ἔξοδος* or conclusion. The use of the figure in de Sen. 2. 5 of old age, 'extremum actum tanquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum,' where only two previous stages, 'pueritia' and 'adolescentia' have been distinguished, points the same way though less decidedly. On the other hand Verr. Act 2. 2. 6. 18 'qualis iste in quarto actu improbitatis futurus esset,' sc. 'in the next act,' three having been just enumerated, looks as if he were using 'actus' in the Horatian sense and contemplating the fuller number. The division of Roman comedies (in which there are no choruses) into five acts rests on other grounds, and seems to have been the work, often arbitrary, of grammarians. It is first found in the introductions to Terence's plays by Donatus (4th cent.). See Ussing's Plautus, Prolegomena V.

**quinto actu**: for 'quam quintum actum,' the accusative of extent with **productior**.

190. **spectata**: K. and H. give 'spectanda' as having the best MS. authority, including that of B. The variation is as old as the Schol. Acr. recognizes it 'spectanda, alii spectata.' The Comm. Cruq. interprets 'spectata' by 'probata.' The balance of sense is for 'spectata.' At the same time 'spectanda reponi' went temptingly together (cp. Sat. I. 10. 39 'nec redeant iterum spectanda theatris') if a doubt between the two forms arose. There is the same hesitation of MSS. in the place just quoted; also, as Keller points out, in Epp. 2. 2. 143 between 'modulanda' and 'modulata.'

191. **deus**, sc. 'ex machina,' *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*, the god appearing in the air by means of the stage lift, in order to solve an otherwise insoluble plot. The device was a favourite one with Euripides. Aristotle, with his severe ideas about the plot, was inclined to condemn such solutions altogether as inartistic: Poet. 15. 7 *φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ μύθου συμβαίνειν καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. He allows supernatural intervention in solving difficulties outside the dramatic action of the play, as by revealing things past which the actors do not know or things future which they cannot know. But the practice of poets was the other way. Cp. Plato, Crat. p. 425 D *ὥσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοποιοὶ ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἴροντες*, Cic. de Nat. D. I. 20. 53 'ut tragici poetae cum explicare argumenti exitus non potestis confugitis ad deum.' More illustrations may be seen in Orelli's note.

191, 192. **nec . . . nec**: pair the precepts. 'Do not overdo either the supernatural or the human element.'

192. Horace is of course speaking of the number of speaking characters who should be on the stage at once, not of the number of actors employed or characters introduced in a play. The introduction of a second actor is ascribed by Aristotle, Poet. 4. 3, to Aeschylus (dialogue until then having been between the actor and the leader of the chorus), that of the third to Sophocles. This improvement was adopted by Aeschylus in his later plays, but no further addition was made. See Haigh's Attic Theatre, p. 200.

**laboret**: the verb implies misplaced effort.

193. **officium virile**: 'duty, as well as a man can do it,' is an emphatic repetition of 'actoris partes' and is in contrast to the more languid use of the chorus condemned by Aristotle in the practice of Euripides: Poet. 187 *καὶ*

* Donatus' remark on the Adelph. 3. 1. 1 'tragedia in tria dividitur, expectationem, gesta, exitum' seems to be parallel to the divisions which he recognises for a comedy (argument prefixed to the Andria), into protasis, epitasis, and catastrophe, and to refer to the development of the plot, not a division of acts, being substantially analogous to Aristotle's requirement that a plot (Poet. 7. 3) should have beginning, middle, and end.

Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus
Quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice,
Et regat iratos et amet peccare timentes;
Ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
Iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;
Ille tegat commissa deosque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta tubaeque

*τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ᾀδόμενα (οὐ) μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν· διὸ ἐμβόλιμα καλοῦσιν, πρῶτον ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιούτου.* Horace's other rules are not to be found in Aristotle, but they correspond with the character of the chorus as we find it in the Greek tragedies.

194. **defendat**: Sat. 1. 10. 12.

**intercinat actus**: as is pointed out on v. 189 'actus' is here evidently the rough equivalent of the Greek *ἐπεισόδια*, including in them the *πρόλογος* and *ἔξοδος*, or dialogue before the first and after the last choric song.

197. **peccare timentes** is the only reading that has good authority. Bentley objected to it as tautologous after 'bonis faveat,' and as putting an unlikely force on 'amet,' the language of the chorus rather than their feelings being in question. The words however describe very truly the attitude of the chorus (say in the Antigone), as shrinking from breaches of law and propriety and disposed at first to throw cold water on bold resolves. Bentl. proposed 'pacare tumentes,' there being some slight MS. authority to be quoted for both words. Keller would read 'pacare timentes,' but allowing that 'peccare' was the reading of the archetype.

198. The chorus is to sing the praise of moderation. So Aesch. Eum. 530 *παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν.* Cp. Agam. 378, 472.

**mensae brevis**: so 'cena brevis' Epp. 1. 14. 35.

199. **apertis portis**: Od. 3. 5. 23.

200. **tegat commissa.** For the words cp. Epp. 1. 18. 38. Thus Orestes to the chorus in Aesch. Cho. 555 *αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμάς*, Soph. El. 469, etc. As the chorus was constantly present, this reticence was a necessary condition.

**deos precetur**: Aesch. Cho. 784 and 931.

201. **redeat, abeat fortuna.** The essence of a tragedy according to Aristotle is the *περιπέτεια* or reversal of conditions (*ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν* or the opposite). The Chorus is to favour the catastrophe which satisfies the moral sense.

202–219. The discussion on the chorus leads to one on stage music, of which Horace gives an historical sketch, suggested possibly by the memory of some Greek treatise; but see the passages quoted from Cicero and Quintilian on v. 211, and from Pliny in the next note. In some details he seems certainly to pass to Roman practice. He condemns the modern instrumental music as an aftergrowth alien to the true spirit of the drama. This was a grievance of early date in Greece, as seems from a story told by Athenaeus (14. 8, p. 617) of Pratinas, the predecessor of Aeschylus, who complained that the fluteplayers no longer accompanied the chorus but rather the chorus the fluteplayers, and vented his wrath on the musicians in the following 'hyporchema,' *τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα; τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν, κ.τ.λ.* We should remember that the ancients always attributed moral effect to any departure from the severity of the older music. Aristotle, who recognizes *μελοποιία* as an essential part of tragedy, gives no detailed consideration to it.

202. **tibia non ut nunc.** The mischief began in the improvement of the instrument.

**orichalco vincta**: Virg. Aen. 12. 87, Cic. de Off. 3. 23. 92. When used,

Aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
Adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu ;
Quo sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
Et frugi castusque verecundusque coibat.
Postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbes
Latior amplecti murus vinoque diurno
Placari Genius festis impune diebus,
Accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior ;

as here and in Cicero, of a metal of the day it seems to have meant brass. There is an interesting passage in Plin. N. H. 16. 66, in which he describes the treatment of reeds for making flutes 'so long as they used simple music,' and their more elaborate process 'postquam varietas accessit et cantus quoque luxuria, apertioribus earum ligulis ad flectendos sonos'; the difficulty, he says, being such that it was not to be wondered at that people had taken to use silver as better material.

203. **foramine pauco**, for 'paucis foraminibus,' according to the use of 'multus' see Epod. 2. 31 'multa cane,' Od. 4. 5. 33 'multa prece,' and see on Od. 1. 7. 8. Acr. quotes Varro as saying that the 'tibia' in old times had four stops, and that he had seen one with that number in the temple of Marsyas.

204. **adspirare et adesse**: the two verbs are not to be too nicely distinguished. 'Adspirando adesse,' i. e. 'opitulari,' 'to support by accompaniment.'

205. **spissa sedilia**: Epp. 1. 19. 41.

206. **sane** indicates that we are hearing the point of 'nondum spissa nimis;' the matter is brought home to the character of the audience.

**numerabilis**, a word not found before Horace, εὐαρίθμητος.

**utpote parvus** explains not 'numerabilis' but 'numerabilis coibat.' The people came in numbers that could be counted because the people itself was small.

207. **et frugi**, etc. And those who came were of a better class than modern audiences. These adj. also go with 'coibat.' Orelli suggests that **castusque verecundusque** implies that the religious origin of the drama was better remembered. 'Castus' is used greatly of piety towards the gods, 'castus Aeneas' C. S. 42, so Virg. Aen. 3. 409 'Hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.' Cp. 'incestus' inf. v. 472.

208. **victor**: the subj. is still 'populus'; 'when its conquests were over.' Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 93 foll. and 162. The two expressions 'agros extendere' and 'latior murus,' imply the growth of population, rustic and urban; the theatrical audiences then became much larger and more mixed.

**urbes**: so all MSS. of any value. Bentl. would substitute 'urbem,' but Horace is, in profession at least, sketching the history of the Greek drama as much as the Roman, although the expressions, no doubt, suit better the gradual expansion of Rome, than any known facts in Greek history.

209. **vino diurno**: Sat. 2. 8. 3 'de medio potare die.' It refers to what Cicero calls 'tempestiva convivia,' e. g. pro Mur. 6. 13, drinking that began before the proper business hours were over.

210. **placari Genius**: see on Epp. 2. 1. 144.

**impune**: 'non contradicente aut lege aut moribus' Acr.

211. **numerisque modisque**, ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέλεσι. The two together stand for the music. See on Epp. 1. 18. 59.

**licentia maior.** Cicero complains of the lower standard of the music of the theatre in his time: Leg. 2. 15. 39 'illud quidem video quae solebant quondam compleri severitate iucunda Livianis et Naevianis modis, nunc ut eadem exsultent, cervices oculosque pariter cum modorum flexionibus torqueant.' So Quintilian at a later date (1. 10. 31) 'non hanc [musicam] quae nunc in scenis effeminata et impudicis modis fracta non ex parte minima si quid in

Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?
Sic priscae motumque et luxuriem addidit arti
Tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem;
Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
Et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,
Utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.

nobis virilis roboris manebat excidit, sed qua laudes fortium canebantur quaque et ipsi fortes canebant.'

212. **indoctus**: cp. the complaint as to the illiterate audiences in Epp. 2. 1. 183 f. 'indocti, stolidique, etc.'

**quid saperet.** What taste, discrimination, should he have?

**liber laborum,** that is, out for a holiday, and so looking only for amusement. See below, v. 224. For gen. cp. 'operum solutis' Od. 3. 17. 16, 'operum vacuo' Sat. 2. 2. 119.

213. **turpis honesto.** The distinction is of birth, as the 'plebecula' and the 'eques' of the similar Epp. 2. 1. 186, 187, and see also vv. 248, 249. For 'honestus, 'respectable,' cp. Epp. 2. 1. 150.

214. **sic . . . sic.** This was the secret of these progressive changes, the degradation of the audience.

**motum et luxuriem.** Aristotle (Poet. 26. 1) speaks of it as a sign of debased art in *αὐληταί* to eke out the dramatic force of their music by bodily movement and gesticulation. Cp. also Cicero's words (l. c. on v. 211) of the movements of neck and eyes. The two words may be = 'motus luxuriosos,' and there may be a sense of immodest as well as excessive movement. So. Acr. 'gestum corporis et voluptatem.' Ritter prefers to take both words of the added liveliness and variety of the music. Cp., in that case, 'cantus luxuria' in the passage of Pliny quoted on v. 202.

215. **vagus,** as Orelli points out, an ironical word, as though his movements were aimless.

**traxit vestem,** i. e. the 'syrma' or trailing (*σύρω*) 'tragic robe.' It is implied that the robe itself is noticeable. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 207.

**per pulpita**: the expression belongs to the Roman theatre, in which there was no 'orchestra.'

216. **voces,** 'tones,' as in Virgil's 'septem discrimina vocum' Aen. 6. 646.

**severis**: cp. 'severae Musa tragoediae' Od. 2. 1. 9. Plato allowed the lyre in his ideal state (see Rep. 3. p. 399) as the most staid and limited instrument, while excluding altogether the *αὐλός* as *πολυχορδότατον*, i. e. admitting the largest number of tones. For the changes in choral music attributed to Timotheus, who is said to have added the eleventh string to the lyre, already increased by a succession of innovators from the Heptachord of Terpander, see Haigh's Attic Theatre, p. 294. The contrast between the older music of Aeschylus' plays and the newer employed by Euripides is a subject of discussion in Aristophanes' Frogs.

217–219. A clever description of obvious characteristics of the language of a chorus in Greek tragedies, its dithyrambic abruptness of metaphor and its oracular sententiousness. Horace connects them, more playfully perhaps than historically, with the more florid music which invaded the stage. The point seems to be that the diction matched the music in its unnaturalness.

217. **eloquium insolitum**; an ironical phrase—a diction lofty but strange, alien indeed to that of common life.

**praeceps,** 'bold,' 'abrupt,' opposed to the gentle flow of sober language—'dicendi genus quod praecipitia pro sublimibus habet' Quintil. 12. 10. 73. Cp. the description of Pindar's diction Od. 4. 2. 10 'per audaces nova dithyrambos Verba devolvit.'

**tulit** = 'secum attulit,' and so = 'effecit.'

218. **utiliumque sagax rerum,** 'with its wise saws.' With the genitives cp. 'divina imbrium' Od. 3. 27. 10 and see Madv. § 289, obs. 1 and 2.

219. **non discrepuit,** 'struck the very same note as'—that is, they were as obscure and unhelpful as the Delphic oracles.

Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, et asper
Incolumi gravitate iocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces
Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
Ne quicunque deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
Aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.

220–250. Horace passes to the Satyric drama, which, he points out, was from the beginning nearly connected with tragedy, and must not be lowered to the level of comedy. He is keeping to his previous course in treating of it as on the Greek stage, and not drawing any marked line between that and the Roman usage; but it is impossible to give his words their natural meaning without supposing that he contemplates the Satyric drama as a practicable form of Latin literature. Porphyrion (on v. 221) asserts that Pomponius (that is, probably, if his words are meant to explain what Horace had in mind, Pomponius Bononiensis, the writer of Atellanae; see Macrob. Sat. 1. 10) wrote Satyric plays, naming three, Atalanta, Sisyphus, and Ariadne. Prof. Nettleship (Essays in Latin Literature, p. 179), without definitely accepting Porphyrion's statement, has pointed out that Diomedes the grammarian (p. 490) recognizes the 'Graeca Satyrica' as a form of Latin play holding towards the 'Atellana' the same relation as a 'tragoedia' of Pacuvius, in which heroic personages appear, to a 'praetextata,' in which the characters are historical and Roman.

220. **vilem**, 'the cheap prize'; the epithet implies 'in those primitive and simple times.' For the fact cp. the inscription on the Parian Marble, 43 [ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος [ἆθλον]; see Bentley's Phalaris xi. Horace is no doubt following the etymology commonly given in antiquity to τραγῳδία, but his object is to link the origin of the satyric drama with that of tragedy. This is done as effectually by the more recent view that it was called the 'goat song' from the chorus of goats or satyrs.

221. **mox** need involve no contradiction of Aristotle's statement (Poet. 4. 14) that tragedy itself was originally σατυρικὴ καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέρα, even if it refers to the chronological relations of tragedy and the satyric drama, for Horace might well have in view the separate existence of the latter, which dates from Pratinas, πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους: but it is equally probable that 'mox,' as 'nuper' in v. 228, refers to relations between the tragedies and the satyric play at a given performance, the very poet who had been exhibiting a tragedy, 'presently,' on the same boards, exhibited a satyric drama.

**nudavit**, i. e. brought Satyrs naked on the stage.

222. **incolumi gravitate**, 'without sacrificing dignity'—to be taken closely with **asper**. It matters not whether we say 'his own dignity' or 'that of the characters,' for he is spoken of throughout as doing that which he makes his characters do.

224. **potus.** Wilkins quotes Plat. Legg. 6. p. 775 πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὔτε ἄλλοθί που πρέπει πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ ἑορταῖς.

225. **ita . . . ita . . . ita . . . ne**, 'with this reservation that . . . not,' etc.; see on v. 151.

**risores . . . dicaces**, of mere fun, and of edged sayings. For 'risores' see on 'scriptor' v. 120.

226. **vertere seria ludo**, 'to change grave to gay'; 'vertere' with the construction of 'mutare'; see on Od. 1. 17. 2.

228. **nuper**, i. e. in the tragedy just exhibited.

230. According to Horace's usual doctrine, that the avoidance of one ex-

Effutire leves indigna Tragoedia versus,
Ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
Intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo;
Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
Ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
An custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
Speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret

treme is apt to lead into the other; see above v. 31.

231 f. Tragedy, so grave and stately in all she does, will find herself a little uncomfortable among saucy satyrs, and therefore the satyrs must not be too saucy.

232. **moveri**, 'to dance,' as in Epp. 2. 2. 125. 'Sunt enim quaedam sacra in quibus saltant matronae, sicut in sacris Matris deum' Acr.; see Od. 2. 12 introd. and v. 17.

234. **dominantia** seems a translation of *κύρια*, the Greek term for ordinary words in their usual forms and acceptation: Arist. Poet. 21. 2. The usual Latin phrase was 'propria.'

**nomina verbaque**: Sat. 1. 3. 103 n.

235. **Satyrorum scriptor**, 'if I come to write Satyric dramas.' The Greeks used Σάτυροι in the same sense. For 'scriptor' see above on v. 120.

236. **colori**: above v. 86 n. For dat. see on Epp. 2. 1. 4.

237. **Davus**, a slave of comedy; cp. Sat. 2. 5. 91, etc.

**et**, the reading necessary to the sense, is given by B and was in V, the other good MSS. having 'an.'

238. **Pythias**: a character, according to the Scholiasts, in a play of 'Lucilius.' This has been generally considered a mis-writing for Caecilius. **emuncto**, in the sense of 'cheated,' is a comic word, and very possibly comes from the passage Horace is recalling. If Bentley's conjecture (on A. P. 96) of 'emunxeris' might stand in the fragment of Caecilius quoted by Cicero de Am. 26. 99 (cp. de Sen. 11. 39 'ut me hodie ante omnes comicos senes Versaris atque emunxeris lautissime'), we should have probably what we are in search of; but it is only a conjecture.

239. **Silenus**, the father of the Satyrs and the nurse and *παιδαγωγός* ('custos,' see on Sat. 1. 6. 81) of the ever youthful Bacchus; conceived at once as a jovial drunken old man and as a prophet (Virg. Ecl. 6. 31 f.) and philosopher (Cic. Tusc. D. 1. 48. 114): he was the representative of wisdom concealed under uncouth and unlikely exterior, whence Socrates was likened to him, Plat. Sympos. p. 215, Dict. Biog. s. v. Silenus.

240. **ex noto fictum.** Is Horace still speaking of the *diction* of a Satyric drama? So Acr., followed by Orelli and other editors, on the ground that otherwise he is made to pass from diction to plot and back again to diction in v. 244. But 'fingere carmen ex' is most naturally interpreted of the *plot*, and if these verses really referred to the diction, we should have in v. 244 some conjunction to indicate that the precept there given was a limitation of what preceded. That passage stands, as this one does, without a conjunction, because they are both independent of the lines before them. Ritter seems rightly to indicate what differences vv. 244 f. from vv. 225–239. See on v. 244. The difficulty of connection has seemed so great to some editors that they have thought vv. 240–243 to be out of their place. Ribbeck omits them; but they are in Horace's best style.

**sequar**: Epp. 1. 2. 143; 'it will be my aim.'

241. Cp. Byron's imitation (Hints from Horace)

Whom nature guides, so writes that
every dunce

Ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
Silvis deducti caveant me iudice Fauni,
Ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses
Aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus unquam,
Aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta;
Offenduntur enim quibus est equus et pater et res,
Nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,
Aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona.
Syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,
Pes citus; unde etiam trimetris accrescere iussit

Enraptured thinks to do the thing at once;
But after inky thumbs and bitten nails,
And twenty scattered quires, the coxcomb fails.'

For a similar description of the 'ars celandi artem' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 124.

242. **series iuncturaque**: vv. 46, 48 'in verbis serendis . . . iunctura.' Here the power of making what is old new by its setting, is claimed in relation to the plot as there to the language.

243. **de medio sumptis**, 'the commonest materials.' The sentiment is general. Cicero (Or. 49. 163) uses the phrase of ordinary diction as opposed to that of the poet 'exquisita ad sonum.'

244. **deducti**, sc. 'in scenam.'

**Fauni**: see on Epp. 1. 19. 4. Horace is speaking (as Ritter explains, see above on v. 240) of the Chorus of Satyrs, thus completing the account of the Satyric drama, as he completed that of Tragedy by treating of the Tragic Chorus; and he is speaking, not of their diction, but of their sentiments. They are the wild children of the woods, and (though, perhaps it is implied, a coarseness of their own is not out of place) they must not be credited with town vices whether of softness or coarse vulgarity.

245. **forenses**, sc. dwellers in the heart of the town; with a depreciatory sense, as Livy's 'forensis factio' 9. 46. 13: cp. ἀγοραῖος.

246. **teneris versibus**. Yonge recalls Hotspur's 'mincing poetry.'

**iuvenentur**: ἅπαξ λεγ., and possibly invented by Horace after the analogy of *νεανιεύεσθαι*, 'to talk as young men do.'

247. **crepent**: see on Od. 1. 18. 5, Sat. 2. 3. 33.

**dicta**, 'jests.'

248. **quibus est equus**, sc. 'equites' Sat. 1. 10. 76, Epp. 2. 1. 183, and supr. v. 113.

**pater**: those who are said 'to have a father' are 'ingenui': see on Epp. 1. 7. 54.

249. **ciceris, nucis** stand for the cheapest food. For 'ciceris' see Sat. 1. 6. 115 and 2. 3. 183, where with 'fabae' and 'lupini' it is named as given in largesse to gain the votes of the poorer people. **fricti** goes with both subst., 'frictas nuces' Plaut. Poen. 1. 2. 111: 'nuces,' as Orelli says, includes chestnuts.

250. **corona**, metaphorical: cp. Epp. 2. 2. 96.

251–269. The purport of this passage is to criticize the laxity of Roman practice in respect of the metre of Tragedy, mainly the Iambic, and to urge the closer study of Greek models. The tone is playful, both in the prosaic gravity of the opening statement, as though from a school 'Prosody,' and in the subsequent personification of the Iambus as a proprietor easy to encroaching neighbours.

252. **pes citus**. The lightness of the measure is the point to be emphasized, as the characteristic which the elder Latin poets failed to understand and reproduce: the Scholiasts therefore are right in making 'unde etiam' depend on 'pes citus.' 'The lightness of the "iambus" was felt so strongly that the Iambic senarius was called [not, as in the dactylic metre, an "hexameter," but] a trimeter.' 'Cum,' however, is not 'although,'

Nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
Primus ad extremum similis sibi. Non ita pridem,
Tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures,
Spondeos stabiles in iura paterna recepit
Commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
Cederet aut quarta socialiter. Hic et in Acci
Nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni
In scenam missos cum magno pondere versus
Aut operae celeris nimium curaque carentis
Aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.
Non quivis videt immodulata poëmata iudex,
Et data Romanis venia est indigna poëtis.
Idcircone vager scribamque licenter? an omnes
Visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
Spem veniae cautus? Vitavi denique culpam,
Non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Graeca

but 'since,' the chief emphasis being not on 'senos,' but on 'primus ad extremum similis.' They were called trimeters because though there were six feet they were all 'iambi.' 'Iambeis' is probably (as Ritter pointed out) a neut. subst., *ἰαμβεῖον* being the Greek name for an iambic verse (Arist. Ran. 1133, 1204, etc.); 'bade the name of trimeters gather to the iambic verses.' For the imitation of the Greek form cp. 'Argeo' Od. 2. 6. 5.

254. I take this not as Prof. Nettleship (Essays in Lat. Lit. p. 180) as a proof that Horace is quoting from a writer on metre who lived near the time of the change, but as an evidently hyperbolical way of saying that the idea of the metre was iambic, and that the admission of 'spondees' was an afterthought. ''Tis only the other day that,' etc. There is an affectation of carelessness in the whole passage. He is contrasting (as Prof. Nettleship points out) the tragic senarius with that of Archilochus. Yet this latter, as ancient writers on metre say, and as the extant fragments of his poems prove, admitted 'spondees,' though less frequently than the tragic verse. Horace himself in Epod. 16 wrote pure Iambics, as Catullus had in two poems, and probably they had some Greek precedents: but the picture of an age of pure Iambics is a playful exaggeration.

256. **stabiles**, opp. 'pes citus.'

257. **non ut** = 'non ita ut,' 'not on the terms that.'

**secunda aut quarta**. Horace does not mention the sixth place because even Roman writers respected the rule there.

258. **socialiter**, 'as friends might,' *ἅπαξ λεγ.*

**hic**, sc. 'iambus'; the metaphor is hardly lost yet. He is a rare sight in his own home.

259. **nobilibus**: the epithet given by his admirers. See on Epp. 2. 1. 50.

260. The spondaic rhythm is imitative of the verses described.

261, 262. The two faults of which he offers the choice are the two which it is the special object of the Ars Poetica to forestall by pressing on Roman poets the necessity of patient work (cp. vv. 293 f., Sat. 1. 10. 72, Epp. 2. 1. 167) and of systematic art. See esp. vv. 379–382, 408–415.

263. A concession. 'I allow that the public ear is obtuse and the result has been an unworthy licence in our poets.'

265–269. 'What then is to be my conclusion. Shall I follow my own caprice? or shall I credit the public with sharper eyes than they have and then keep safe from their criticism? That can lead at best to a negative excellence. The true method is to steep yourself in Greek models.'

Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
Laudavere sales: nimium patienter utrumque
Ne dicam stulte mirati, si modo ego et vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis,
Quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.
Post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae

269. See on Epp. 1. 19. 11.

270. **vestri proavi.** Some inferior MSS. have 'nostri.' Bentley pointed out that 'vestri,' besides being better attested, is more suitable in the mouth of the 'libertino patre natus' addressing Pisos. For Horace's views on Plautus cp. Epp. 2. 1. 170 f.

272. **ego et vos.** He compliments the Pisos by taking it for granted that their taste is as his, not as that of the rougher critics of the theatre.

273 belongs to the 'sales' of Plautus, 274 to his 'numeri.'

273. **seponere,** as 'secernere' Sat. 1. 3. 113.

274. **digitis**: either simply by counting or by beating time (cp. 'pollicis ictum' Od. 4. 6. 55, 'pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant' Quint. 9. 4. 51).

**callemus,** with accus., as even in Cicero, pro Balbo 14. 32 'iura calles.'

275 f. The precept to spend nights and days over Greek models leads naturally to a short historical sketch of the successive masters of the Greek drama.

275. **ignotum genus.** Bentley (on Phalaris) warned us that this is not 'an unknown kind of tragic poetry,' but 'tragedy, a kind of poetry unknown before.' Thespis, according to the Parian Marble (see above on v. 220) was the first to exhibit tragedies. According to Aristotle (as quoted by Themistius Or. 26, p. 382,—he is not named in the Poetics) he added the *πρόλογος* and *ῥῆσις*, that is, he provided an actor distinct from the *ἔξαρχος* of the chorus who could speak before the chorus entered, and hold dialogue with the *ἔξαρχος* afterwards; in other words he first made tragedy dramatic. In the following lines Horace seems to have been confusing the traditions of tragedy with those of comedy. Thespis no doubt used, if he did not originate, the *ἐλεός*, or table, which was the first form of the stage platform. The waggon belongs to comedy, which owed its rudimentary form to the badinage (*ἐξ ἁμάξης*) of the vintage procession. In 'peruncti faecibus' Horace is probably giving a received etymology of *τρυγῳδία* (as in v. 220 of *τραγῳδία*), the name for comedy; see Arist. Ach. 499, Liddell and Scott s. v., and Bentley's Phalaris. It should be said that Bentley would save Horace's credit in respect of the waggons by reading, ex coni., 'qui' for 'quae' in v. 277, so that Thespis would be said to carry his company of players, not his plays.

278. **post hunc.** Aeschylus is with Horace, as with Aristotle, the next name to Thespis in the growth of Tragedy, intermediate writers as Phrynichus being omitted.

With respect to the inventions here assigned to Aeschylus, Horace is at one with Aristotle (apud Themist. l. c.) as to the stage, *ὀκρίβας*, 'pulpitum,' an enlargement of the *ἐλεός* of Thespis, which went with Aeschylus' addition, which Horace does not mention, of a second actor besides the *ἔξαρχος*.

The painted mask ('persona') as used on the tragic stage was traced to him, although a simple linen mask to disguise the face had been employed by Thespis and others. The tragic dress ('palla,' *σύρμα*, see on v. 215: 'honestae' = *σεμνῆς*) was also attributed to him, *ἐξεῦρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα* Athen. p. 21 E; and the tragic shoe, *ἐμβάτης* (Suidas) or *κόθορνος*.

Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.
Successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa
Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
Dignam lege regi; lex est accepta chorusque
Turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.
Nil intemptatum nostri liquere poëtae,
Nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca
Ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,
Vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis
Quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
Quemque poëtarum limae labor et mora. Vos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non

280. **magnum loqui**: to be taken closely with the other points in which he raised the dignity of tragedy; 'lofty utterance' went with the dress which made the actor more splendid, and the buskin which made him taller than common life. There is no touch of ridicule or hostile criticism as in Aristophanes' phrases *βρυχώμενος ἥσει ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ* Ran. 823 and *πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά* ib. 1004.

281. **successit . . . his.** This, though not true of the origin of Comedy, for Susarion was older than Thespis, is true of its serious development and state-recognition at Athens. Aristotle remarks that its early history is less known than that of Tragedy *διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς* Poet. 5. 2. The first certain record of the acting of comedy at Athens is of a play of Magnes in 457 B.C., whereas Aeschylus exhibited in 499. Cratinus (the founder of political comedy, whom Horace would possibly look on as the first writer of the 'old comedy,' cp. 1. 4. 1) is said in the Chron. Euseb. to have exhibited from 454 onward.

283. **lex est accepta.** We learn from Scholiasts on Aristophanes (Ach. 67, 1149, Av. 1297) that efforts were made to restrain by law the licence of the old comedy by prohibiting the introduction of political personages by name (*μὴ κωμῳδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστί τινα*), but these seem to have been only temporarily successful. It was stopped, no doubt, under the tyranny of the Thirty, and by the end of the Peloponnesian war a change of feeling and taste had taken place which prevented its revival. Cp. the account, itself perhaps hardly historical, of the restraint of libellous comedy at Rome, Epp. 2. 1. 147 f.

**chorus.** The New Comedy had no chorus, but this was due to other causes than any law against personal abuse.

288. **praetextas . . . togatas**: tragedies and comedies in which the characters were Roman, and wore a Roman dress, as opposed to 'crepidatae' and 'palliatae,' which were based on heroic and Greek life. The form 'praetextae' instead of 'praetextatae' is found twice in a letter to Cicero from Asinius Pollio (ad Fam. 10. 32). 'Praetextatae' were written by Naevius ('Clastidius,' 'Romulus'), Pacuvius ('Paulus'), Accius ('Aeneadae,' 'Brutus'). For the 'togatae' of Afranius cp. Epp. 2. 1. 57 n.

**docuere**, 'exhibited,' after the Greek *διδάσκειν*. So Cic. Tusc. D. 4. 29. 63 'cum Orestem fabulam doceret Euripides.'

290. **unum Quemque.** For the division see on Sat. 1. 9. 51, Epp. 2. 2. 188.

292. **Pompilius sanguis**: imitated by Persius 1. 61 'vos o patricius sanguis.' The nom. for voc. in solemn address, Madv. § 299, obs. 1. Among the factitious genealogies of the time the Calpurnia gens was traced to Calpus, a mythical son of Numa, Plutarch Num. 21. Horace appeals to them as of the

Multa dies et multa litura coërcuit atque
Praesectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.
Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte
Credit et excludit sanos Helicone poëtas
Democritus, bona pars non ungues ponere curat,
Non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poëtae,
Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam
Tonsori Licino commiserit. O ego laevus,

blue blood of Rome to come to the rescue of her credit in the matter of literary industry.

293. **litura**: Epp. 2. 1. 167, and cp. Sat. 1. 10. 72 'stilum vertas,' and inf. v. 389 'delere.'

294. **ad unguem**, as in Sat. 1. 5. 32: the image from a sculptor or joiner passing his nail over his work to test the perfect smoothness; Virg. G. 277, Pers. Sat. 1. 64. The question between **praesectum**, the nail cut close (i.e. to the point where being close to the quick it will be most sensitive), and 'perfectum' (to be taken proleptically with 'castigavit,' 'till it is perfect'), is difficult to decide. The first is the reading of V and B, and is the less obvious word. It is strongly supported by Bentley, and is given by Ritter and Munro. The latter was read by Acr. and the Comm. Cruq., and is preferred by Orelli, Dill[r]., Schütz, and Keller. The error was due to abbreviation, and the confusion of f and s: cp. Od. 3. 29. 6, Sat. 1. 1. 2.

295–301. The connection is: 'This want of care arises from that foolish idea that genius is independent of and superior to art, which shows itself in other ways in a disregard of the judgment of the world and the decencies of life.'

295. **ingenium**, 'native gift.' For the contrast of 'ingenium' and 'ars' see below, v. 408 f.

297. **Democritus** (of Abdera, see on Epp. 1. 12. 12, 2. 1. 94). He wrote a book *περὶ ποιήσεως* according to Diog. Laert. 9. 48. Cicero refers to his opinion more than once, as de Div. 1. 37. 80 'negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato:' cp. de Or. 2. 46. 194; Plato, as in Ion 5. p. 533, Phaedr. 22. p. 245. Aristotle admits an alternative, *εὐφυοῦς ἡ ποιητική ἐστιν ἢ μανικοῦ· τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εὔπλαστοι οἱ δὲ ἐκστατικοί* Poet. 17. 2.

**bona pars**: see on Sat. 1. 1. 61. For the foolish attempts to simulate inspiration by adopting peculiarities cp. Epp. 1. 19. 10 f.

**ungues ponere**: Epp. 1. 7. 50.

298. **barbam.** The philosopher also let his beard grow; Sat. 1. 3. 133, 2. 3. 35. Horace treats it here as an affectation of eccentricity.

**balnea**: as places where he would meet all the world.

300. **tribus Anticyris**: cp. Sat. 2. 3. 82 and 166; 'three Anticyras' is a metaphorical, not a literal phrase. It is therefore not to be used (as in Dict. Geog. s. v. Anticyra) as an argument in favour of there being a third Anticyra in Locris in addition to those in Phocis and on the Sinus Maliacus. The one in Phocis is the one which Strabo (418) describes as the home of hellebore and the place of cure for those who needed it. Stephanus, a late authority (between the 4th and 7th centuries), attributes the same character to the one on the Sinus Maliacus.

301. **tonsori Licino.** The Scholiasts identify this man with the Gaulish prisoner, and then freedman of Julius or Augustus, who is with later Latin writers the type of the rich parvenu, and on whom the epigram was written 'Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?' See Pers. S. 2. 36, Juv. S. 1. 109 (see Mayor's note), 14. 305. It is however generally held to be a mistake; see Madv. Opusc. Acad. 2. p. 202 f. Horace's Licinus was a barber of the time.

**O ego laevus**, 'clumsy fellow that I am!' Cp. the ironical reasons given for not writing poetry in Epp. 2. 2.

Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
Non alius faceret meliora poëmata. Verum
Nil tanti est. Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi;
Munus et officium nil scribens ipse docebo,
Unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poëtam;
Quid deceat, quid non; quo virtus, quo ferat error.
Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons:
Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,
Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
Qui didicit patriae quid debeat et quid amicis,
Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
Quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium, quae
Partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto
Reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.
Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
Doctum imitatorem et vivas hinc ducere voces.

The playfulness here has the purpose of softening the transition to the most directly didactic part of the poem.

303. **verni temporis.** This was according to the prescription of the faculty: see Celsus 2. 13, of white hellebore, 'neque hieme neque aestate recte datur; optime vere, tolerabiliter autumno.'

304. **nil tanti est,** 'it is nothing of importance.' This is the meaning in Cic. ad Att. 2. 13 'iuratus tibi possum dicere nihil esse tanti.'

**cotis:** according to Plutarch this trope had been used by Isocrates when he was asked why he taught speaking instead of speaking himself, *καὶ αἱ ἀκοναὶ αὐταὶ μὲν τεμεῖν οὐ δύνανται, τὸν δὲ σίδηρον ὀξέα καὶ τμητικὸν ποιοῦσι.*

307. **opes,** 'his resources.'

309. Contrast Epp. 2. 2. 141. These lines seem to give a keynote to the Ars Poetica. It is the reconciliation of the breach, if it was ever a serious one, between Horace's literary and philosophical inclinations. He has learnt something as he proposed (Epp. 1. 1. 11) of 'quid deceat, quid non,' etc., but a poet's digestion turns all matter to poetic use, and his studies at least bear fruit in 'opes, alimenta, informatio,' for other aspirants to poesy. Notice also that this line is the serious answer to the suggestion, playfully discussed, of Democritus. 'Sound poetry' ('scribendi recte,' cp. Sat. 1. 4. 13 'scribendi recte, nam ut multum nil moror'), so far from being the product of a crazed brain, has behind it sound thinking, the trained intelligence of the philosopher, at second hand from the study of books (v. 310), and at first hand from the study of life (v. 317).

310. **rem:** as the next line shows, opposed to 'verba'; 'matter,' 'substance.' Cic. de Or. 3. 31. 125 'rerum copia verborum copiam gignit.'

**Socraticae chartae.** An expression from Lucilius 27. 46 'ubi nunc Socratici charti?' see on Od. 1. 29. 14 'Socraticam domum.' Horace describes himself as taking Plato with him when he goes into the country; Sat. 2. 3. 11 'stipare Platona Menandro.'

312–316. From moral philosophy we gather ideals of men in various relations which we may impersonate in our characters for the stage.

314. **conscripti.** Cicero uses 'Pater conscriptus' for a single senator, Phil. 13. 13. 28; but this is the only instance of 'conscriptus' alone for a senator.

318. **doctum:** as Orelli, 'qui arti satisfaciat'; one who is to pass as a poet who has learnt his business.

Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
Fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
Valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
Quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem

**imitatorem** in the sense of Aristotle's *μιμητής*, the poet, as 'holding the mirror up to nature.'

**vivas ducere voces**, i. e. make his characters talk like living persons.

319–323. In fact, for a Roman audience, it is often this moral side of a play rather than the artistic side which secures success.

319. **locis**, as in Cicero, for 'locis communibus' in the rhetorical sense, 'commonplaces,' that is, passages of rhetoric (or, as here, of moral import) which do not belong vitally to the place where they occur, but may be transferred from one composition to another. A play which is 'speciosa locis' is one in which these moral commonplaces stand in relief. So Quintilian recommends Euripides to the study of Roman orators as being 'sententiis densus,' full of *γνῶμαι*, sententious commonplaces, which can be brought into a speech as required.

**morata**, 'supplied with characters.'

320. 'Though without beauty, solid value, or artistic skill.'

322. **inopes rerum**, 'devoid of substance.' This phrase and the following one are dramatic, such as the moral but inartistic audience would use: compare his use of conventional epithets, for which he does not vouch, in Epp. 2. 1. 50 f., and inf. v. 341.

323–345. 'The Greeks have to the full the artistic mind. The Romans are too practical, as their education shows, and for practical life arithmetic pays better than poetry. Poetry has two aims—to instruct and to give delight. You may pursue either of these separately. If so, I can only say, if it be preaching, do not let it be long-winded, if it be amusement, do not let it be extravagant. But remember that if you pursue either aim by itself, you only please part even of your present audience. The truly popular poet, popular with all classes and also in all countries and for all time, is the poet who combines the Greek and the Roman ideal, who delights his reader even while he instructs him.'

The comparison between the Greek and Roman genius will naturally be compared with Epp. 2. 1. 93 f. His recognition of the strength of the Greek on the artistic side is here more direct, not veiled, as there, under half-ironical terms, 'nugari,' 'in vitium labier,' etc.; his criticism of the weakness of the Roman conception of practical life is also more explicit and satirical in tone: but his point is not to praise or blame either in this place, but to hold up to the Roman poet the duty of facing both sides of his duty.

323. **ingenium**: the native gift; *what* native gift, is understood from the context. The Greeks (Horace is thinking of the race as a whole, not of his contemporaries) have the poetic spirit by nature. They are, as Aristotle would say, *εὐφυεῖς*. A Roman is less favoured and needs more study and effort; but, alas! his education drives him in another direction.

**ore rotundo**: of style; in smooth, finished, artistic expression; a transl. of *τὸ στρογγύλον*, of which the meaning is made clear in Plat. Phaedr. p. 234 E *ὡς τὰ δέοντα εἰρηκότος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, οὐκ ἐκείνῃ μόνον, ὅτι σαφῆ καὶ στρογγύλα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετόρνευται*: so 'apte et rotunde' Cic. de Fin. 4. 3. 7. As Wilkins notices, it has nearly the opposite sense to that often given to it in popular quotation.

324. **praeter laudem nullius avaris**: devoted to *φιλοτιμία* and no meaner form of covetousness.

325 f. Cp. Plato's remark in admitting Arithmetic to his ideal education, that it is to be studied in the spirit of a philosopher, not of a shopkeeper: *τοῦ γνωρίζειν ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ καπηλεύειν* Republ. p. 525; and his complaint, that even those who studied philosophy in early youth did so only in

Discunt in partes centum diducere. ‘Dicat
Filius Albini: Si de quincunce remota est
Uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse.’ ‘Triens.’ ‘Eu!
Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?’
‘Semis.’ An haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poëtae,
Aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
Quicquid praecipies esto brevis, ut cito dicta
Percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles;

the intervals of moneymaking and housekeeping, id. pp. 497, 498.

**longis rationibus**: ‘long sums.’

326. **centum**, as the edd. point out, stands as a round number, ‘into any number of fractional parts’; the Roman mode of computing money, as we see in the following sketch of an examination in arithmetic, was by the 12 parts of the ‘as.’

**dicat**. The schoolmaster is supposed to call for an answer.

327. **Albini**: ‘feneratoris cuiusdam avari’ Scholiast. A likely guess, but probably not more.

**poteras dixisse**. Perhaps better with Schütz, ‘you might have told me [by this time]’ (for ‘poteras’ cp. Sat. 2. 1. 16 n., the perf. infin. regular), than with Ritter, etc., ‘you used to be able to tell me.’ If taken in this latter sense, we should give to the perf. infin. the sense of ‘to tell at once.’ Bentley would read, with some inferior MSS., ‘poterat,’ the words then being Horace's, ‘suppose he could answer, “a third of the as.”’

329. **redit**, ‘is put the other way,’ i. e. is added to the original ‘quincunx.’

330. **an**: this is the reading of B, and was in V. The rest of Keller's MSS. have ‘Ad,’ which is meaningless. In two of the Bland. MSS. Cruquius reports ‘An’ as having been altered in a second hand to ‘At.’ It is clear, then, that this was an early mistake in the MSS., and the choice seems to lie between ‘An’ and ‘At.’ Keller prefers the latter, on what, under the circumstances, seems the slight ground that it is nearest to ‘Ad’; Schütz for the more serious reason that there is nothing in the preceding words which justifies a direct question introduced by ‘An,’ a use which is limited by Madv. L. G. § 453 to ‘supplementary questions’ intended to meet an objection, or confirm a statement, or suggest an answer to a previous question. See also Madv. on Cic. de Fin. 1. 2. 5, where he accepts ‘An,’ though less well attested, in preference to ‘At.’ The point is a difficult one. ‘An’ in the argumentative sense is used frequently elliptically, the ellipsis being sometimes more obvious and sometimes less. I defer therefore to the authority of B and V, and to the tact in Latin scholarship of Bentley and Munro, and leave ‘An.’ It must be supposed that the picture of a sordid education, which has just been given, has been virtually equivalent to a pronouncement that Roman poetry cannot have the artistic qualities of Greek poetry. The question, then, is supplementary, as Madvig requires.

**aerugo**: see on Sat. 1. 4. 101. Here it is a poisonous canker of the mind; but the figure suggests that it is caught from the handling of rusty coin.

**cura peculi**: Virg. Ecl. 1. 33. The choice of the phrase is meant to imply a love of money which suits a slave rather than a free man.

332. **linenda cedro**. The resinous sap of the ‘cedrus’ was used to preserve books as well as other things from moths and from decay: Ov. Trist. 3. 1. 13 ‘Quod neque sum cedro flavus,’ 1. 1. 7 ‘nec cedro charta notetur’ Pers. S. 1. 42 ‘cedro digna locutus.’

**cupresso**: ‘ex cupresso ligno confici solebant capsulae’ Comm. Cruq., ‘utraque res odore suo submovit tineas’ Acr.

336. **dociles . . . fideles**, predicative: ‘with willing ears and faithful memories.’

Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
Ne quodcunque velit poscat sibi fabula credi,
Neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.
Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,
Celsi praetereunt austera poëmata Ramnes:
Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo;
Hic meret aera liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit
Et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.
Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus;

337. 'If your hearer has had enough any further words are wasted and soon forgotten'. Bentley unfortunately took 'pectore' of the poet's heart (thinking of the use of 'mano' in Epp. 1. 19. 44), and so found the line dull and suspected interpolation.

**supervacuum**: Od. 2. 20. 24, Epp. 1. 15. 3.

338. Horace is not giving the full conditions of poetry which is to please, but a single rule for poetry which aims at pleasing only. Extravagant use of the marvellous (τὸ τερατῶδες, which Aristotle Poet. 14. 2 excludes from Tragedy) is a natural fault in imaginative writing which has no moral purpose. He may have special instances in view.

339. **ne.** The MSS. vary between 'ne' and 'nec,' B having 'nec,' and Cruquius reading it without remark. The source of any such confusion is shown in B which has in the following line Ñ. 'Ne' is preferred by Bentley as suiting better with 'neu,' and he takes it, no doubt rightly, as in v. 185, q.v., as final, introducing illustrations of the purpose of the precept in v. 338.

**velit** has better MS. authority than 'volet,' and was read by Acr. Keller in his Epilegomena prefers 'volet,' in spite of this, as the most likely to have been altered. Either is suitable.

340. **Lamiae.** Λαμία was a Greek bugbear to frighten children, Arist. Vesp. 1177. Suidas s. v. gives the legend that she was a Libyan queen whose children Here slew from jealousy, and who became a monster preying on the children of others.

**pransae** implies that Horace is purposely making such extravagances rather ridiculous.

341. **centuriae seniorum.** For this metaphorical use of the old Tullian classification cp. v. 113. The 'seniores' were over 45.

**agitant,** 'attack,' 'criticize severely'; 'agitat rem militarem' Cic. Mur. 9. 21; possibly 'hunt off the stage.'

**expertia frugis**: as 'austera poemata,' in the next line, is their own phrase; see on v. 322.

342. **Ramnes**: the first of the three centuries of knights of the original creation, Liv. 1. 13. They seem to stand here for the young men of old family. The idea of youth comes partly from the epithet 'celsi'; cp. 'sublimis' of a young man, v. 165, and Liv. 7. 16 'celsi et spe haud dubia feroces in proelium vadunt'; but also from the contrast with 'centuriae seniorum,' the humdrum respectability of the one class and the youth of the other being left to be gathered in each case from the words that characterize the other members of the comparison.

343. **punctum**: Epp. 2. 2. 99.

345. **Sosiis**: Epp. 1. 20. 2.

**mare transit**: see on Epp. 1. 20. 13 and cp. Od. 2. 20. 17–20.

346. **prorogat**: C. S. 67. **longum** is pred. = 'ita ut longum fiat.'

347. **tamen.** The adversative particle is explained not by any single statement that has been made and that needs limiting, but by the general picture of ideal perfection which has been held up to the poet—'though my standard seems so high,' yet, etc.

**ignovisse**: for the perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 52, and cp. supr. v. 98.

Nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem volt manus et mens,
Poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum;
Nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus.
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
Aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?
Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque
Quamvis est monitus venia caret; ut citharoedus
Ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:
Sic mihi qui multum cessat fit Choerilus ille,
Quem bis terque bonum cum risu miror; et idem
Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;

348–358. 'As we know in other arts, no instrument can be perfectly depended on. There will occur failures. But I shall not be offended at them (if the merits overbalance) whether they proceed from carelessness or from causes, like the failing string, which the poet being human has not provided against. But this does not mean that he may omit always to provide against the same failing.'

350. **quodcunque minabitur**: the internal accus., cp. Od. 1. 28. 25; 'whatever shall be its threats,' i.e. whenever it is so aimed as to look as if it must strike.

353. **quid ergo est**, 'what is the conclusion?' i.e. let us understand the limits of our indulgence.

354. **scriptor librarius**: one of the slaves employed to copy books, of whose negligence Cicero complains, ad Quint. Fr. 3. 5. 6 'de Latinis [libris] quo me vertam nescio: ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt.' Cp. Mart. 2. 8. 1 'nocuit librarius illis.'

357. **qui multum cessat.** Quintilian has 'cesso,' in exactly the same sense, 1. 10. 4 'oratoris perfecti illius et nulla parte cessantis.' Some metaphor seems to be suggested, as of failing to keep up in a march, or of the lapses of a lazy slave, Epp. 2. 2. 14.

**fit Choerilus ille**: is put by me on the level of the notorious mediocre poet; see Epp. 2. 1. 233 f.

358. **bis terque.** Bentley first pointed out (on Epod. 5. 33, see my note there) the true difference between 'bis terque,' 'twice and (even) thrice' and 'bis terve,' 'twice or (at most) thrice.' The first having an amplifying force, and so making the phrase often (not always) equivalent to 'saepe' (cp. with Schütz 'terque quaterque' Sat. 2. 7. 76, 'ter et quater' Od. 1. 31. 13); the latter, a minimizing one, reducing it to 'raro.' He was right therefore in l. c. in preferring 'bis terque,' and the evidence of MSS. accumulated since has abundantly confirmed his judgment. In this case he wished, on the authority of one MS. not of the first class, to substitute 'bis terve' for 'bis terque,' and his reading has since received the weighty support of B. Orelli and Munro follow him. Ritter, Schütz, and Keller retain 'bis terque' as the best attested reading. The sense here will be satisfied with either reading. Any contemptuous generosity of concession to the bad poet is overbalanced by the 'indignor quandoque' of the contrasted clause.

**et idem**: though at the same time I.

359. **quandoque**: for 'quandocunque' Od. 4. 2. 34. My standard of excellence for Homer is so high that every single declension from it is noted and made much of.

**bonus** cannot be separated from 'bonum' in the contrasted v. 358. It is not therefore a half respectful, half familiar designation like 'pater Ennius.' Epp. 1. 19. 7—but has emphasis, and is part of the predication. Choerilus is the bad poet occasionally good. Homer is the good poet occasionally, if so it be, nodding. Quintilian refers to this line in a passage of good sense, 10. 1. 24 'neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia quae magni auctores dixerint ubique esse perfecta. Nam et labuntur aliquando, et oneri cedunt, et indulgent

Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.
Ut pictura poësis: erit quae si propius stes
Te capiat magis, et quaedam si longius abstes.
Haec amat obscurum, volet haec sub luce videri,
Iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
Haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit.
O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
Tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus
Recte concedi. Consultus iuris et actor
Causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti
Messallae nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,
Sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poëtis
Non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.
Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors

ingeniorum suorum voluptati et nonnunquam fatigantur: cum Ciceroni dormitare interim Demosthenes, Horatio vero etiam Homerus ipse videatur; summi enim sunt, homines tamen.'

360. **verum**, like the 'verum' of v. 351, introduces a statement in qualification of the one preceding. Here it is an apology for having admitted the possibility of Homer's nodding. Horace is labouring to make it clear that what he is claiming is not faultlessness. A great poem *must* have its duller parts.

361 f. 'So,' he goes on, 'you must allow for differences of scale and purpose. Do not expect of "vers d'occasion" the kind of excellence you expect in the poet of all time. There is one principle—that is what all has led up to—Poetry, whatever be its kind must, of its kind, be excellent. Mediocrity is intolerable.'

361. **ut pictura poësis.** Horace is not comparing the two arts generally (as Plutarch when he quotes Simonides as calling painting ποιῆσιν σιωπῶσαν, poetry ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν, or as Lessing in the Laokoon), but in the single point that in neither is it fair to ask of the artist more than he professes to give—a fresco is not as a miniature.

362. **abstes**: 'abstare' is not found elsewhere. This led to variations in the MSS.

365. **decies**: for an indefinite number, as in v. 294.

366. **maior iuvenum**: the elder of the two sons, who is evidently the person for whom the Epistle is really written.

367. **tibi** adds 'and make it your own.'

368. **tolle memor**: 'cape dicta memor' Virg. Aen. 6. 377.

**certis** = 'quibusdam'; but the word signifies more definitely that the class spoken of has its limits. Poetry is not one of them.

371. **Messallae**: see on Sat. 1. 10. 29. Notice that Messalla and Cascellius answer in inverse order to the lawyer and pleader of the preceding lines.

**Cascellius Aulus**: for the order of the two names see on Od. 2. 2. 3. He was an eminent jurist, a contemporary of Trebatius (Sat. 2. 1. 78). He lived into the time of Augustus, who offered him the consulship, which he declined.

372. **mediocribus esse**: for constr. cp. Sat. 1. 1. 19.

373. The climax ending, παρὰ προσδοκίαν, in 'columnae,' 'the booksellers' stalls' (see on Sat. 1. 4. 71), gives a playful turn to the outburst.

374. **symphonia discors**: more ambitious music than the single singer (Epp. 2. 2. 9); but, as the oxymoron is meant to emphasize, if the many voices were not in tune they were not the better for their number. Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 44 of a grand feast, 'cum symphonia caneret.'

Et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
Offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis:
Sic animis natum inventumque poëma iuvandis,
Si paulum summo decessit vergit ad imum.
Ludere qui nescit campestribus abstinet armis,
Indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,
Ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae:
Qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. Quidni?
Liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem
Summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni.
Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva;

375. Compare the mixture of meanness with luxury satirized in Nasidienus' supper, Sat. 2. 8.

**Sardo melle.** 'Corsicum et Sardum mel pessimi saporis' Porph. Cp. Virg. Ecl. 7. 41 'Sardoniis . . . amarior herbis.'

**papaver**: 'candidum, cuius semen tostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur' Plin. N. H. 19. 8. 53.

376. **duci**: so 'producere' Sat. 1. 5. 70; there is some idea of 'from beginning to end.'

377. **animis iuvandis.** Horace may be thinking in the argument of Cic. de Orat. 1. 26. 118 'in eis artibus in quibus non utilitas quaeritur necessaria, sed animi libera quaedam oblectatio, quam diligenter et quam prope fastidiose iudicamus.'

379–384. 'Yet, in spite of this antecedent condemnation of second-rate poetry, people treat it as the one art which any one may practise, whether he understands it or not.' Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 114–117.

379. **campestribus armis**: see on Od. 1. 8. 12; cp. also Epp. 1. 18. 52, 54. Virgil speaks (Georg. 1. 160) of the 'arma' of the husbandman.

380. **pilae . . . disci . . . trochi**: Sat. 1. 5. 48, 2. 2. 11, 15; Od. 3. 24. 57. In the last two passages these games are spoken of with contempt, as fit only for Greeks, in comparison with the more manly Roman sports of riding and javelin throwing. Here Horace is taking things as they are without comment, and using the practice of the games only as an illustration.

381. **coronae**: Epp. 1. 18. 53.

**impune**, 'freely,' 'without blame'; a favourite word with Horace, and used with some freedom: Od. 1. 17. 5, 1. 31. 15, 4. 9. 33; Epod. 17. 59; Epp. 1. 5. 10, 2. 1. 150, 2. 2. 105; A. P. 210.

382. Question is raised as to the punctuation. Bentl., followed by Ritter and Munro, put a comma after 'nescit versus.' It is perhaps better with Dill$^{r}$. to take it as an instance of the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* constr. (see on Od. 1. 3. 6), 'versus fingere' being the complement of both verbs. The effect is helped, not hindered, by the division of the two words between the two clauses.

**quidni**, 'why should he not?' It is simpler to treat it as an ironical answer of the poet's than with Orelli to change the subj., and supply 'audeam,' as though the poetaster spoke himself.

383. **liber** includes the 'libertinus' as well as the 'ingenuus,' 'free-born.'

**census equestrem summam**: the constr. is found in Cic. Flacc. 32. 80 'census es . . . centum triginta HS. milia'; for the 'equestris summa' see Epp. 1. 1. 58.

384. **vitio remotus ab omni**: as 'sine crimine' Epp. 1. 7. 56; 'thoroughly respectable.' Horace does not answer the plea which answers itself, but appeals to Piso not to act in its spirit.

385. **invita Minerva**: explained by Cicero de Off. 1. 31. 10 'nihil decet invita ut aiunt Minerva, id est adversante et repugnante Minerva'; see on Sat. 2. 2. 3. It is a repetition of the precept of vv. 38–40: 'you will not be like the crowd of scribblers, you will consult your capacity before you begin.'

Id tibi iudicium est, ea mens. Si quid tamen olim
Scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis aures
Et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
Membranis intus positis: delere licebit
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.
Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
Caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones;
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis,
Saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit haec sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,

386. **olim**, 'some day'; Sat. 1. 4. 137, and see on Epod. 3. 1.

387. **Maeci iudicis**: identified by the Scholiasts with the 'Tarpa iudex' of Sat. 1. 10. 38; see note there. He stands here for an experienced critic; 'descendat in aures' implies at a private reading. This reference to Maecius (see Introd. p. 332) has been used as an argument for the earlier date of the poem. Bentley took the words as not implying that Maecius was still alive; 'some Maecius as a critic.'

388. **nonum prematur in annum.** The meaning is well given by Quintilian 10. 4. 2 'Nec dubium est optimum emendandi genus, si scripta in aliquod tempus reponuntur ut ad ea post intervallum velut nova atque aliena redeamus, ne nobis scripta nostra tanquam recentes fetus blandiantur.' So in his dedicatory letter he says of himself as having followed the advice of Horace, 'qui in arte poetica suadet ne praecipitetur editio.' The Scholiasts imagine a reference to the story (Catull. 94. 1) of Cinna's spending nine years on his Zmyrna, but this is not exactly what Horace recommends.

389. **membranis**: see on Sat. 2. 3. 2; parchment was used apparently for the author's 'fair copy.'

390. **vox missa**: cp. Epp. 1. 20. 6 'Non erit emisso reditus tibi.'

391–407. 'Poetry had always a high calling, to civilize, to inspirit, to help and solace; you need not be ashamed of it.' Cp. the account of the uses of the poet in Epp. 2. 1. 124. The purpose now is to reinforce the plea which he is urging for making the composition of poetry a serious business.

391. **silvestres homines.** For Horace's picture of the savage state cp. Sat. 1. 3. 99 f.

**sacer**: Acr. quotes Virgil's description of Orpheus Aen. 6. 645 'Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos.'

393. **rabidosque**: the epithet belonging to both substantives; see on Od. 1. 30. 6. 'Rabidos' is the reading of V and B: the majority of other MSS. have 'rapidos,' which Keller defends. The same question arises in Lucr. 4. 712 'leones,' 5. 840 'canes'; but Lachmann and Munro read in each case 'rabidi'; see also Conington on Virg. G. 2. 151.

393–394. **dictus . . . dictus**, both emphatic. The repeated word links together the two legends, which he rationalizes into expression of the civilizing power of poetry. For Amphion see Od. 3. 11. 2.

395. **blanda**: cp. Od. 1. 12. 11.

396. **fuit haec sapientia.** 'They (the poets) were the philosophers of those early times, when philosophy meant the first lessons of civilization.' Cp. Cicero's address to philosophy, Tusc. D. 5. 2. 5 'Tu urbes peperisti, tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitae convocasti, tu eos inter se primo domiciliis, deinde coniugiis, tum litterarum et vocum communione iunxisti, tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum et disciplinae fuisti.'

397. **publica privatis secernere**: that is, to institute private property.

**sacra profanis**: contrast 'miscebis sacra profanis' Epp. 1. 16. 54.

Concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exacuit; dictae per carmina sortes;
Et vitae monstrata via est; et gratia regum
Pieriis temptata modis; ludusque repertus
Et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori
Sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.
Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
Quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.
Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
Abstinuit Venere et vino: qui Pythia cantat
Tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.

398. **maritis,** 'married persons.'

399. **incidere ligno,** i. e. to take the first rude steps towards fixedness of law. For the Athenian wooden tables of laws see Lidd. and Scott, s. vv. *κύρβεις*, *ἄξονες*.

400. **divinis**: pred. 'as divine.'

401. **insignis,** with **post hos.** The point is that the poetry of Homer, who ranks only after the mythic semi-divine poets, was also of practical use.

402. **Tyrtaeus,** who according to the story was sent from Athens to aid the Spartans in the second Messenian wars.

404. **vitae monstrata via est**: he speaks of didactic poetry as of Hesiod, gnomic poetry as of Solon, Theognis, etc.

**gratia regum**: as Pindar courted the favour of Hiero, Thero, etc.

405. **ludus . . . operum finis,** probably with special reference to the drama; cp. Epp. 2. 1. 139 f.

406. **ne forte**: probably not an imperative clause but a final, giving the motive of the preceding recital of the beneficent part played by poetry. 'All this is to prevent your ever being ashamed,' etc. See on v. 176.

408–415. Horace poses the old question of the poet 'nascitur' or 'fit?' and solves it in the usual way, that he needs both natural gifts and the training of art; but as the illustrations show the point to be insisted on is the second. It was the one which he felt to be most overlooked by his countrymen.

409. **vena**: see on Od. 2. 18. 10.

410. **prosit.** This is the reading of all the best MSS. against 'possit,' which was brought into the text by Bentley. The two words are often confused in MSS. (cp. Od. 1. 26. 10, where also Bentl. reads 'possunt'). 'Possit' is, as he says, rather the more pointed.

412 f. Compare St. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. 24 f.

413. **puer,** 'while still a boy.' One who aims at success in athletic contests begins his training in early life.

414. **Pythia cantat.** This is variously taken (1) after the construction of 'coronari Olympia' Epp. 1. 1. 50, of one who takes part in the contest in flute-playing at the Pythian games; (2) of the *Πυθαύλης* = *ὁ τὰ Πύθια αὐλῶν* (Liddell and Scott, s. v.) or player chosen to play the piece in honour of Apollo's victory over the Python. This last is the Scholiast's explanation.

Nunc satis est dixisse: 'Ego mira poëmata pango;
Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui,
Et quod non didici sane nescire fateri.'
Ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
Assentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poëta
Dives agris, dives positis in fenore nummis.
Si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit
Et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere atris
Litibus implicitum, mirabor si sciet inter-
Noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.
Tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
Nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
Laetitiae; clamabit enim 'Pulchre! bene! recte!'
Pallescet super his, etiam stillabit amicis
Ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.
Ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt

416. **nunc**, 'in these days.' This is the reading of all the better MSS. and the only reading known to the Scholiasts; 'hoc tempore,' Acr.; 'satis est nostris poetis,' Comm. Cruq. Bentley would read, with some slender MS. support, 'Nec'; he is followed by Orelli and Munro.

417. **occupet extremum scabies**: 'plague take the last' Con. The Scholiast explains that this was a familiar expression of boys racing in play. For another such 'puerorum nenia' see Epp. 1. 1. 59.

418. **sane**, ironical, 'to confess that actually I don't know.' See on Epp. 1. 15. 5.

419–437. 'Remember that it is especially difficult for a wealthy man who writes poetry to find critics who will tell him the truth about his verses.'

421. The same verse occurs in Sat. 1. 2. 13.

422. **unctum recte ponere**, 'to serve a dainty dinner as it should be served'; for 'unctum' see on Epp. 1. 14. 21, 1. 15. 44, 1. 17. 12; for 'ponere' cp. Sat. 2. 2. 23, 2. 4. 14, 2. 6. 64, 2. 8. 91. Persius imitates both the whole passage (1. 52 f.) and this phrase 'calidum scis ponere sumen.'

423. **levi**: 'tenui et egenti' Acr.

**atris**: the reading of all MSS. of value and of Acr., who interprets 'noxiis, tristibus'; cp. 'atrae curae' Od. 4. 11. 35. Bentley's conj. 'artis,' 'the close toils of the law,' is ingenious and suits 'implicitum,' and has been accepted by K. and H. as a correction not absolutely necessary of the 'archetype.' Lucr. 5. 1146 'arta iura' would be analogous, though not exactly the same figure.

424. **inter-noscere**: for the division cp. Epp. 2. 2. 93.

425. **beatus**, 'happy fellow!' ironical; cp. Epp. 2. 2. 108.

427. **tibi factos**: cp. 'tibi pugnata' (if that is the constr.) Epp. 1. 16. 25.

429. **super his**, 'over (i.e. about) these verses.' See on Epp. 2. 2. 24. He will in appearance go through the whole cycle of emotions, of fear, sorrow, joy.

430. **saliet**. So Persius, of affected enthusiasm at a recitation, 1. 82 'Trossulus exultat tibi per subsellia,' where Conington quotes Quintil. 2. 2. 12 'at nunc proni atque succincti ad omnem clausulam non exsurgunt modo verum etiam excurrunt et cum indecora exsultatione exclamant.'

431. Horace is imitating Lucilius (27. 18) 'Ut mercede quae conductae flent alieno in funere Praeficae multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis.' The masc. **qui conducti** has been suspected, but is to be explained as generalizing the statement beyond the 'praeficae' or 'hired female mourners.' See Becker's Gallus, exc. to sc. xii.

Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis
Et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant,
An sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes
Nunquam te fallant animi sub volpe latentes.
Quintilio si quid recitares, 'Corrige sodes
Hoc,' aiebat, 'et hoc:' melius te posse negares
Bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat
Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,

433. **derisor**: used in Sat. 2. 6. 54 of one who laughs in his sleeve while he says what he does not mean.

434–437. 'They tell us kings want to see a man drunk ("in vino veritas") as well as sober before they feel sure that he is well affected.' It would seem as though Horace was going to make the analogy complete by saying 'you have only tried your panegyrist when he is drunk, full of your good dinners and generosity ("inter lances mensasque nitentes Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus" Sat. 2. 2. 4): can you try him, like them, under the opposite conditions?' But the exact parallelism, if it was in his mind, is dropped, and he concludes with an Aesopean turn, 'if you write verses and some one praises you, look to your fox's motive.'

435. **torquere mero**: Epp. 1. 8. 38 'vino tortus.' See on Od. 3. 21. 13.

**perspexisse**: for tense see on Od. 3. 4. 51.

436. **condes**: Epp. 1. 3. 24.

437. **animi sub volpe latentes.** 'Sub volpe' is under a cunning exterior. If there is reference to a particular fable the Comm. Cruq. is no doubt right in suggesting the Fox and the Crow (Phaedr. 1. 13), for it was the praise of the Crow's looks and the prospective praise of his voice that made him drop the cheese, but the suggestion of a fable which is not distinctly realized is in Horace's way.

**fallant**: the reading of B, supported by Acr.; 'they will not, I am sure, take you in.'

438. **Quintilio**: see on Od. 1. 24. The tenses here show that he is dead. Cp., with the picture of him here as the faithful critic, the characteristics attributed to him in the Odes, 'incorrupta fides nudaque veritas.'

**si recitares . . . aiebat.** Cp. Epp. 1. 16. 46 'si dicat . . . aio,' and see on Sat. 1. 3. 5 'si peteret.' There is no sense of impossibility or denied condition: it is 'si recites,' 'supposing you read,' thrown into past time: the apodosis is put unconditionally.

**sodes**: Sat. 1. 9. 41; Epp. 1. 1. 62, 1. 7. 15, 1. 16. 31.

439. **negares**, i. e. 'si negares.'

440. **bis terque**: see above on v. 358, Epod. 5. 33.

441. **male tornatos.** Emended ingeniously, but unacceptably, by Bentl. to 'ter natos'; 'after three unsuccessful births.' He allows that either the lathe or the anvil by itself is an habitual figure for the production of poetry; the first of its neat finish (from Aristophanes' τὰ δὲ τορνεύσει Thesm. 54 to Propertius' 'augusto versus includere torno' 2. 25. 43); the second of the rougher process of original composition; see Ov. Trist. 1. 7. 29 'Ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud, Defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis.' Fea, who has treated this point most elaborately, shows that there is no inherent difficulty, as Bentley thought, in the combination of the two. He proves that metal work was turned. Horace will then say, 'if the turning has been done badly, send the piece of metal back to the fire and hammer, and recommence the process.' Fea quotes from Symmachus (4th cent.) Epp. 1. 4, a complete parallel, 'illa [epigrammata] bono metallo cusa torno exigi nescierunt.'

442. **vertere**, 'to alter.'

Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem
Quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertes,
Culpabit duros, incomptis allinet atrum
Traverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
Arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
Fiet Aristarchus; non dicet: 'Cur ego amicum
Offendam in nugis?' Hae nugae seria ducent
In mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget

443. **nullum verbum insumebat . . . quin**: Sat. 2. 3. 42 'nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam.'

444. **sine rivali . . . amares**: Cic. ad Q. Fr. 3. 8. 4 'O dii, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali!'

445. **vir bonus et prudens**: see on Epp. 1. 16. 32. It is characteristic of this Epistle that the moral phrases familiar in the earlier ones have now their application to the composition and criticizing of literary work. See p. 335.

**inertes**: see on Epp. 1. 20. 12, 2. 2. 126.

446. **duros**: see on Sat. 1. 4. 8 of Lucilius, 'durus componere versus.'

**incomptis**: cp. 'incultis' of Choerilus' verses in Epp. 2. 1. 233.

**atrum**. Not only because the ink was black and the lines scored strongly, but also in the metaphorical sense = 'triste' as the 'nigrum theta' of the judges' mark of condemnation, Pers. 4. 13.

447. **traverso**: 'in transversum ducto' Comm. Cruq. The words are generally explained of a mark similar to that which was placed by critics opposite suspected verses and called from its shape ὄβελος, 'alter Aristarchus hos [versiculos] ὀβελίζω' Cic. Fam. 9. 10. See Liddell and Scott, s. v.

**ambitiosa**. The Scholiasts interpret 'superflua,' in which case the adj. as well as verb would be parallel to 'luxuriantia compescet' Epp. 2. 2. 102. But Quintilian uses the word of affected ways of appealing to admiration, as 12. 10. 40 'id esse affectationis et ambitiosae in loquendo iactationis,' and 11. 1. 49, of an orator who in pleading a case of life and death uses a florid style with metaphors and tricks of art, 'ambitiosum institorem eloquentiae.'

449. **arguet**, 'convict.'

450. **Aristarchus**: the great Homeric critic, who lived at Alexandria in the 2nd century B. C. His name has become proverbial. So Cicero in the passage quoted on v. 447. Cp. also ad Att. 1. 14 'meis orationibus quarum tu Aristarchus es.'

**non**: the MSS. are divided between 'non' and 'nec.' I follow Bentley, Orelli, and Munro.

452. **derisum semel exceptumque sinistre**, 'one that has once been fooled (cp. "derisor" v. 433) and given this illstarred reception,' i. e. praised for bad verses. This is the interpretation of the Scholiasts and is that given by Lambinus, and recent editors have returned to it. Orelli would take the words of the poet's being laughed down and damned by the public. This however gives a less easy connection with what follows; the 'mala' of this verse are to be found in the picture, which begins in v. 453, of what the habit of writing bad verses unchecked by criticism ends in. This is spoilt by the insertion of a bad reception of his play in the theatre, or of his poem by the public. From Horace's point of view at the moment this would be not a misfortune, but another chance of his salvation.

453–456. 'There is no more chance for him. Mad in selfconceit, he is like a man with some dreaded malady; every man of sense gets out of his way, boys tease him, and fools make his train.'

453. **morbus regius**, the jaundice. Horace may have supposed it to be infectious, or he may mean that the unnatural colour which it causes would frighten people. The name is a tech-

Aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,
Vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poëtam
Qui sapiunt; agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.
Hic, dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
Si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
In puteum foveamve, licet, 'Succurrite,' longum
Clamet, 'Io cives!' non sit qui tollere curet.
Si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,
'Qui scis an prudens huc se proiecerit atque
Servari nolit?' dicam, Siculique poëtae
Narrabo interitum. Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
Insiluit. Sit ius liceatque perire poëtis:
Invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti.

nical one, which Celsus explains (3. 24) by the fact that the patient was treated like a king, ordered luxuries and amusements, everything 'per quae mens exhilaretur.'

454. **fanaticus**: not probably in its original sense, as though he were distinguishing the frenzy of the votaries of Cybele or Bellona ('fanaticus oestro Percussus, Bellona, tuo' Juv. S. 4. 123), from the frenzy of the 'moonstruck.'

457. **sublimis**, 'head-in-air'; see on Epp. 2. 1. 165, and above v. 165. Cp. also Od. 1. 1. 36, though there it is not meant as caricature.

458. Cp. the form of madness described in Sat. 2. 3. 56–60. There is a story in Plat. Theaetet. p. 174 of Thales, in a fit of philosophical abstraction, falling into a well.

459. **succurrite**: cp. the cry of the lame beggar, Epp. 1. 17. 61.

**longum**: like Homer's *μακρὸν ἀΰτεῖν*, so as to make the voice travel far.

461. **si curet quis**: the collocation of 'curet' gives it emphasis and so points the connection with v. 460; 'if any one *does* care,' etc.

462. **prudens**: knowing what he was about.

**proiecerit**: the MSS. are divided between this and 'deiecerit,' which K. and H. give.

463. **Siculi poëtae**: Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily; Epp. 1. 12. 20.

464. **deus immortalis haberi**: a verse of his is quoted, *χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.*

465. **dum cupit**. See on Epp. 1. 18. 8.

**ardentem frigidus**: the verbal contrast, common in some poets even in serious passages (as in Sophocles, e. g. Oed. Col. 621 *ἵν' οὑμὸς εὕδων καὶ κεκρυμμένος νέκυς | ψυχρός ποτ' αὐτῶν θερμὸν αἷμα πίεται*), is here meant in jest. The meaning of 'frigidus' is less certain. Too much meaning must never be looked for in such contrasts. The Scholiasts refer it to a doctrine of his own, that coldness of blood near the heart was the cause of stupidity, so that it is as they say equivalent to 'stultus.' See Conington on Virg. G. 2. 484 'Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis.' This is however to read too much into the words. Others take it for 'in cold blood,' an unsupported sense of 'frigidus.' Düntzer thinks it means merely 'one cold day,' 'to warm himself,' and Schütz comes to the same conclusion.

466. **sit ius**. From here to the end is a series of ironical suggestions which Horace represents himself as addressing to one and another who would rescue the poet. 'You should never save a man against his will. It is quite useless, he is bent on gaining fame at least by his death. This visitation of verse-writing may be the punishment for some mysterious crime. At any rate he is mad, and wants to recite, and you may as well face a bear escaped from his cage. If he catches you he will stick to you like a leech till he has drained your blood.'

467. **idem facit occidenti**: the

Nec semel hoc fecit, nec si retractus erit iam
Fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.
Nec satis apparet cur versus factitet, utrum
Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
Moverit incestus: certe furit, ac velut ursus,
Obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clathros,
Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo,
Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

dative with 'idem' is a Grecism. Lucretius has it 3. 1038 'eadem aliis'; see Munro i. l., and cp. Madv. 247 b, obs. 8. This is noticed as the only spondaic hexameter in Horace.

468. **iam**: 'then and there,' 'when you get to that point'; the use commented on by Munro on Lucr. 1. 600, 613, 2. 314, 426.

469. **homo**: an ordinary human being.

**famosae**, 'notorious.'

470. **factitet**: the doubly frequentative form means 'with such persistence': cp. 'dictito' Epp. 1. 16. 22, 2. 1. 27.

471. **bidental**: a place which had been struck by lightning and which became 'sacrum.'

**triste**: Od. 2. 13. 11 'triste lignum.'

472. **moverit**, 'disturbed.'

**incestus**: see above on v. 207. Cp. Od. 3. 2. 30.

474. **indoctum doctumque**: Epp. 2. 1. 117.

475. **occiditque legendo**: Epod. 14. 5.

476. **hirudo**, 'a very leech, that will not,' etc.

# APPENDIX.

## ARS POETICA, SATIRES, EPISTLES.

### COLLATION OF MS. IN LIBRARY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD (*continued*).

### [*DE ARTE POETICA.*]

(No original heading.) See vol. i. p. 405.

Line 6. tabule. 7. egri. uane. 9. Reddantur forme. 10. equa. 11. erasure after scimus. 13. serpentaes. 20. expers. 21. cepit. 24. pater (omitted, added above). 29. last three letters of variare erased and added above. 34. last three letters of operis erased and added above. 38. equam. 47. egregiae (originally egregia). 49. rerum et. 50. In cinctutis (the letters *nc* are erased). 53. cadant. 55. uaroque . . . adquirere. 59. presente. 61. first *u* of uetus added above. 63. sterilisque. 72. uis. 78. Gramatici. 80. coturni. 87. sine queo. 89. non uult. 91. caena tyeste. 94. comedia. 96. Thelephus. 97. Proicit (erasure between first *i* and *c*). 98. curas (altered from curat?) 101. assunt. 102. uultus. 103. ledent. 105. mestum. 106. uultum. 110. merore. 114. second letter of divus erased, *a* written above. 116. Fevidus (*r* added above). an matrona potens (erasure before an). 118. Cholchus. 122. negat (?) (*a* partly erased). nichil. 125. scene. 130. si (omitted, added above). 136. ciclius (second *c* above). 141. michi. 145. caripdin (erasure between *p* and *d*). 146. reditum (erasure between *e* and *d*). *m* omitted in Meleagri and added above. 152. Primo non medium. 154. aulea. 163. monitoribusque. 168. quod permutare. 181. et que. 182. trahit. 187. cathmus. 188. Quodcumque. 190. uult. 195. hereat. 196. que (omitted, erasure after faueat). 202. iuncta tubeque. 204. aspirare. 207. cohibat. 208. coepit. 221. satẏros (*y* dotted throughout). 222. temptavit. 237. nichil . . . an audax. 238. Pithias. 245. pene. 246. umquam. 247. inmunda.

250. donantque. 255. paulum. 258. cederet (erasure of two letters between *e* and *d*). 263. inmodulata. 264. est (omitted, added above by a later hand). 268. greca. 275. camene. 277. fecibus. 278. honeste. 279. Aeschinus. 280. coturno. 285. intemptatum. 287. caelebrare. 289. clarisuae. 291. poearum (*r* erased and added above). 294. Perfectum decies (the latter word written above an erasure). unguen. 296. elicone. 297. unguis. 300. numquam. 301. leuus. 302. purgo (followed by an erasure of one letter). 305. exors. 310. socratice . . . carte. 312. patre (*i* added above). 319. iocis. 322. nugeque canore. 326. partis. 328. poterat. heu. 330. ad haec. 332. caedro. 334. iocunda. 336. perciant (*pi* added above). 339. ne . . . poscet. 340. extrahet. 342. pretereunt . . . ranes. 348. corda. uult. 349. persepe. 350. quodcumque. 356. corda . . . oberret. 357. michi . . . cherilus. 358. terque. 359. domitat (*r* above). 360. opere in longo. 362. quedam. 371. Mesale . . . Casellius. 373. non homines, non dii. 374. simphonia. 376. caena. 381. spisse. 385. nichil. 386. iudicium sit. 387. Meci. 392. cedibus. 394. conditor urbis. 396. Dicere (*u* above). 400. honos. 402. dirceusque. 405. temptata. 410. psit (?). 414. pithia cantet. 416. nunc. 417. relinqui (*est* omitted). 419. preco. 428. recte bene. 435. laborent (*a* above). 437. fallent (*a* above) . . . uulpe. 447. Transuerso. 451. nuges (*i* above). 452. dirisum. 455. figiuntque (*a* above). 456. secuntur. 461. dimittere. 462. Qui sciet. 464. inmortalis. 465. ethnam. 468. facit. 473. clatros. 476. After this line follows the subscription :—

Horatii Flacci de Arte Poetica explicit; then (in red ink) Incipit Epodon ad Mecenatem, etc.

Then follow the Epodes and Carmen Saeculare.

Then Incipit Sermonum Lib. I ad Mecenatem.

## [SATIRES.

### BOOK I.]

#### [I.]

Line 1. mecenas (*ut* above the line). 2. obicerit (*e* above). 9. laudat (erasure between *a* and *t*). 10. hostia. 16. uultis. 22. prebeat. 23. Preterea. 27. queramus. 29. nauteque. 34. cervo (*a* added above). 35. haut. 39. Dimoueat . . . hiemps. 40. te (omitted, *a* added above). 48. nichilo. 54. ut uini si sit liquidi (*uini* by a later hand?). 55. cyato . . . mallem. 59. tantillo (*o* originally *i*). 62. fis. 65. contempnere.

66. michi. 72. et pictis. 74. holus. 79. optarem. 80. temptatum. 81. afflixit. 83. ac reddat natis. 84. uult. 86. cum tu. 88. At. 90. perdes (but *e* in different ink). 91. In campum. 95. Umidius. 97. umquam melius servo. 99. at (omitted, added above). 101. neuius. 105. ueselli. 108. nemon ut (*qui* omitted). 115. suis. 116. Preteritum tempnens. 118. etacto (*ex* above).

## [II.]

(No break or heading.)

Line 2. mime. 3. mestum. 14. exigit (but the word has been altered). 19. questu. hoc vix. 20. terentii. 25. Malchinus. 27. hyrcum. 40. sepe. 42. cesus. 43. Predonum hic (omitted). 49. mechatur. at (added in the text in later hand). 51. munificum. 52. dampno. 55. marseus. 56. mime. 57. umquam. 60. quicquid (erasure before it). 63. peccesue. 64. sille. 68. muttonis . . . uidenti. 73. repugnantiaque. 76. Inmiscere. 77. peniteat. 78. sectari matronas . . . labores. 81. Sit licet O cherinthe tuum. 84. ne si quid. 85. querit. 86. Large initial R, no fresh heading. 87. sepe. 90. linceis. 91. Contemplare . . . ipsea. 93. Depygis. 96. petes (omitted). 101. chois . . . pene. 111. statuit. 113. soldo (erasure between *l* and *d*). 114. queris. 116. rombumque. 118. tentigene. 119. erasure between non and ego. 121. filodemus. 124. det. 125. leuum. 127. nec metuo . . . furuo. 130. Dissiliat.

## [III.]

Line 3. numquam. 4. cesar. 7. erasure before citaret. io bache. 8. cordis. IIII (for quattuor). 9. sepe ducentes (altered to ducentos). 10. omitted. 12. sepe. 18. umquam. 21. Menius. 23. menius. 27. Quam ut. 31. taga. 32. heret. 33. ingenium (omitted). 37. filex. 38. prevertamur . . . amice. 39. cecum. 40. agne. 45. petum. 47. Sisiphus. 53. Callidior. 64. mecenas. 65. equum est. 74. ilius. 77. herentia. 79. cohercet. 85. habeare insanus. 89. istorias. 90. Conminxit. 92. ante me. 93. iocundus. 96. Large red capital to Quis. parua (altered to paria ?). 98. equi. 99. prerepserunt. 105. caeperunt. 106. Neu quis. 110. cedebat (*in* omitted). 116. hosti. 118. penas. 120. cedas. 127. Crisyppus. 128. quo. 134. coherces. 139. Preter . . . michi.

[IV.]

Line 2. comedia. 9. in ora sepe. 15. dentur nobis locus et hora. 16. posset. 18. pauca. 19. hyrcinis. 23. uulgo. 25. erue (in erasure, elige above). 34. Fenum. 36. quodcumque . . . cartis. 37. gestiet (erasure between *i* and *e*). 39. poetas. 45. comedia. 46. quesivere. 49. seuit. 56. pacto (omitted). 58. uerbum (omitted, erased?). 59. preponens. 64. queram. 65. fulgius (altered from sulcius?). 68. contempnat. 69. celi byrrique. 70. fulgi. 77. erasure before iuvat. haut. 78. ledere. 79. Inquis. 84. comissa. 87. auet. 88. prebet. 92. rufillas holet . . . hyrcum. 93. Si qua. 100. lolliginis. 101. Erugo . . . cartis. 103. Possum aliquid. 104. michi. 105. insevit. 109. albii ut male uiuat etque (filius omitted). 110. Barus. 114. trebonii. 119. etas. 121. siue uigebat. 123. obiciebat. 124. factũ (factum). 126. ut egros. 128. obprobria sepe. 132. etas (letter erased before liber). 134. mihi (omitted). 137. Inprudens. 138. otii. 139. Incubo cartis. 141. auxilioque. 143. Iudei.

[V.]

Line 3. Grecorum lingue . . . appii. 6. Precinctis. 9. expectans. 10. celo. 11. conuitia. 15. abensentem cantat. 24. foeronia. 26. Inpositum. 27. mecenas. 30. colliria lyppus. 31. mecenas. 40. uarus sinuesse uirgiliusque. 44. iocundo. 47. capue. 48. uirgiliusque. 49. lyppis. 51. michi. 52. pugnas . . . cicerri. 55. extat. 57. feri (first written fieri, *i* erased). 60. minitaris. 61. leui. 64. traicis . . . coturnis. 65. cicerrus . . . querebat. 67. Nichilo . . . domine. 70. iocunde. 72. igne. 75. cenam. 86. redis. 93. hic uarus . . . mestus. 97. dehinc gra(tia) lymphis. 100. iudeus. 104. longe carteque uieque est.

[VI.]

Line 1. mecenas lidorum quicquid etruscus. 4. inperitarent. 6. aut me. 10. saepe (*sic*). 11. multis et honoribus. 12. leuinum. 13. pulsus fuit. 16. seruat. 19. leuino. 24. tulli. 29. audit (originally aut) quis homo hic · aut quo patre natus. 30. egrotet . . . uarrus. 31. Et cupiat. 32. Initiat . . . querendo. 37. cogat. 38. siry dame. 41. paulus. 42. messala . . . plostra. 48. michi. 55. Uirgilius · uarus post hunc. 59. stiriano. 62. magnum ego duco. 64. preclaro. 66. alioquin. 67. insparsos . . . neuos. 68. ac mala lustra. 70. conlaudem. 74. Leuo. 75. era (aere, *a* erased?). 78. senet. 80. preberi . . . michi credidit. 84. ob-

probrio. 87. ad hoc nunc. 89. peniteat ac. 99. haut. 102. peregre aut. 106. aeques. 107. tulli. 108. secuntur. 109. enophorumque. 111. quacum. 112. Incaedo . . . ac fac. 116. caena. 117. cyato . . . astat. 120. marsia. 121. Uultum. 124. inmundus. 126. fugio rabiosi tempora signi. 131. fuissent.

## [VII.] In Rypilium Regem Praenestinum.

Line 8. Sisennas uares. 9. nichil. 10. sunt (omitted). 17. pulchrior. 20. cum bito bachius. 28. salso multumque fluenti. 29. conuitia. 30. sepe. 31. cuculum (second *l* above). 32. grecus. 34. censueris.

## Egloga VIII.

Line 4. cohercet. 6. inportunas. 7. in ortis. 10. sepulchrum. 11. momentanoque. 13. sequerentur. 17. suete. 19. que. 26. aspectu. 32. ut que. 41. Umbre. 48. Canidie . . . sagane. 49. at incantata.

## [IX.] Egloga X.

Line 3. Occurrit. 6. adsectaretur. 8. querens. 9. otius. 16. Prosequar. nichil opus est te (te in erasure). 18. ortos. 20. inique. 22. non uiscum (in erasure). 23. uarum. 35. ueste. 36. tunc (in erasure). 39. haud noui. 42. precedere (*est* omitted). 43. mecenas. 48. summosse omnes (*s* added by later hand). 55. expugnabit. 58. queram. 65. pressare. 68. meliori. 69. sabata. 70. cur iudeis obpedere . . . michi. 72. huncinne. 75. quo turpissime. 76. exclamat.

## [X.] Egloga XI.

*Lucili* . . . *illuc* (omitted). Line 2. Luci (*li* in later hand). inepti est. 5. num sic. 7. deducere. 11. sepe. 12. rehtoris. 16. comedia. 18. umquam. 27. latini. 28. exudat publicola. 35. grecorum . . . cateruas. 36. mennona. 37. Diffingit. 38. ede. 39. spectata. 45. Uergilio adnuerunt. 46. attacino. 49. Herentem. 52. nichil. 53. accii. 54. minoris. 56. lucilii. 57. querere. 61. caenatus. 77. arbustula. 80. ledat. 81. mecenas uirgiliusque. 86. bibuli. simul is. 88. pretereo . . . sint qualia cumque. 89. Adridere. 90. demetrique. 92. hoc.

Sermonum Lib. I Expl. Incip. Lib. II.

## [BOOK II.]

### [I.]

Line 5. prescribe. 15. describit uulnera. 19. adtentam. 21. ledere. 22. nomentanumue. 34. an apalus (*u* above). 35. erat. 43. michi. 49. turias (*u* above). si quis se iudice certet. 50. atque (*u* above). 53. sceue. 59. exul. 65. lelius et qui. 66. kartagine. 67. leso . . . metallo. 72. lelii. 74. holus. soliti erant quicquid ego sum. 75. Intra (*t* altered to *f*) lucilii. 77. querens inlidere. 79. diffingere. 80. negotii. 82. uis est. 84. laudatur cesare. 85. Obprobriis.

### [II.] Egloga II.

Line 1. bonis. 2. quem. ofellus. 4. nitentis. 5. Addinis (acclinis above). 7. inpransi. 8. exanimat. 11. adsuetum grecari. 13. aigit. 14. extulerit. 15. nisi (omitted). hymetia. 16. promos (*u* above). 17. hyemat. 27. pertineat quicquam. num (omitted). 29. nichil hac magis illa. 30. te patet. 32. hyet. 35. quid. 38. uulgaria. 40. arpyis. 41. Presentes. 44. mauult. 47. accipensere. 48. rhombus (*o* above). 53. (Large red initial to Sordidus). ofello (letter erased after *f*). 56. adheret. 60. repotia (letter erased before *t*). 65. qui. 67. dedit (*i* above). 68. seuus . . . neuius. 71. Adferat. inprimis. 73. olim (omitted, added above). 74. conchilia. 76. Lencta. 77. Caena desurgit. 79. adfigit . . . aure. 86. inbecilla. 87. mollitiam. 88. ualitudo. 89. non qui (*a* above). 96. una (omitted). 99. Aes . . . trauius. 112. puerum. 114. meato (*t* above). 116. et diluce. 117. holus. 121. hedo. 126. seuiat. 127. partius. 129. erum. 132. uiuatior heres.

### [III.] Egloga IIII.

Line 4. ab ipsis. 7. inmeritusque. 9. uultus. 10. coepisset. uuillulla. 13. placere. 14. Contempnere. est (omitted). 20. Excusus. 21. Sysiphus. 22. infabre (omitted and added above). 30. modicum. 33. uerum. 34. precepta. 39. quicquid . . . in quid. 41. erit (omitted). 44. Cecum . . . crisyppi. 48. tibi. 50. utrisque. 52. nichilo. 54. nichilum. 56. uarium et nilo. 57. fluuioque ruentes. 61. edormiit. 62. uulgum. 68. presens. 71. ptheus. 72. in ius (omitted, in iura above). 74. et contra. 80. mentis (repeated). 84. sepulchro. 86. Damnatii . . . . arrii. 92. nichil. 93. minus

(omitted, added above). 94. enim omnis. 97. sapiensne etiam rex. 100. Grecus . . . proicere (? *r* and following letters partly erased). 101. lybia. 102. honus. 103. soluit. 104. cytharas. 105. cytharae . . . muse. 116. nichil. 119. attinearum. archa. 125. undere. 126. inpexa. 127. peiuras (*r* above). 129. seruos uetuas (*o* above). 132. tu (omitted). 137. tute. 139. pladen (*i* above). 142. Pauper argenti positi intus et auri opimius. 143. uegentanum. 145. hores. 149. pluris. 152. uigilia. 153. uene . . . nisibus. 155. tysanarium orice. 156. empte. 162. eger. est (omitted). 166. enim (written by later hand in erasure). balathrone. 169. diuisisse. 170. dixisse duobus (uocatis above : erasure before dixisse). 171. aule (originally aude?). 173. tyberi. 178. cohercet. 179. Preterea. 180. edilis. 181. pretor. 183. spatiare (*a* altered to *e*). aut eneus. 188. quero . . . equam. 189. ac sic cui. 194. totiens. 196. sepulchro. 204. ulixem. 205. herentes . . . nauis. 210. nichilum distabat. 211. inmeritos dum. 212. inanis. 213. vitio (omitted). 215. gnate. 216. pusillam. 219. natam (*g* above). 221. sceleratus est. 222. coepit. 223. circumtotuit (tonuit above). 226. patrimonii. 239. esopi. 240. exsorberet acoeto. 247. mores (*u* above). 250. Sic. 251. quicquam. 252. luda (originally lauda?: *s* added above). 253. quero. 254. palemon. 255. cubitale. 256. carpisse. 257. inpransi. 261. heret. 264. Exclusum. 265. queris (altered to quae res). 269. ceca. 270. nichilo. 271. certa. 279. dampnabis. 283. Quiddam . . . mortis. 287. Chrisippus. 292. tyberi. medicusque laevarit. 300. dampnum. 303. abscisum demens cum portat. 309. Assummum. 312. quodcumque . . . mecenas. 313. Tanto dissimilem. 316. Belua. 317. tandem sufflans si. 318. num tanto.

### [IV.] Catium inducit luxuriosum caenarum precepta tradentem.

Line 2. uincunt. 3. Anitique. 4. leno. 5. Interpellarem. 8. cure. 9. tenues (omitted). 10. in hospes. 11. Ipse precepta. 16. elucidius. 21. salubris. 27. precordia. 28. Mitilus. 29. coho. 30. conchilia lune. 33. circeis . . . moriuntur. 41. inhertem. 43. summittit. 44. Fecundi . . . saectabitur. 46. quesita. 47. tantum (omitted). 51. subpones. 53. neuis (*r* added above). 55. uafaer . . . fece. 58. marcentes. 59. coclea. 60. illis. 61. inmorsus. 62. inmundis. 63. iussis (iuris above). 68. Coritioque. 69. uenefrane . . . oliue. 70. luco. 71. prestant . . . uenuncula. 73. fecem. 75. Concretum . . . catellis (*i* above). 76. Inmane. 80. cratere . . . adhesit. 92. Uultum. 94. fontis . . . remotes. 95. aurire . . . precepta.

## [V.]

Line 1. teresia. 4. paenates. 5. aspicere. 6. que (omitted after inops). 11. primum. 12. siue. 14. lares. 18. dame. 20. Pauperis. 25. preroso . . . amo. 31. gnatus. 32. aut (?) (erased). 33. Auricule. 35. michi. 38. fis. 44. thyni. 47. Celibis. 49. Heres . . . horco. 54. Caera. 56. ex (omitted) . . . couum (*r* above). 57. Corona (altered to Corano). 59. lerciade. 60. mihi magnus. 65. nassice. 71. delyrum. 76. Penelopem (altered to *ae*) . . . potiore. 78. nequiuere. 80. culine. 81. si (omitted, added above). 89. opere . . . inmoderatus. 90. ultra. 95. Obpositis . . . arem. 96. Inportunus. 100. quarte. 102. quamque. 103. inlacrimare. 104. uultum . . . sepulchrum. 105. extrue. 106. Ægregie . . . uicina (*i* above).

## [VI.] De Quiete agresti.

Line 2. aque. 4. Dii. 5. Maie. 10. ille. 11. mercennarius. 14. preter. 17. inlustrem satyris. 18. me (omitted, added above). 19. Autumnusque grauis libitine questus acerbe. 27. quid mihi. 31. mecenatem. 35. Rosscius. 36. scribe. 38. Inprimat . . . mecenas. 41. mecenas. 42. reda. 44. trex . . . siro. 48. Inuidie. 49. fortune. 54. Ad omnes Dii. 56. Predia cesar. 57. nichil . . . et (ut above). 58. silentii. 60. O rus quando ego aspiciam quando licebit. 62. iocunda. 63. pithagore. 65. ceneque. 67. ut cuique (erasure before ut). 68. inequales. 70. letius. 72. quod (omitted). 79. olym. 82. quesitis. 84. longe. 86. Frusta (orig. frustra?) . . . cena. 88. in orna. 91. uincere. 93. michi. 95. loeti. bene. 97. eui. 98. domo (omitted, added above) . . . exilit. 102. rubra. 104. caena. 105. esterna. 108. Continuatque nec dapes necnon uernaliter ipsis. 109. prelambens.

## [VII.] De iocunditate Decembris mensis et seruili licentia.

[The syllables of the word 'licentia' are written in red capitals at the ends of lines 2, 3, 4.]

Line 7. capessans. 8. sepe. 9. leua. 12. Munclior. 13. moecus rome. 17. in pirgum. 18. idem. 19. acrior (the letters *ri* erased.) ille. 20. iam (omitted before laxo.) 22. laudes. 26. quia (omitted) . . . heres. 27. ceno. 28. Rome. 30. caenam . . . holus. 33. Mecenas. 34. (erasure after fert.) otius. 36. Miluius . . . scurre. 43. dragmis.

45. Dumque . . . oedo. 46. coniunx. 48. incendit. 49. tergentis . . . caude. 52. forme. 55. lacerna (letter after *l* erased, *a* above). 56. quod (omitted). 57. pauere. 60. dimisit . . . erilis. 62. Matrone peccantes. 70. totiens. 73. Pretereo. 76. quater uindicta. 77. haut. priuat (?). 85. contempnere. 86. Fortes. 90. forabusque. 96. rutubeque. 97. pacideiani. 103. cenis. 107. epule . . . petite. 108. Inlusique. 110. uenit. 112. horram. 114. querens. 116. michi. 117. Otius.

## [VIII.]

Line 1. iuuet. 2. querenti. 4. dic. 5. pacauerit. 7. cene. 8. Rappula lactuce . . . lapsum. 9. fecula coha. 10. alter. 11. causape. 15. Cecuba. 16. erus . . . mecenas. 17. adpositis. 21–23. (Si memini . . . portius infra) are omitted. They are written on the margin at the top of the page. 24. simul. 30. porrexerit. 31. mellimela. 34. dampnose. 40. imis (but *s* added). 41. Conuiue . . . nichilum . . . lagaenis. 42. adfertur . . . murena. 46. sucis. 48. Dum quoquitur. 49. acoeto. 50. methimneam. 52. inlotos costillus. 53. maria remittet. 54. grauis aulea. 57. nichil. 70. Precincti. 73. dicis. 74. Aduerse. 80. Redde age deinceps (que added above after de). 81. Queris. 82. Quod si . . . dentur. 84. mutate. 87. Membra grauis. 88. albi. 91. palumbas (*e* above). 92. suavis. 94. nichil. 95. adflasset.

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# [EPISTLES.

## BOOK I.]

### [I.]

(No heading.)

Line 2. queris. 3. Mecenas. 5. additus (first *b* erased and *d* written above). 6. totiens. 7. michi. purgata . . . aure. 15. cumque. 16. fio (omitted). 17. uere. 18. fustim precepta. 19. michi. 27. his (omitted). 28. linceus. 29. contempnas lyppus. 31. chyragra. 32. quodam. 33. miseraque (originally miseroque). 34. hunc (omitted). 36. que. 50. contempnat. 53. querenda. 56. Leuo. 57, 58. (transposed). 58. desint. 60. aeneus. 62. est (omitted). 67. poe-

muta. 69. optat. 72. et fugiam que. 73. uulpes egroto. 80. foenore. 84. locus. 88. ait (omitted) . . . celibe. 90. uultus . . . pthea. 93. trimemis (*re* above). 95. Occurro . . . pexe. 96. tunice. 97. mecum. 101. puta (*s* added). sollempnia. 102. aegere. 103. pretore . . . merearum. 104. sectum (omitted). ab (originally *ob*).

[II.]

Line 3. quid utile (omitted). 4. Plenius . . . chrisippo. 5. detinet (erasure of a letter after first *e*). 6. paris. 7. Grecia . . . conlisa. 8. stulto . . . aestum. 9. precidere. 10. Quod . . . uiuet. 19. puides. 20. equor. 22. inmersabilis. 23. Sirerum . . . circe. 25. diua. 26. inmundus. 28. penelope . . . alcinoyque. 29. equo . . . iuentus. 31. strepidum cythare. 32. hominem. 34. cures. 38. ledunt oculum. 41. uiuendi qui recte. 42. expectat. 44. Queritur. 45. soluere (for silvae). 46. nichil. 48. febris. 52. picte tabule. 53. cythare. 54. est (erased, sit above). acessit. 61. penas. 64. aequum. 65. uiam quam. 70. strennuus.

[III.]

Line 1. horis. 3. uiuali. 4. terres. 9. ticius. 14. traica . . . desevit. 15. mihi (omitted). 16. querat. 21. Que . . . thima. 25. hedere. 29. patrie. 31. Quante . . . numatius. 33. Heu . . . heu. 36. uotica.

[IV.]

Line 1. candite. 6. dii. 7. Dii . . . dederunt (*u* altered to *a*). 9. Qum (*a* above). 10. fame. 11. crumina.

[V.]

Line 2. holes. 4. palustris. 6. ut imperium. 10. inpune. 11. erasure before tendere. 12. Quid. (last letter of fortunam erased). 15. (omitted, but added in margin by first hand). 17. prelia . . . inhertem. 23. Conruget (*n* altered to *r*) . . . cantarus. 26. septitiumque. 28. adsummam. 29. acria. 30. scribe (*re* added above).

[VI.]

Line 6. ditatis (*n* above). 9. is (an erasure before it). 11. Inprouisa. 17. mamor (*r* added above). 26. agrippe. 31. putes. 33. cibiratica . . . bithina. 35. que pars quadret. 40. clamides.

41. scene prebere. 42. queram . . . habeo (*b* added above). 44. clamidum. 49. prestat. 50. seuum. 51. fodiet. 53. is. 54. inportunus. 58. Gragilius. 62. cerite. 63. itacensis. 64. patrie. 65. minermus. 66. iocundum. 68. inperti.

## [VII.]

Line 3. Si me uiuere uis recteque uidere ualentem. 4. egro . . . egrotare. 5. Mecenas . . . colorque. 9. Adducet febris. 10. inlinet. 18. honustus. 19. libat . . . relinqus (*e* above). 20. quae (*q* followed by erasure, *od* above). 21. ingrato. 22. paratum. 24. prestabo. 28. cinare merere. 29. uulpecula. 34. conpellor (second *o* altered to *a*). 37. Sepe. 38. partius. 40. ulix (*is* above). 41. itace. 44. rome. 45. inbelle. 51. resecantem. 52. leue. 53. quere . . . quis (omitted and added by another hand). 55. uulteium. 56. Preconem. 57. querere . . . (*et* before *uti* erased). 58. la (re certo) (erasure after *la*). 61. caenam. 64. uulteium. 67. mercennaria. 70. si cenas hodie mecum me tibi ut libet ego. 71. i (omitted). 72. caenam. 73. sepe. 76. Rara. 84. preparat. 85. Inmoritur. 88. dampnis. 89. edes. 91. uultei. 92. michi. 93. michi.

## [VIII.]

Line 2. scribeque. 3. queret. nantem (*mi* added above). 5. contuderit (*d* erased, added above). 12. uenturus. 16. Preceptum auricolis.

## [IX.] Ad Claudium Neronem.

Line 6. agnovit (*c* above). me (omitted and added above). 9. proprie. 10. obprobria. 11. Fontis (*r* inserted) . . . premia.

## [X.] Ad Aristicum Fuscum Grammaticum.

Line 1. intellegit. 3. ad cetera pene. 4. quicquid. 8. queris. 9. fertis. 13. Ponendeque. 15. Est tibi. 17. furibundis. 19. libicis. 25. fastigia. 27. uellare. 28. dampnum. 30. secunde. 31. Mutate. 33. precurrere. 34. aequum. 37. uolens uictor (*i* above). 38. aequitem. 39. paupertatem . . . metallo. 46. ac consessare.

[XI.]

Line 2. (second quid omitted). 3. Zmyrna. 4. Cunctaque . . . pre. 14. prestantia. 16. egeum. 18. Penula. 19. tyberis. 20. uultum . . . begnum. 21. samus . . . chius . . . rhodus. 23. nec (last letter erased, *c* above).

[XII.]

Line 3. querellas. 4. subpetit. 12. aedit. 15. prauum. 20. Enpedecles. 21. cepe. 26. claudii. 27. prahates. 29. Italie.

[XIII.]

Line 2. uinni. 3. letus. 5. inportes. 6. forte (repeated). 8. inpingas asineque. 14. pyrria. 16. uolgo.

[XIV.]

Line 1. Villice . . . michi. 3. bono . . . bariam. 5. Euelles. 7. merentis. 12. inmeritum. 13. umquam. 14. petabas. 15. uillicus. 19. namque. 21. popine. 23. tus . . . una. 25. Quod possit. 32. docuere. 43. ephipia (second *p* above).

[XV.]

Line 1. hiemps uelie . . . celum. 2. et (omitted). 12. leua. 16. nichil mor (*or* above). 18. uenio. 21. amice. 22. pluris. 23. caelent. 24. pheaxque. 25. at credere. 26. Large coloured initial to Menius. 29. Inpransus. 30. obprobria. 31. baratrumque. 32. donarat (*b* above). 33. cenabat. 35. agnini. 41. pulchius. 42. Nimiy.

[XVI.]

Line 2. baccis. 3. Pomisne et pratis. 7. Leuum descendens. 8. benigne. 11. Dicat. 14. aptus et utilis. 23. Dissimulet. 30. poteris (*o* altered to *a*). 33. aut si. 38. coloris. 43. Quo responsore. 46. michi dicit. 49. negat atque. 53. nichil . . . pene. 55. subripis. 56. Dampnum. 58. Quandocumque. 59. (Second clare omitted). 61. iustum sanctumque. 63. quo liberior. 64. dimittit. 73–4. (transposed). 77. seuo.

[XVII.]

Line 1. sceua. 8. ledet. 14, 15. (transposed). 14. holus. 19. michi. 21. rerum. 28. ioca. 31. clamidem. 32. Retuleris (second *t* erased). 33. hostis. 38. peruenerit. 39. querimus. 44. feriunt. 45. an qui. 46. michi. 49. michi. 53. querit. 55. capellam (*p* erased and *t* written over). 57. dampnis . . . assit. 62. reclamet.

[XVIII.]

Line 2. prebere. 8. uult. 9. Urtus. 10. equo. 14. ut partes. 15. sepe. 17. michi. 19. docilis. 20. numici. 21. dampnosa. 22. unguit. 24. paupertas. 25. Sepe. 28. Uult. 31. cuicumque. 33. sumit. 36. Trax. 37. Archanum . . . ullius umquam. 38. reges. 40. pangas. 43. lira. 46. Aetoliis honerata. 49. solemne. 50. presertim. 63. hadrya. 68. quo uiro. 74. Ne pueri dominus. 81. fiden est (letter erased after *n* and *s* above) presidio. 82. et quid. 83. sentit. 87. metuet. 91. Omitted (written in margin). 94. tepores. 96. legas. 98. Non te . . . uexeque (*t* added above). 99. Non pauor. 100. doctrina bona. 103. semina. 104. quotiens. 108. dii. 109. Spes bona . . . fruges. 110. ne fluitem. 111. qui donat.

[XIX.]

Line 1. mecenas. 4. Ascripsit. 15. iarbitham. 16. que (omitted). 17. prosi. 18. exangue. 19. michi. 23. regit. 28. (Omitted, and added by a later hand in the margin). 29. alceus. 32. latinis. 33. Uulgaui. inmemorata. 36. premat (omitted). 41. ille. 48. tepidum.

[XX.]

Line 2. punice. 7. quid te leserit. 11. uulgi. 15. pdrudit. 20. et tenue re.

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## [BOOK II.]

### [I.]

Line 5. pullux. 8. adsignant. 13. pregrauat. 14. extinctus. 16. nomen. 19. gragis. 25. cum uel. 27. Doctitet. 28. graiorum. 35. cartis . . . adroget. 41. presens. 45. aequine. 47. elisus. 48. fastus. 49. nichil. 54. Pene. satum. 55. pior aufer. 56. actius. 58. exembrar. 60. arto. 62. liuii. 63. uulgus. 65. nichil. nichil (*bis*). 66. durae. 69. leui. 70. michi. 75. uenitque. 77. inlepideque. 79. perambulat. 80. clamant. 82. esopus. 84. atque. 85. Inberbes. 86. nunne. 87. uult. 89. inpugnat. nos (omitted). 92. terretque. 93. grecia. 97. uultum. 100. plena (omitted, added above). 103. Rome . . . solene. 106. perque. 112. mendatior. 124. Militie. 127. obsenis (*c* above). 128. preceptis. 131. Instruat. 134. presentia. 135. Caelestis . . . blandos. 137. (second et omitted). 138. carmina. 142. fide. 143. piabunt. 145. Fescennia (*n* above). 146. obprobria. 147. recurrentis. 156. Gratia. 159. peperere. 161. grecis . . . carthis. 162. querere. 163. spoces (Sophocles above) . . . eschylos . . . ferent (*r* added above). 164. Temtavit (*p* above) . . . possit. 168. accessit. 169. comedia. 171. ephoebi. 174. astricto. 178. Examinat. 179. Si leue si paruum est. 180. ac. 189. Quatuor . . . aulea. 196. elephans . . . uulgi. 198. Ut si (*bi* above) prebentem mimo. 201. thetra (*a* above). 205. leua. 218. elichona. 221. ledimur. 222. reprendere. 223. inreuocati. 228. accessas (*r* above). 234. Retulit . . . philippus (*o* above). 239. preter. 240. aere. 241. uoltum. 247. tui . . . uarusque. 259. recusant. 260. quae diligit urguet. 262. (*s* of discit erased). 263. Quod si quis. 269. tus.

### [II.]

Line 3. hic est. 7. grecis. 8. imitabitur. 16. nichil . . . laedat. 20. pignum. 25. Expectata . . . epistola. 27. Aerumpnis lapsus. 28. post haec. 30. Presidium. 33. super (omitted). 43. bone . . . athene. 44. possem. 45. achademi. 46. Dua. 50. Decisi . . . pinnis. 60. beoneis. 61. michi. 65. Preter. 71. nichil. ut (omitted). 78. bachi. 79. Si me. 87. rethor. 89. Gracchus hic illi foret · hic ut mutius illi. 91. elogos. 99. alteus. 100. Calimachus. 101. minermus. 103. populi supplex. 107. scribentes sed uenerantur. 111. quaecumque. 112. ferentur. 114. ueste. 123. calentia. 125. agestem. 126. Pretulerim. 134. lagoene.

144. modosque (omitted). 148. mulline. 151. nichil. 153. nichilo. 155. pridentem. 158. mercatur et ere (erasure before and after *ere*, i.e. *heres*? or 'ere est.' The *r* of mercatur is 'in rasura.') 159. Quedam. 167. quoniam. 168. caenat holus. 171. iugia. 175. Sed quia. 180. tyrrena . . . tabellis. 181. getulo. 183. ungi. 192. detis. 199. inmunda. 212. iuuat.

(After last line):—

EXPLICIT LIBER. INCIPIT PASTUS.

# INDEX I.

*Table of the probable and approximate dates of Horace's works.*

[For the grounds on which these dates are given see the Introductions to the several books.]

B.C.

65. Birth of Horace.

44. Horace at Athens.

43, 42. Campaign with Brutus.

41. Return to Rome.

38. Introduction to Maecenas.

To 35. Composition of Book I of the Satires.

To 31 or beginning of 30. Book II of the Satires, and the Epodes.

To 23. Books I–III of the Odes.

23–20 (or 19). Book I of the Epistles.

19. The Epistle to Florus.

17. The Carmen Seculare.

17–13. Book IV of the Odes.

13. The Epistle to Augustus.

8. Death of Horace.

The Ars Poetica cannot be certainly dated. It is placed either within the same period as the composition of the First Book of Epistles, B.C. 23–19, or, according to the view on the whole favoured in the Introduction (vol. 2. p. 331 f.), in the last years of Horace's life, B.C. 10–8.

# INDEX II.

## *Proper Names.*

[Where a name is alluded to but does not occur in the text the name or reference is enclosed in brackets [ ]. For the names of wines, and of localities in Rome, see under those headings in Index II.]

O. = Odes. C. S. = Carmen Seculare. Epod. = Epodes. S. = Satires. E. = Epistles. A. P. = Ars Poetica.

# INDEX III.

*The more important subjects and words touched in the Notes.*

O. = Odes. C. S. = Carmen Seculare. Epod. = Epodes. S. = Satires. E. = Epistles. A. P. = Ars Poetica.

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